



The discouerie of witchcraft,

Wherein the lewde dealing of witches
and witchmongers is notablie detected, the
knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchan-
tors, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent fals-
hood of coulenors, the infidelitie of atheists,
the pestilent practises of Pythonists, the
curiositie of figurecasters, the va-
nitie of dreamers, the begger-
lie art of Alcu-
mystrie,

The abhominacion of idolatrie, the hor-
rible art of poisoning, the vertue and power of
naturall magike, and all the conueiances
of Legierdemaine and iuggling are deciphered:
and many other things opened, which
haue long lien hidden, howbeit
verie necessarie to
beknowne.

Heerevnto is added a treatise vpon the
nature and substance of spirits and diuels,
&c: all latelie written
by Reginald Scos
Esquire.

1. Iohn. 4, 1.

Belzeue not euerie spirit, but trie the spirits, whether they are
of God; for manie false prophets are gone
out into the world, &c.



*To the Honorable, mine especiall good
Lord, Sir Roger Manwood Knight, Lord
cheefe Baron of hir Maiesties Court
of the Eschequer.*



N S O M V C H

as I know that your Lordship is by nature whollie inclined, and in purpose earnestly bent to releue the poore, and that not onlie with hospitalitie and almes, but by diuerse other deuises and waies tending to their comfort, ha-
uing (as it were) fra-

med and set your selfe to the helpe and maintenance of their estate; as appeareth by your charge and trauell in that behalfe. Whereas also you haue a speciall care for the supporting of their right, and redressing of their wrongs, as neither despising their calamitie, nor yet forgetting their complaint, seeking all meanes for their amendment, and for the reformation of their disorders, euen as a verie father to the poore. Finallie, for that I am a poore member of that commonwelth, where your Lordship is a principall person; I thought this my trauell, in the behalfe of the poore, the aged, and the simple, might be

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verie fitlie commended vnto you: for a weake house requireth a strong staie. In which respect I giue God thanks, that hath raised vp vnto me so mightie a freend for them as your Lordship is, who in our lawes haue such knowledge, in gouernment such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the commonwealth such authoritie; and neuerthelesse vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble, than worldlie estimation.

And in somuch as your Lordship knoweth, or rather exerciseth the office of a iudge, whose part it is to heare with courtesie, and to determine with equitie; it cannot but be apparent vnto you, that when punishment exceedeth the fault, it is rather to be thought vengeance than correction. In which respect I knowe you spend more time and trauell in the conuersion and reformation, than in the subuersion & confusion of offenders, as being well pleased to augment your owne priuate paines, to the end you may diminish their publike smart. For in truth, that commonwealth remaineth in wofull state, where fetters and halters beare more svaie than mercie and due compassion.

Howbeit, it is naturall to vnnaturall people, and peculiar vnto witchmongers, to pursue the poore, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent; supplieng in rigor and malice towards others, that which they themselues want in prooffe and discretion, or the other in offense or occasion. But as a cruell hart and an honest mind doo seldome meete and feed together in a dish; so a discreet and mercifull magistrate, and a happie commonwealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath giuen vs a Queene, that of iustice is not only the very perfect image & parerne; but also of mercie & clemencie (vnder God) the meere fountaine & bodie it selfe? In somuch as they which hunt most after bloud in these

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these daies, haue least authoritie to shed it. Moreouer, sith I see that in cases where lenitie might be noisome, & punishment wholesome to the commonwealth; there no respect of person can moue you, no authoritie can abash you, no feare, no threts can daunt you in performing the dutie of iustice.

In that respect againe I find your Lordship a fit person, to iudge and looke vpon this present treatise. Wherein I will bring before you, as it were to the barre, two sorts of most arrogant and wicked people, the first challenging to themselues, the second attributing vnto others, that power which onelie appertaineth to God,^a who onelie is the Creator of all things,^b who onelie searcheth the hart and reins, who onelie^c knoweth our imaginations and thoughts, who onelie^d openeth all secrets, who^e onelie worketh great wonders, who onelie hath power^f to raise vp & cast downe; who onelie maketh thunder, lightning, raine, tempests, and restraineth them at his pleasure; who onelie^g sendeth life and death, sicknesse & health, wealth and wo; who neither giueth nor lendeth his^h glorie to anie creature.

And therefore, that which grieueth me to the bot-
tome of my hart, is, that these witchmongers cannot be content, to wrest out of Gods hand his almightie power, and keepe it themselues, or leaue it with a witch: but that, when by drift of argument they are made to laie downe the bucklers, they yeeld them vp to the diuell, or at the least praie aid of him, as though the raines of all mens liues and actions were committed into his hand; and that he sat at the sterne, to guide and direct the course of the whole world, imputing vnto him power and abilitie inough to doo as great things, and as strange miracles as euer Christ did.

But the doctors of this supernaturall doctrine saie som-
times, that the witch doth all these things by vertue of hir

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^a Apoc. 4. 11.

^b Rom. 8.

Acts. 5.

Apoc. 2.

^c Luke. 16.

^d Dan. 2. &

28. & 47.

^e Psalm. 72.

& 13. 6.

Jer. 5.

^f Job. 5. & 36

Sam. 12.

^g 1. Reg. 8.

2. Reg. 3.

Isaie. 5.

Zach. 10.

& 14.

Amos. 4. 7.

^h Job. 1.

Isaie. 42. 8.

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charmes; sometimes that a spirituall, sometimes that a corporall diuell doth accomplish it; sometimes they saie that the diuell doth but make the witch beleue she doth that which he himselfe hath wrought; sometimes that the diuell seemeth to doo that by compulsion, which he doth most willingly. Finallie, the writers herevpon are so eloquent, and full of varietie; that sometimes they write that the diuell dooth all this by Gods permission onelie; sometimes by his licence, sometimes by his appointment: so as (in effect and truth) not the diuell, but the high and mightie king of kings, and Lord of hosts, euen God himselfe, should this waie be made obedient and seruile to obeie and performe the will & commandement of a malicious old witch, and miraculousslie to answer hir appetite, as well in euerie trifling vanitie, as in most horrible executions; as the reuenger of a doting old womans imagined wrongs, to the destruction of manie innocent children, and as a supporter of hir passions, to the vndoing of manie a poore soule. And I see not, but a witch may as well inchant, when she will; as a lier may lie when he list: and so should we possesse nothing, but by a witches licence and permission.

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all diuels, which were woont to be spirituall, may at their pleasure become corporall, and so shew themselues familiarlie to witches and coniurors, and to none other, and by them onlie may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command hir diuell to plague hir neighbor, and he is afflicted in manner and forme as she desireth. But then commeth another witch, and she biddeth hir diuell helpe, and he healeth the same partie. So as they make it a kingdome diuided in it selfe, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortly be ouerthrowne, according to the words of our Saviour, *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur*, Euerie kingdome

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dome diuided in it selfe shalbe desolate.

And although some saie that the diuell is the witches instrument, to bring hir purposes and practises to passe: yet others saie that she is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in anie thing, and therefore to be executed. But then (me thinks) she should be iniurioullie dealt withall, and put to death for anothers offense: for actions are not iudged by instrumentall causes; neither dooth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend vpon the meane instrument. Finallie, if the witch doo it not, why should the witch die for it? But they saie that witches are perswaded, and thinke, that they doo indeed those mischeefs; and haue a will to performe that which the diuell committerh: and that therefore they are worthie to die. By which reason euerie one should be executed, that wisheth euill to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offense against God, we should be driuen by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butcherie. For whosoever loatheth correction shall die. And who should escape execution, if this lothsomnesse (I saie) should extend to death by the ciuill lawes. Also the reward of sinne is death. Howbeit, euerie one that sinneth, is not to be put to death by the magistrate. But (my Lord) it shalbe proued in my booke, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your natie countrie, as also abrode in your seuerall circuits, that besides them that be *venefic*, which are plaine poisoners, there will be found among our witches one lie two sorts; the one sort being such by imputation, as so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusers) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accompted (and these be meere cousenors.)

Prouerb. 5.

Caluine treating of these magicians, calleth them cousenors, saieing that they vse their iuggling knacks one lie to amase or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he

*Instit. lib. 4. ca. 8. sect. 6.
Item 7. non
Deut. cap. 18.*

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mij. pag. 5.

might rather haue said for gaine . Erastus himselfe , being a principall writer in the behalfe of witches omnipotence, is forced to confesse, that these Greeke words, *μαγία, μαγισσία, παραμαγία*, are most commonlie put for illusion, false packing, couzenage, fraud, knauerie and deceit : and is further driuen to saie, that in ancient time, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and inchanters were false, and nothing else but knauerie, couzenage, and old wiues fables; and yet defendeth he their flieng in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, &c.

But as Erastus disagreeeth herein with himselfe and his freends : so is there no agreement among anie of those writers, but onlie in cruelties, absurdities, and impossibilities . And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd asseuerations , are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such accompt, as whose names giue more credit to their cause, than their writings . In whose behalfe I am forie, and partlie for reuerence suppresseth their fondest errors and fowlest absurdities; dealing speciallie with them that most contend in crueltie, ^a whose feete are swift to shed blood, struiuing (as ^b Iesus the sonne of Sirach saith) and halting (as ^c Salomon the sonne of Dauid saith) to powre out the blood of the innocent; whose heat against these poore wretches cannot be allaied with anie other liquor than blood. And therefore I feare that ^d vnder their wings will be found the blood of the foules of the poore, at that daie, when the Lord shall saie; ^e Depart from me ye bloudthirstie men.

And bicause I know your Lordship will take no counsell against innocent blood , but rather suppresseth them that seeke to embrew their hands therein; I haue made choise to open their case vnto you, and to laie their miserable calamitie before your feete: following herein the
aduise

^a Isaic. 59, 7.

Rom. 3, 15.

^b Eccl. 27, 5.

^c Prou. 1, 16.

^d Ier. 2, 34.

^e Ps. 139, 15.

Esaic. 33, 15.

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aduise of that learned man Brentius, who saith; *Si quis admonuerit magistratum, ne in miseris illas mulierculas saniat, cum ego arbitror diuinitus excitatum;* that is, If anie admonish the magistrate not to deale too hardlie with these miserable wretches, that are called witches, I thinke him a good instrument raised vp for this purpose by God himselfe.

But it will perchance be said by witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribute to witches the power which appertaineth to God onelie, that I haue made choise of your Lordship to be a patrone to this my booke; bicause I thinke you fauour mine opinions, and by that meanes may the more freeleie publish anie error or conceipt of mine owne, which should rather be warranted by your Lordships authoritie, than by the word of God, or by sufficient argument. But I protest the contrarie, and by these presents I renounce all protection, and despise all freendship that might serue to helpe towards the suppressing or supplanting of truth: knowing also that your Lordship is farre from allowing anie iniurie done vnto man; much more an enimie to them that go about to dishonor God, or to embezill the title of his immortall glorie. But bicause I know you to be perspicuous, and able to see downe into the depth and bottome of causes, and are not to be carried awaie with the vaine persuation or superstition either of man, custome, time, or multitude, but mooued with the authoritie of truth onlie: I craue your countenance herein, euen so farre foorth, and no further, than the lawe of God, the lawe of nature, the lawe of this land, and the rule of reason shall require. Neither doo I treat for these poore people anie otherwise, but so, as with one hand you may sustaine the good, and with the other suppress the euill: wherein you shalbe thought a father to orphans, an aduocate to widowes, a guide to the blind, a staie to the lame, a comfort & countenance to the honest, a scourge and

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and terror to the wicked.


Thus farre I haue beene bold to vse your Lordships patience, being offended with my selfe, that I could not in breuitie vtter such matter as I haue deliuered ample: whereby (I confesse) occasion of tediousnes might be ministred, were it not that your great grauitie ioined with your singular constancie in reading and iudging be means of the contrarie. And I wishe euen with all my hart, that I could make people conceiue the substance of my writing, and not to misconstrue anie part of my meaning. Then doubtles would I persuaue my selfe, that the companie of witchmongers, &c: being once decreased, the number also of witches, &c: would soone be diminished. But true be the words of the Poet,

*Handquaquam poteris fortior omnia solus,
Namque alijs diuis bello pollere dederunt,
Huic saltandi artem, voce huic citharâ que canendi:
Rursus alijs inseruit sagax in pectore magnus
Iupiter ingenium, &c.*

And therefore as doubtfull to preuaile by persuading, though I haue reason and common sense on my side; I rest vpon earnest wishing; namelie, to all people an absolute trust in God the creator, and not in creatures, which is to make flesh our arme: that God may haue his due honor, which by the vndutifulnes of manie is turned into dishonor, and lesse cause of offense and error giuen by common receiued euill example. And to your Lordship I wish, as increase of honour, so continuance of good health, and happie daies.

Your Lordships to be commanded
Reginald Scot.

To the right worshipfull Sir
Thomas Scot Knight,&c.

 Ir, I see among other malefactours manie poore old women conuenced before you for working of miracles, other wise called witchcraft, and therefore I thought you also a meet person to whom I might comend my booke. And here I haue occasion to speake of your sincere administration of iustice, and of your dexteritie, discretion, charge, and trauell employed in that behalfe, wherof I am oculatus testis. Howbeit I had rather refer the reader to common fame, and their owne eies and eares to be satisfied; than to send them to a Stationers shop, where manie times lies are vendible, and truth contemptible. For I being of your house, of your name, & of your bloud; my foot being vnder your table, my hand in your dish, or rather in your pursse, might bee thought to flatter you in that, wherein (I knowe) I should rather offend you than please you. And what need I currie fauour with my most assured friend? And if I should onelie publish those vertues (though they be manie) which giue me speciall occasion to exhibit this my trauell vnto you, I should doo as a painter, that describeth the foot of a notable personage, and leaueth all the best features in his bodie vntouched.

I therefore (at this time) doo onelie desire you to consider of my report, concerning the euidence that is commonlie brought before you against them. See first whether the euidence be not frivolous, & whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of ghesles, presumptions, & impossibilities contrarie to reason, scripture, and nature. See also what persons complaine vpon them, whether they be not of the basest, the vniuersal, & most faithles kind of people. Also
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may it please you to waite what accusations and crimes they laie to their charge, namelie: She was at my house of late she would haue had a pot of milke, she departed in a chafe bicause she had it not, she railed, she cursed, she mumbled and whifpered, and finallie she said she would be euen with me: and soone after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangellie taken. Naie (if it please your VVorship) I haue further prooffe: I was with a wise woman, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, & that she would come to my house yer it were long, and so did she; and that she had a marke aboue hir waiste, & so had she: and God forgie me, my stomach hath gone against hir a great while. Hir mother before hir was counted a witch, she hath beene beaten and scratched by the face till bloud was drawne vpon hir, bicause she hath beene suspected, & afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certeinties that I heare in their euidences.

Note also how easilie they may be brought to confesse that which they neuer did, nor lieth in the power of man to doo: and then see whether I haue cause to write as I doo. Further, if you shall see that infidelitie, poperie, and manie other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered, and their professors animated and hartened, by yeelding to creatures such infinit power as is wrested out of Gods hand, and attributed to witches: finallie, if you shall perceiue that I haue faithfullie and trulie deliuered and set downe the condition and state of the witch, and also of the witchmonger, and haue confuted by reason and lawe, and by the word of God it selfe, all mine aduersaries obiections and arguments: then let me haue your countenance against them that maliciouslie oppose themselves against me.

My greatest aduersaries are yoong ignorance and old custome. For what follie soeuer tract of time hath fostered, it is
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So superstitiouslie pursued of some, as though no error could be acquainted with custome. But if the lawe of nations would ioine with such custome, to the maintenance of ignorance, and to the suppressing of knowledge; the ciuilest cuntry in the world would soone become barbarous, &c. For as knowledge and time discovereth errors, so dooth superstition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of such, as wish that ignorance should rather be maintained, than knowledge busilie searched for, because thereby offense may grow: I answer, that we are commanded by Christ himselfe to search for knowledge: for it is the kings honour (as Salomon saith) to search out a thing.

John. 5.
Prou. 15, 1.

Aristotle said to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautifull than a bodie richlie arrayed. What can be more odious to man, or offense to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Iewes did put Christ to death. Which ignorance whosoever forsaketh, is promised life euermlasting: and therefore among Christians it should be abhorred aboue all other things. For euen as when we wrestle in the darke, we tumble in the mire, &c: so when we see not the truth, we wallow in errors. A blind man may seeke long in the rushes yer he find a needle; and as soone is a doubt discusse by ignorance. Finallie, truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, than a sweet sauer in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and giue them no leaue to vse it, men were much better be without it than haue it. For it is, as to haue a tallent, and to hide it vnder the earth; or to put a candle vnder a bushell: or as to haue a ship, & to let hir lie alwaies in the docke: which thing how profitable it is, I can saie somewhat by experience.

Acts. 3.
Prou. 9.

Matth. 25.
Matth. 5.
Luke. 8:

But hereof I need saie no more, for euerie man seeth that none can be happie who knoweth not what felicitie meaneth. For what auaieth it to haue riches, and not to haue the vse thereof?

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there of? Trulie the heathen herein deserued more commendation than manie christians for they spared no paine, no cost, nor trauell to attaine to knowledge. Pythagoras trauelled from Thamus to Aegypt, and afterwards into Crete and Lacedamonia: and Plato out of Athens into Italie and Aegypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge: which when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortalitie. For pretious stones, and all other creatures of what value soeuer, are but counterfeits to this iewell: they are mortall, corruptible, and inconstant; this is immortall, pure and certaine. VVherfore if I haue searched and found out any good thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the same I commend vnto you: to whom though I owe all that I haue, yet am I bold to make other partakers with you in this poore gift.

Your louing cousen

Reg. Scot.



To the right worshipfull his louing friends,
 Maister Doctor Coldwell Deane of Ro-
 chester, and Maister Doctor Read-
 man Archdeacon of Can-
 turburie, &c.

Having found out two such ciuill Ma-
 gistrates, as for direction of iudgement, and for or-
 dering matters concerning iustice in this common
 wealth (in my poore opinion) are verie singular
 persons, who (I hope) will accept of my good will,
 and examine my booke by their experience, as vnto
 whom the matter therein contained dooth great-
 ly appertaine: I haue now againe considered of
 two other points: nanelie, diuinitie and philosophie, wherevpon the ground-
 worke of my booke is laid. Wherein although I know them to be verie suffi-
 cientlie informed, yet dooth not the iudgement and censare of those causes so
 properlie appertaine to them as vnto you, whose fame therein hath gotten pre-
 eminence aboue all others that I know of your callings: and in that respect I
 am bold to ioine you with them, being all good neighbours together in this
 commonwealth, and louing friends vnto me. I doo not present this vnto you,
 because it is meet for you; but for that you are meet for it (I meane) to iudge
 vpon it, to defend it, and if need be to correct it; knowing that you haue lear-
 ned of that graue counsellor Cato, not to shame or discountenance any bodie.
 For if I thought you as readie, as able, to disgrace me for mine insufficiencie;
 I should not haue beene hastie (knowing your learning) to haue written vnto
 you: but if I should be abashed to write to you, I should shew my selfe igno-
 rant of your courtesie.

I know mine owne weakenesse, which if it haue beene able to mainteine
 this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares,
 but sufficient matter persuadeth the hart. So as, if I exhibit wholesome drinke
 (though it be small) in a treene dish with a faithfull hand, I hope it will bee
 as well accepted, as strong wine offered in a silver bowle with a flattering
 heart. And surelie it is a point of as great liberalitie to recene a small thing
 thankesfullie, as to giue and distribute great and costlie gifts bountifullie: for
 there is more supplied with courteous answers: an with rich rewards. The ty-

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rant Dionysius was not so hated for his tyrannie, as for his churlish and strange behaviour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of an Ephah of flower, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite, Lewis of France accepted a rape root of clownish Conan, Cyrus vouchsafed to drinke a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinates: and so it may please you to accept this simple booke at my hands, which I faithfullie exhibit vnto you, not knowing your opinions to meet with mine, but knowing your learning and iudgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake herein vnskillfullie, as others when they speake hereof maliciouslie.

Some be such dogs as they will barke at my writings, whether I mainteine or refute this argument: as Diogenes snarled both at the Rhodians and at the Lacedemonians: at the one, because they were braue; at the other, because they were not braue. Homer himselfe could not auoid reprochfull speeches. I am sure that they which neuer studied to learne anie good thing, will studie to find faults hereat. I for my part feare not these wars, nor all the aduersaries I haue; were it not for certaine cowards, who (I knowe) will come behind my backe and bite me.

But now to the matter. My question is not (as manie fondlie suppose) whether there be witches or naue: but whether they can doo such miraculous works as are imputed vnto them. Good Maister Deane, is it possible for a man to breake his fast with you at Rochester, and to dine that day at Durham with Maister Doctor Matthew; or can your enimie maime you, when the Ocean sea is betwixt you? What reall communitie is betwixt a spirit and a bodie? May a spirituall bodie become temporall at his pleasure? Or may a carnall bodie become inuisible? Is it likelie that the liues of all Princes, magistrates, & subiects, should depend vpon the will, or rather vpon the wish of a poore malicious doting old foole; and that power exempted from the wise, the rich, the learned, the godlie, &c? Finallie, is it possible for man or woman to do anie of those miracles expressed in my booke, & so constantlie reported by great clarks? If you saie, no; then am I satisfied. If you saie that God, absolutelie, or by means can accomplish all those, and manie more, I go with you. But witches may well saie they can doo these things, howbeit they cannot shew how they doo them. If I for my part should saie I could doo those things, my verie aduersaries would saie that I lied.

O Maister Archdeacon, is it not pitie, that that which is said to be doone with the almightie power of the most high God, and by our saviour his onelie sonne Iesus Christ our Lord, should be referred to a baggage old womans noo

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or wise, &c? Good Sir, is it not one manifest kind of Idolatrie, for them that labor and are laden, to come vnto witches to be refreshed? If witches could helpe whom they are said to haue made sicke, I see no reason, but remedie might as well be required as their hands, as a purse demanded of him that hath stolne it. But trulie it is manifold idolatrie, to aske that of a creature, which none can giue but the Creator. The papist hath some colour of scripture to mainteine his idoll of bread, but no Iesuiticall distinction can couer the witchmongers idolatrie in this behalfe. Alas, I am sorie and ashamed to see how manie die, that being said to be bewitched, onelie seeke for magicall cures, whom wholsome diet and good medicines would haue recovered. I dare assure you both, that there would be none of these cousing kind of witches, did not witchmongers mainteine them, followe them, and beleue in them and their oracles: whereby indeede all good learning and honest arts are ouerthrowne. For these that most aduance their power, and mainteine the skill of these witches, vnderstand no part thereof: and yet being manie times wise in other matters, are made fooles by the most fooles in the world.

He thinks these magicall physicians deale in the commonwelth, much like as a certeine kind of Cynicall people doo in the church, whose seuerer saiens are accompted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of; who instead of learning and authoritie (which they make contemptible) doo feed the people with their owne deuises and imaginations, which they prefer before all other diuinitie: and labouring to erect a church according to their owne fantasies, wherein all order is condemned, and onelie their magicall words and curious directions aduanced, they would vtterlie ouerthrowe the true Church. And euen as these inchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physicke to their charmes: so doo these other (I saie) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in mens eares to teach them their frierlike traditions. And of this sect the cheefe author at this time is one Browne, a fugitiue, a meet couer for such a cup: as heretofore the Anabaptists, the Arrians, and the Franciscane friers.

Trulie not onlie nature, being the foundation of all perfection; but also scripture, being the mistresse and director thereof, and of all christianitie, is beautified with knowledge and learning. For as nature without discipline dooth naturallie incline vnto vanities, and as it were sucke vp errors: so doth the word, or rather the letter of the scripture, without vnderstanding, not onlie make vs deuoure errors, but yeeldeth vs up to death & destruction: therefore Paule saith he was not a minister of the letter, but of the spirit.

Thus haue I bene bold to deliuer vnto the world, and to you, these simple

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notes,

R^m. 2, 27.
2. Cor. 3, 6.

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notes, reasons, and arguments, which I haue deuised or collected out of other authors: which I hope shall be hurtfull to none, but to my selfe great comfort, if it may passe with good liking and acceptation. If it fall out otherwise, I should thinke my paines ill imployed. For trulie, in mine opinion, whosoever shall perfarme any thing, or attaine to any knowledge; or whosoever should trauell throughout all the nations of the world, or (if it were possible) should peepe into the beauiens, the consolation or admiration thereof were nothing pleasant vnto him, vnles he had libertie to impart his knowledge to his friends. Wherein because I haue made speciall choise of you, I hope you will read it, or at the least laie it vp in your studie with your other bookes, among which there is none dedicated to any with more good will. And so long as you haue it, it shall be vnto you (vpon aduerture of my life) a certeine amulet, periapt, circle, charme, &c: to defend you from all enchantments.

Your louing friend

Reg. Scot.





To the Readers.



O you that are wise
& discrete few words
may suffice : for such Isai. 11.
a one iudgeth not at Prouer. 1.
the first sight, nor re-
proueth by herefaie;
but patientlie heareth,
and thereby increa-
seth in vnderstanding:
which patience bring-
eth forth experience,
whereby true iudge-
ment is directed. I
shall not need there-
fore to make anie fur-

ther sute to you, but that it would please you to read my booke, without the preiudice of time, or former conceipt: and hauing obtained this at your hands, I submit my selfe vnto your censure. But to make a solemne sute to you that are parciall readers, desiring you to set aside parciialitie, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eies to looke vpon my booke, were labour lost, and time ill imploied. For I should no more preuaile herein, than if a hundred yeares since I should haue intreated your predecessors to belecue, that Robin goodfellowe, that great and ancient bulbegger, had beene but a coufening merchant, and no diuell indeed.

If I should go to a papist, and saie; I praie you belecue my writings, wherein I will proue all popish charmes, coniurations, exorcismes, benedictions and curses, not onelie to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but also to be impious and contrarie to Gods word: I should as hardlie therein win fauour at their hands, as herein obtaine credit at yours. Neuerthelesse, I doubt not, but to

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vse the matter so, that as well the massemonger for his part, as the witchmonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

But Robin goodfellowe ceaseth now to be much feared, and poperie is sufficientlie discovered. Neuertheles, witches charms, and coniurors couenages are yet thought effectuell. Yea the Gentiles haue espied the fraud of their couenening oracles, and our cold prophets and indanters make vs fooles still, to the shame of vs all, but speciallie of papists, who coniure euerie thing, and thereby bring to passe nothing. They saie to their candles; I coniure you to endure for euer: and yet they last not a pater noster while the longer. They coniure water to be wholesome both for bodie and soule: but the bodie (we see) is neuer the better for it, nor the soule anie whit reformed by it. And therefore I meruell, that when they see their owne coniurations confuted and brought to naught, or at the least void of effect, that they (of all other) will yet giue such credit, countenance, and authoritie to the vaine couenages of witches and coniurors; as though their charmes and coniurations could produce more apparent, certeine, and better effects than their owne.

But my request vnto all you that read my booke shall be no more, but that it would please you to conferre my words with your owne sense and experience, and also with the word of God. If you find your selues resolved and satisfied, or rather reformed and qualified in anie one point or opinion, that heretofore you held contrarie to truth, in a matter hitherto vndecided, and neuer yet looked into; I praie you take that for aduantage: and suspending your iudgement, staie the sentence of condemnation against me, and consider of the rest, at your further leasure. If this may not suffice to persuaide you, it cannot preuaile to annoy you: and then, that which is written without offense, may be ouerpas-
sed without anie greefe.

And although mine assertion, be somewhat differing from the old inueterat opinion, which I confesse hath manie graie heares, whereby mine aduersaries haue gained more authoritie than reason, towards the maintenance of their presumptions and old wiues fables: yet shall it fullie agree with Gods glorie, and with his holie word. And albeit there be hold taken by mine aduersaries

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series of certaine few words or sentences in the scripture that maketh a shew for them : yet when the whole course thereof maketh against them , and impugneth the same , yea and also their owne places rightlie vnderstood doe nothing at all releue them : I trust their glorious title and argument of antiquitie will appeare as stale and corrupt as the apothecaries drugs, or grocers spice, which the longer they be preserved, the worse they are. And till you haue perused my booke, ponder this in your mind, to wit, that *Sage, Thessala, Striger, Lamia* (which words and none other being in vse do properlie signifie our witches) are not once found written in the old or new testament; and that Christ himselfe in his gospell neuer mentioned the name of a witch. And that neither he, nor Moses euer spake anie one word of the witches bargain with the diuell, their haggings, their riding in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, their hurting of children or cattell with words or charmes, their bewitching of butter, cheese, ale, &c: nor yet their transubstantiation; insomuch as the writers herevpon are not ashamed to say, *Mal. malef. par. 2. que. 2.* that it is not absurd to affirme that there were no witches in Iobs time. The reason is, that if there had beene such witches then in beeing, Iob would haue said he had beene bewitched. But indeed men tooke no heed in those daies to this doctrine of diuels; to wit, to these fables of witchcraft, which Peter saith shall be much *1. Pet. 4. 1.* regarded and hearkened vnto in the latter daies.

Howbeit, how ancient so euer this barbarous conceipt of witches omnipotencie is, truth must not be measured by time : for euerie old opinion is not sound. Veritie is not impaired, how long so euer it be suppressed; but is to be searched out, in how darke a corner so euer it lie hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be broched too rathe. Finallie, time bewraieth old errors, & discouereth new matters of truth. Danæus himselfe saith, *Danæus in suo prologo.* that this question hitherto hath neuer beene handled; nor the scriptures concerning this matter haue neuer beene expounded. To proue the antiquitie of the cause, to confirme the opinion of the ignorant, to inforce mine aduersaries arguments, to aggravate the punishments, & to accomplish the confusio of these old women, is added the vanitie and wickednes of them, which are called witches, the arrogancie of those which take vpon them to

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worke wonders, the desire that people haue to hearken to such miraculous matters, vnto whome most commonlie an impossibilitie is more credible than a veritie; the ignorance of naturall causes, the ancient and vniuersall hate conceiued against the name of a witch; their illfaoured faces, their spitefull words, their curses and imprecations, their charmes made in ryme, and their beggerie; the feare of manie foolish folke, the opinion of some that are wise, the want of Robin goodfellowe and the fairies, which were wont to mainteine chat, and the common peoples talke in this behalfe; the authoritie of the inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations vsed, speciallie by papists; and manie other like causes. All which toies take such hold vpon mens fantasies, as whereby they are lead and entised awaie from the consideration of true respects, to the condemnation of that which they know not.

Howbeit, I will (by Gods grace) in this my booke, so apparentlie decipher and confute these cauils, and all other their obiections; as euerie witchmonger shall be abashed, and all good men thereby satisfied. In the meane time, I would wish them to know that if neither the estimation of Gods omnipotencie, nor the tenor of his word, nor the doubtfulness or rather the impossibilitie of the case, nor the small proofes brought against them, nor the rigor executed vpon them, nor the pitie that should be in a christian heart, nor yet their simplicitie, impotencie, or age may suffice to suppress the rage or rigor wherewith they are oppressed; yet the consideration of their sex or kind ought to moue some mitigation of their punishment. For if nature (as Plinie reporteth) haue taught a lion not to deale so roughlie with a woman as with a man, bicause she is in bodie the weaker vessell, and in hart more inclined to pitie (which Ieremie in his lamentations seemeth to confirme) what should a man doe in this case, for whome a woman was created as an helpe and comfort vnto him? In so much as, euen in the lawe of nature, it is a greater offense to slea a woman than a man: not bicause a man is not the more excellent creature, but bicause a woman is the weaker vessell. And therefore among all modest and honest persons it is thought a shame to offer violence or iniurie to a woman: in which respect Virgil saith,

Lam. Ier. 3.

& 4. cap.

verse. 10.

1. Cor. 11. 9.

Ibid. vers. 7.

Ge. 2. 22. 18.

Arist. lib.

problem. 2. 9.

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saith, *Nullum memorabile nomen femine in pœna est.*

Vir. Georg.

God that knoweth my heart is witnes, and you that read my booke shall see, that my drift and purpose in this enterprise tendeth onelie to these respects. First, that the glorie and power of God be not so abridged and abased, as to be thrust into the hand or lip of a lewd old woman: whereby the worke of the Creator should be attributed to the power of a creature. Secondlie, that the religion of the gospell may be seene to stand without such pecuish trumperie. Thirdlie, that lawfull fauour and christian compassion be rather vsed towards these poore soules, than rigor and extremitie. Bicause they, which are commonlie accused of witchcraft, are the least sufficient of all other persons to speake for themselves; as hauing the most base and simple education of all others; the extremitie of their age giuing them leaue to dote, their pouertie to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of anie other waie of reuenge) their humor melancholicall to be full of imaginations, from whence cheefelie proceedeth the vanitie of their confessions; as that they can transforme themselves and others into apes, owles, asses, dogs, cats, &c: that they can flie in the aire, kill children with channes, hinder the comming of butter, &c.

And for so much as the mightie helpe themselves together, and the poore widowes crie, though it reach to heauen, is scarce heard here vpon earth: I thought good (according to my poore abilitie) to make intercession, that some part of common rigor, and some points of hastie iudgement may be aduised vpon. For the world is now at that stay (as Brennius in a most godlie sermon in these words affirmeth) that euen as when the heathen persecuted the christians, if anie were accused to beleue in Christ, the common people cried *Ad leuem*: so now, if anie woman, be she neuer so honest, be accused of witchcraft, they crie *Ad ignem*. What difference is betweene the rash dealing of vnskillfull people, and the graue counsell of more discreet and learned persons, may appeare by a tale of Danæus his owne telling; wherein he opposeth the rashnes of a few townesmen, to the counsell of a whole senate, preferring the follie of the one, before the wisdom of the other.

At Orleance on Loyre (saith he) there was a man with, not only taken

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taken and accused, but also conuicted and condemned for witchcraft, who appealed from thence to the high court of Paris. Which accusation the senate sawe insufficient, and would not allow, but laughed thereat, lightlie regarding it; and in the end sent him home (saith he) as accused of a friuolous matter. And yet for all that, the magistrats of Orleance were so bold with him, as to hang him vp within short time after, for the same or the verie like offense. In which example is to be seene the nature, and as it were the disease of this cause: wherein (I saie) the simpler and vndiscreeter sort are alwaies more hastie & furious in iudgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Neuertheles, Eunichius saith, that these three things; to wit, what is to be thought of witches, what their incantations can doo, and whether their punishment should extend to death, are to be well considered. And I would (saith he) they were as well knowne, as they are rashlie beleueed, both of the learned, and vnlearned. And further he saith, that almost all diuines, physicians and lawyers, who should best know these matters, satisfieng themselues with old custome, haue giuen too much credit to these fables, and too rash and vniust sentence of death vpon witches. But when a man pondereth (saith he) that in times past, all that swarued from the church of Rome were iudged heretikes; it is the lesse maruell, though in this matter they be blind and ignorant.

And surelie, if the scripture had beene longer suppressed, more absurd fables would haue sprong vp, and beene beleueed. Which credulitie though it is to be derided with laughter; yet this their crueltie is to be lamented with teares. For (God knoweth) manie of these poore wretches had more need to be releueed than chastised; and more meete were a preacher to admonish them, than a gailor to keepe them; and a physician more necessarie to helpe them, than an executioner or tormentor to hang or burne them. For prooffe and due triall hereof, I will requite Danæus his tale of a man with (as he termeth him) with another witch of the same sex or gender.

*Lib. 19. cap.
18. de uariis
sacib. rerum.*

Cardanus from the mouth of his owne father reporteth, that one Barnard, a poore seruant, being in wit verie simple and rude, but in his seruice verie necessarie and diligent (and in that respect deerelie beloued of his maister) professing the art of witchcraft, could

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could in no wise be dissuaded from that profession, perswading himselfe that he knew all things, and could bring anie matter to passe; bicause certeine countrie people resorted to him for helpe and counsell, as supposing by his owne talke, that he could doo somewhat. At length he was condemned to be burned: which torment he seemed more willing to suffer, than to loose his estimation in that behalfe. But his maister hauing compassion vpon him, and being himselfe in his princes fauor, perceiuing his conceipt to proceed of melancholie, obtained respite of execution for twentie daies. In which time (saith he) his maister bountifullie fed him with good fat meat, and with foure eggs at a meale, as also with sweet wine: which diet was best for so grosse and weake a bodie. And being recovered so in strength, that the humor was suppressed, he was easilie wone from his absurd and dangerous opinions, and from all his fond imaginations: and confessing his error and follie, from the which before no man could remoue him by anie persuations, hauing his pardon, he liued long a good member of the church, whome otherwise the crueltie of iudgement should haue cast a waie and destroyed.

This historie is more credible than Sprengers fables, or Bodins bables, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotencie, as to the derogating of Gods glorie. For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a with; then is it false, that God maketh vs liue or die, or that by him we haue our being, our terme of time appointed, and our daies numbred. But surelie their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrieng awaie of horses & mares. Neither hath God giuen remedies to sicknes or greefes, by words or charmes, but by hearbs and medicines; which he himselfe hath created vpon earth, and giuen men knowledge of the same; that he might be glorified, for that therewith he dooth vouchsafe that the maladies of men and cattell should be cured, &c. And if there be no affliction nor calamitie, but is brought to passe by him, then let vs desie the diuell, renounce all his works, and not so much as once thinke or dreame vpon this supernaturall power of witches; neither let vs prosecute them with such despight, whome our sanse condemneth, and our reason acquiteth: our euidence

Amos. 3. 6.
La. ier. 3. 38.
Isai. 48. 9.
Rom. 9. 20.

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evidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofes in vnwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties.

Now because I mislike the extreame crueltie vsed against some of these sillie soules (whome a simple aduocate hauing audience and iustice might deliuer out of the hands of the inquisitors themselues) it will be said, that I denie anie punishment at all to be due to anie with whatsoeuer. Naie, because I bewraie the fol-
lie and impietie of them, which attribute vnto witches the power of God: these witchmongers will report, that I denie there are anie witches at all: and yet behold (saie they) how often is this word [Witch] mentioned in the scriptures? Euen as if an idolater should saie in the behalfe of images and idols, to them which denie their power and godhead, and inueigh against the reuerence done vnto them; How dare you denie the power of images, seeing their names are so often repeated in the scriptures? But true-
lie I denie not that there are witches or images: but I detest the idolatrous opinions conceiued of them; referring that to Gods worke and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches; and attributing that honour to God, which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in verie deed are either witches or coniuors,
let them hardlie suffer such punish-
ment as to their fault is agreea-
ble, and as by the graue
iudgement of lawe is
prouided.

*Places amended by the author, and to be read as followeth. The first
number standeth for the page, the second for the line.*

46. 16. except you.	168. 31. the firmament.	438. 29. exercise the.
51. 9. one Saddoche.	187. 16. reallie smitten.	450. 1. that it is.
75. 21. that we of	192. put out the first line	463. 19. that businesse.
110. 21. as Climas.	of the page.	471. 19. cōtēneth nothing.
112. 10. is reproued.	247. 29. write it.	472. 11. I did deferre.
119. 16. one Hecus.	257. 32. an image.	491. 6. so difficult.
126. 12. Dagns as.	269. 16. there be masses.	491. 27. begat another.
138. 2. the hart.	333. 14. euenlie seueren.	503. 9. of all the.
144. 25. in his closet at	363. 26. for bellows.	519. 7. the Huitres.
Endor, or in.	366. 27. his teiman.	542. 30. their reproch.

The forren authors vsed in this Booke.

A elianus.	Cornelius Agrippa.	Houinus.
Aetius.	Cornelius Nepos.	Hyperius.
Albertus Crantzius.	Cornelius Tacitus.	Iacobus de Chusa Car-
Albertus Magnus.	Cyrdillus.	thufianus.
Albumazar.	Danaeus.	Iamblichus.
Alcoranum Francisca-	Demetrius.	Iaso Pratenfis.
norum.	Democritus.	Innocentius. 8. Papa.
Alexander Trallianus.	Didymus.	Iohannes Anglicus.
Algerus.	Diodorus Siculus.	Iohannes Baptista Nea-
Ambrosius.	Dionysius Areopagita.	politanus.
Andradias.	Diocorides.	Iohannes Cassianus.
Andreas Garterus.	Diurius.	Iohannes Montiregius.
Andreas Maslius.	Dodonæus.	Iohannes Riuius.
Antonius Sabellicus.	Durandus.	Iosephus ben Gorion.
Apollonius Tyanæus.	Empedocles.	Iosias Simlerus.
Appianus.	Ephesius.	Isidorus.
Apuleius.	Erafinus Roterodamus.	Isgonus.
Archelaus.	Erafinus Sarcerius.	Iuba.
Argerius Ferrarius.	Erafitus.	Iulius Maternus.
Aristoteles.	Eudoxus.	Iustinus Martyr.
Arnoldus de villa noua.	Eusebius Cæsariensis.	Lactantius.
Artemidorus.	Fernelius.	Lauaterus.
Athanasius.	Franciscus Petrarcha.	Laurentius Ananias.
Auerroës.	Fuchsius.	Laurentius a villaur-
Augustinus episcopus	Galenus.	centio.
Hip.	Garropius.	Leo 11. Pontifex.
Augustinus Niphus.	Gelasius.	Lex Salicarum.
Auicennas.	Gemma Phrysius.	Lex 12. Tabularum.
Aulus Gellius.	Georgius Pictorius.	Legenda aurea.
Barnardinus de buftis.	Gofridus.	Legenda longa Colo-
Bartholomæus Angli-	Gofchalculus Boll.	næ.
cus.	Gratianus.	Leonardus Vairus.
Berosus Anianus.	Gregorius.	Liuius.
Bodinus.	Grillandus.	Lucanus.
Bordinus.	Guido Bonatus.	Lucretius.
Brentius.	Gulielmus de sancto	Ludouicus Carlius.
Caluinus.	Clodoaldo.	Lutherus.
Camerarius.	Gulielmus Parisiensis.	Macrobius.
Campanus.	Hemingius.	Magna Charta.
Cardanus parer.	Heracides.	Malleus Maleficarum.
Cardanus filius.	Hermes Trismegistus.	Manlius.
Carolus Gallus.	Hieronymus.	Marbacchius.
Cassander.	Hilarius.	Marbodeus Gallus.
Cato.	Hippocrates.	Marsilius Ficinus.
Chrysoftome.	Homerus.	Martinus de Arles.
Cicero.	Horatius.	Mattheolus.
Clemens.	Hostienfis.	Melancthonus.

Memphra.

Forren and English authors.

Memphradorus.
 Michael Andrazas.
 Musculus.
 Nauclerus.
 Nicephorus.
 Nicholaus 5. Papa.
 Nider.
 Olaus Gothus.
 Origenes.
 Ouidius.
 Panormitanus.
 Paulus Aegineta.
 Paulus Marfus.
 Persius.
 Petrus de Appona.
 Petrus Lombardus.
 Petrus Martyr.
 Peucer.
 Philarchus.
 Philastrius Brixienfis.
 Philodorus.
 Philo Iudæus.
 Pirkmairus.
 Platina.
 Plato.
 Plinius.
 Plotinus.
 Plutarchus.
 Polydorus Virgilius.
 Pomcerium sermonum
 quadragesimalium.
 Pompanatius.
 Pontifcale.
 Ponziuibius.
 Porphyrius.
 Proclus.
 Propertius.
 Pfellus.
 Ptolomeus.

Pythagoras.
 Quintilianus.
 Rabbi Abraham.
 Rabbi ben Ezra.
 Rabbi Dauid Kimhi.
 Rabbi Iosuah ben Leui.
 Rabbi Iſaach Natar.
 Rabbi Leui.
 Rabbi Moſes.
 Rabbi Sedaias Haias.
 Robertus Carocullus.
 Rupertus.
 Sabinus.
 Sadoletus.
 Sauanorola.
 Scotus.
 Seneca.
 Septuaginta interpre-
 tes.
 Serapio.
 Socrates.
 Solinus.
 Speculum exemplo-
 rum.
 Strabo.
 Sulpitius Seuerus.
 Synesius.
 Tatianus.
 Tertullianus.
 Thomas Aquinas.
 Themistius.
 Theodoretus.
 Theodorus Bizantius.
 Theophrastus.
 Thucidides.
 Tibullus.
 Tremelius.
 Valerius Maximus.
 Varro.

Vegetius.
 Vincentius.
 Virgilius.
 Vitellius.
 Wierus.
 Xanthus historiogra-
 phus.

¶ These English.

B Arnabe Geoge.
 Beehiue of the Ro-
 mish church.
 Edward Deering.
 Geffrey Chaucer.
 Giles Alley.
 Gnimelf Maharba.
 Henrie Haward.
 John Bale.
 John Fox.
 John Malborne.
 John Record.
 Primer after Yorke
 vſe.
 Richard Gallis.
 Roger Bacon.
 Testament printed at
 Rhemes.
 T. E. a nameles author.
 467.
 Thomas Hilles.
 Thomas Lupton.
 Thomas Moore Knight.
 Thomas Phaer.
 T. R. a nameles author.
 393.
 William Lambard.
 W. W. a nameles au-
 thor. 542.



The

The discoverie of Witchcraft.

¶ *The first Booke.*

An impeachment of Witches power in me-
teors and elementarie bodies, tending to the re-
buke of such as attribute too much vnto them.

The first Chapter.



HE Fables of
Witchcraft haue ta-
ken so fast hold and
deepe root in the heart
of man, that fewe or
none can (nowadaies)
with patience indure
the hand and correcti-
on of God. For if any
aduersitie, græse, sick-
nesse, losse of children,
cozne, cattell, or liber-
tie happen vnto them;
by & by they reclaime
vpon witches. As

though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things ac-
cording to his will; punishing both iust and vniust with græse,
plagues, and afflictions in maner and forme as he thinketh good:
but that certeine old women here on earth, called witches,
must needs be the contriuers of all mens calamities, and as
though they themselves were innocents, and had deserved no
such punishments. Inso much as they sticke not to ride and go
to such, as either are iniuriousely feared witches, or else are
willing so to be accounted, seeking at their hands comfort and
remedie in time of their tribulation, contrarie to Gods will and
commandement in that behalfe, who bids vs resort to him in all

Matth. 11.

C. 1.

our

our necessities.

Such faithlesse people (I saie) are also perswaded, that neither haile nor snowe, thunder nor lightening, raine nor tempestuous winds come from the heauens at the commandement of God: but are raised by the cunning and power of witches and coniuers; insomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of wind is no sooner heard, but either they run to ring bells, or cry out to burne witches; or else burne consecrated things, hoping by the smoke thereof, to draine the diuell out of the aire, as though spirits could be strait awaie with such externall toies: howbeit, these are right enchantments, as Brencius affirmeth.

In concione.

^a Psal. 27.

^b Psal. 83.

^c Eccles. 43.

^d Luke 8.

Matth. 8.

^e Mark 4. 41

Luk. 8. 14.

^f Psal. 170.

^g Iob. 38. 22.

Eccles. 43.

^h Leuiti. 26.

verse. 3. 4.

ⁱ Psal. 78. 23.

^k Nahum. 1.

But certeinlie, it is neither a witch, nor diuell, but a glorious ^a God that maketh the thunder. I haue read in the scriptures, that God ^b maketh the blustering tempests and whirle winds: and I find that it is ^c the Lord that altogether dealeth with them, and that they ^d blowe according to his will. But let me see anie of them all ^e rebuke and still the sea in time of tempest, as Christ did; or raise the stormie wind, as ^f God did with his word; and I will beleue in them. Hath anie witch or coniuers, or anie creature entred into the ^g treasures of the snowe; or seene the secret places of the haile, which ^g God hath prepared against the daie of trouble, battell, and warre? I for my part also thinke with Iesus Sirach, that at Gods onelie commandement the snowe falleth; and that the wind bloweth according to his will, who onelie maketh all stormes to cease; and ^h who (if we keepe his ordinances) will send vs raine in due season, and make the land to bring forth hir increase, and the trees of the field to giue their fruit.

But little thinke our witchmongers, that the ⁱ Lord commandeth the clouds aboute, or openeth the doores of heauen, as Dauid affirmeth; or that the Lord goeth forth in the tempests and stormes, as the Prophet ^k Nahum reporteth: but rather that witches and coniuers are then about their businesse.

The Martionists acknowledged one God the authour of good things, and another the ordeiner of euill: but these make the diuell a whole god, to create things of nothing, to knowe mens cogitations, and to do that which God neuer did; as, to transubstantiate men into beastes, &c. Which thing if diuels could do,

pet

yet followeth it not, that witches haue such power. But if all the diuels in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burnt or hanged; I warrant you we should not faile to haue raine, haile and tempests, as now we haue: according to the appointment and will of God, and according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherein God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order.

I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, coniurers: we should not haue a drop of raine, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them. For¹ the Lord hath bound the waters in the clouds, and hath set bounds about the waters, untill the daie and night come to an end: yea it is God that raiseth the winds and stilleth them: and he saith to the raine and snowe, Be vpon the earth, and it falleth. The^m wind of the Lord, and not the wind of witches, shall destroy the treasures of their pleasant vessels, and dye by the fountaines; saith Oseas. Let vs also learne and confesse with the Prophet Dauid, that weⁿ our selues are the causes of our afflictions; and not exclaime vpon witches, when we should call vpon God for mercie.

The Imperiall lawe (saith Brentius) condemneth them to death that trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (saith he) that it is neither in the power of witch nor diuell so to doe, but in God onelie. Though (besides Bodin, and all the popish writers in generall) it please Danæus, Hyperius, Hemingius, Erasmus, &c. to conclude otherwise. The clouds^o are called the pillars of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pavillions. And if it be so, what witch or diuell can make maisteries therof? S. Augustine saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis seruire hanc rerum visibilium materiam, sed soli Deo:* We must not thinke that these visible things are at the commandment of the angels that sell, but are obedient to the onelie God.

Finallie, if witches could accomplish these things; what needed it seeme so strange to the people, when Christ by miracle^p commanded both seas and winds, &c. For it is written; Who is this: for both wind and sea obeye him.

¹Iob. 26, 8.

Iob. 37.

Psalme 135.

Ier. 10 & 15.

^mOse. 13.

^aPla. 39, &c.

In epist. ad

Io. Wicrum.

^oExod. 13.

Isai. 66.

Pf. 18, 11, 19.

^aAugust. 3. de

sancta Trinit.

^pMar. 4. 41.

The inconuenience growing by mens credulitie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceiued opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof.

The second Chapter.



Ut the world is now so bewitched and ouer-run with this fond error, that euen where a man shuld seeke comfort and counsell, there shall hee be sent (in case of necessitie) from God to the diuell; and from the Physician, to the cosening witch, who will not sticke to take vpon hir, by wordes to heale the lame (which was proper onelie to Christ; and to them whom he assisted with his diuine power) yea, with hir familiar & charmes she will take vpon hir to cure the blind: though in the 2^d tenth of S. Iohns Gospell it be written, that the diuell cannot open the eyes of the blind. And they attaine such credit, as I haue heard (to my græse) some of the minissterie affirme, that they haue had in their parish at one instant, xviij. or xvij. witches: meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturallie. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelitie and ignorance, in conceiuing Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselues might vnderstand, and also teach their parishoners, that ^b God onelie worketh great wonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: according to the saieing of the Prophet Haggai, ^c I smote you with blasting and mildeaw, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you turned not vnto me, saith the Lord. And therefore saith the same Prophet in another place; ^d You haue sown much, and bring in little. And both in ^e Ioele and ^f Leuiticus, the like phrases and proofes are vsed and made. But more shalbe said of this hereafter.

S. Paule fore-saw the blindness and obstinacie, both of these blind shepheards, and also of their scabbed sheepe, when he said;

They

^a Ioh. 10. 21.
^b Psal. 72. &
136.
Ieremie. 5.

^c Hag. 2. 28.

^d Idem. cap. 1
6.

^e Ioele. 1.

^f Leuitici. 26.

They will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but hauing their eares itching, shall get them a heape of teachers after their owne lusts; and shall turne their eares from the truth, and shall be giuen to fables. And^h in the latter time some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue heed to spirits of errors, and doctrines of diuels, which speake lies (as witches and coniuerses doe) but cast thou awaie such prophane and old times fables. In which sense Basil saith; Who so giueth heed to inchanters, hearkeneth to a fabulous and fruitles thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not onelie *Oculus testis*, but haue examined the cause, and am to iustifie the truth of my report: not because I would disgrace the ministers that are gobbles, but to confirme my former assertion, that this absurd error is growne into the place, which should be able to expell all such ridiculous follie and impietie.

2. Tim. 4.

34.

1. Tim. 4.1

At the assises holden at Rochester, Anno 1581. one Margaret Simons, the wife of Iohn Simons, of Brenchlie in Kent, was arraigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of diuers fond and malicious persons; and speciallie by the meanes of one Iohn Ferrall vicar of that parish: with whom I talked about that matter, and found him both fondlie assorted in the cause, and enuiouslie bent towards hir: and (which is worse) as vnable to make a good account of his faith, as she whom he accused. That which he, for his part, laid to the poore womans charge, was this.

A storie of
Margaret
Simons, a
supposed
witch.

His sonne (being an vngratious boie, and prentise to one Robert Scotchford clothier, dwelling in that parish of Brenchlie) passed on a daie by hir house; at whome by chance hir little dog barked. Which thing the boie taking in euill part, drew his knife, & pursued him therewith euen to hir doore: whom she rebuked with some such words as she boie disdaind, & yet neuertheless would not be perswaded to depart in a long time. At the last he returned to his maisters house, and within fife or sixe daies fell sicke. Then was called to mind the fraie betwixt the dog and the boie: insomuch as the vicar (who thought himselfe so privileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sicknes) did so calculate; as he found, partlie through his owne iudgement, and partlie (as he himselfe told me)

me) by the relation of other witches, that his said sonne was by hir bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this his sonne (being as it were past all cure) receiued perfect health at the hands of another witch.

He proceeded yet further against hir, affirming, that alwaies in his parish church, when he desired to read most plainelie, his voice so failed him, as he could scant be heard at all. Which hee could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to hir enchantment. When I aduertised the poore woman hereof, as being desirous to heare what she could saie for hir selfe; she told me, that in verie deed his voice did much faile him, speciallie when he strained himselfe to speake lowdest. Howbeit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and lowe: which thing I perceiued to be true. But sir, said she, you shall vnderstand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarsenesse, as diuers of our neighbors in this parish, not long since, doubted that he had the French pox; & in that respect utterly refused to communicate with him: vntill such time as (being therunto intoined by M. D. Lewen the M^d dinarie) he had brought fro London a certificat, vnder the hands of two physicians, that his hoarsenes proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificat he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation: and by this meanes hee was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I knowe to be true by the relation of diuers honest men of that parish. And truelie, if one of the Iurie had not bene wiser than the other, she had bene condemned therevpon, and vpon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and hir power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest bodie living chance to be arraigned thervpon, she shall hardly escape condemnation.

Who

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that moueth men so commonlie to thinke, and witches themselves to beleeue that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations : and of coosening witches.

The third Chapter.



The sort of such as are said to be witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-fied, pale, fetole, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as knowe no religion: in whose drouisie minds the diuell hath gotten a fine seat; so as, what mischæse, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie perswaded the same is done by themselves; imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, shewing melancholie in their faces, to the horroz of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, diuelish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits; so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoener shall onelie haue respect to the constancie of their words vttered, would easilie beleeue they were true indeed.

*Carden.de
var.feruor.*

These miserable wretches are so odious vnto all their neighbours, and so feared, as few dare offend them, or denie them anie thing they aske: whereby they take vpon them; yea, and sometimes thinke, that they can do such things as are beyond the abilitye of humane nature. These go from house to house, and from doore to doore for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such relesse; without the which they could hardlie liue: neither obtaining for their seruice and paines, nor by their art, nor yet at the diuels hands (with whome they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beantie, monie, promotion, welth, worship, pleasure, honoz, knowledge, learning, or anie other benefit whatsoeuer.

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or serued, in those places where they beg or borrow; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbours reprovued. And further, in tract of time the witch wareth odious and tedious to hir neighbours; and they againe are despised and despited of hir: so as sometimes she curseth one, and sometimes another; and that from the maister of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they haue all displeased hir, and she hath withed euill lucke vnto them all; perhaps with curses and imprecations made in forme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of hir neighbours die, or fall sicke; or some of their children are visited with diseases that ber them strangelie: as apoplexies, epilepsies, conuulsions, hot feuers, wormes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are confirmed and maintained by unskilfull physicians: according to the common saying; *Inscitiae pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and inchantment is the cloke of ignorance: whereas indeed euill humors, & not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, by on whom such aduersities fall, weighing the same that goeth by on this woman (hir words, displeasure, and curses meeting so iustlie with their misfortune) do not onelie conceiue, but also are resolved, that all their mishaps are brought to passe by hir onelie meanes.

J. Bodin. li. 1.
de demonio:
cap. 3.

The witch on the other side expecting hir neighbours mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to hir wishes, curses, and incantations (for Bodin himselfe confesseth, that not aboue two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Justice, by due examination of the circumstances is diuened to see hir imprecations and desires, and hir neighbours harmes and losses to concurre, and as it were to take effect: and so confesseth that she (as a goddess) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not onelie she, but the accuser, and also the Justice are folie deceived and abused; as being thorough hir confession and other circumstances perswaded (to the iniurie of Gods glorie) that she hath done, or can do that which is

ts proper onelie to God himselſe.

Another ſort of witches there are, which be abſolutelie coſe-
ners. Theſe take vpon them, either for glosie, fame, or gaine, to
do anie thing, which God or the diuell can do: either for forget-
ting of things to come, bewraing of ſecrets, curing of maladies,
or working of miracles. But of theſe I will talke more at large
hereafter.

What miraculous actions are imputed to witches
by witchmongers, papists, and poets.

The fourth Chapter.



Although it be quite againſt the
haire, and contrarie to the diuels will,
contrarie to the witches oth, promiſe, and
homage, and contrarie to all reaſon, that
witches ſhould helpe anie thing that is be-
witched; but rather ſet forward their mai-
ſters buſineſſe: yet we read in *malleo ma-*
leficarum, of three ſorts of witches; and the

Mal. Malef.
par. 2. queſt.
1. cap. 2.

ſame is affirmed by all the writers herevpon, new and old. One
ſort (they ſay) can hurt and not helpe, the ſecond can helpe and not
hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. And among the hurtfull
witches he ſaith there is one ſort more beaſtly than any kind
of beaſts, ſaving wolues: for theſe vſuallie deuoure and eat yong
children and infants of their owne kind. Theſe be they (ſaith he)
that raiſe haile, tempeſts, and hurtfull weather; as lightening,
thunder, &c. Theſe be they that procure barrenneſſe in man, wo-
man, and beaſt. Theſe can throw children into waters, as they
walke with their mothers, and not be ſene. Theſe can make
horſes kicke, till they caſt the riders. Theſe can paſſe from place
to place in the aire inuiſible. Theſe can ſo alter the mind of in-
dges, that they can haue no power to hurt them. Theſe can pro-
cure to themſelues and to others, taciturnitie and inſenſibilitie
in their torments. Theſe can bring trembling to the hands, and
ſtrike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. Theſe
can manifeſt vnto others, things hidden and loſt, and forgetto
things

things to come ; and see them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds to inordinate loue or hate. These can kill whom they list with lightening and thunder. These can take away mans courage, and the power of generation. These can make a woman miscarrie in childbirth, and destroy the child in the mothers wombe, without any sensible meanes either inwardlie or outwardlie applied. These can with their looks kill either man or beast.

All these things are avowed by Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor *In mallo maleficarum*, to be true, & confirmed by Nider, and the inquisitor Cumanus; and also by Danæus, Hyperius, Hemingius, and multiplied by Bodinus, and frier Bartholomæus Spineus. But because I will in no wise abridge the authoritie of their power, you shall haue also the testimonies of manie other graue authors in this behalfe; as followeth.

* And first Ouid affirmeth, that they can raise and suppress lightening and thunder, raine and haile, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others doe write, that they can pull downe the mone and the starres. Some write that with wishing they can send needles into the liuers of their enemies. Some that they can transference coyne in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturallie, sicke in the aire, and dance with diuels. Some write, that they can plae the part of Succubus, and contract themselves to Incubus; and so yong prophets are vpon them begotten, &c. Some saie they can transubstantiate themselves and others, and take the forms and shapes of asses, wolues, ferrets, colvers, apes, horses, dogs, &c. Some say they can keepe diuels and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

They can raise spirits (as others affirme) drie by springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at atoger holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and vnder the tempestuous seas. They can go inuisible, and deprive men of their priuities, and otherwise of the act and vse of veneric. They can bring soules out of the graues. They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes. But in this case a man may saie, that *Miranda canum*

sed

* Ouid lib.
metamor-
phoseon 7.
Danæus in
dialog.
Pselius in o-
peratione
dem.
Virg. in Da-
mone.
Hors. epod. 5.
Tibul. de sa-
scimar. lib. 1.
eleg. 2.
Ouid. epist. 4
Lex. 12. Ta-
bularum.
Mal. Malef.
Lucã. de bel-
lociui. lib. 6.
Virg. eclog. 8
Ouid. de ve-
medio amo-
ris lib. 1.
Hyperius.
Erastus.
Rich. Gd. in
his horrible
treasise.
Hemingius.
Bar. Spineus.
Bry. Darcy
Confessio
Windefor.
Virgil. Ae-

sed non credenda Poeta. They can also bring to passe, that chearne as long as you list, your butter will not come; especiallye, if either the maids haue eaten by the cream; or the goodwife haue sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I haue had some triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to binder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a little sops of sugar into your chearne of cream, and there will neuer come anie butter, chearne as long as you list. But M. Mal. saith, that there is not so little a village, where manie women are not that bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and drie by the milke: alledging for the strengthening of that assertion, the saing of the Apostle, *Mal. malef. par. 2. quest. 1. cap. 14.* 1. Cor. 9, 2. *Nunquid Deo cura est de bobus?* Doth God take anie care of oren:

A confutation of the common conceiued opinion of witches and witchcraft, and how detestable a sinne it is to repaire to them for counsell or helpe in time of affliction.

The fift Chapter.

UT whatsoever is reported of conceiued of such maner of witchcrafts, I dare auow to be false and fabulous (costnage, dotage, and poisoning excepted:) neither is there any mention made of these kind of witches in the Bible. If Christ had knowne them, he would not haue pretermitted to inuade against their presumption, in taking vpon them his office: as, to heale and cure diseases; and to worke such miraculous and supernaturall things, as whereby he himselfe was speciallie knowne, beloued, and published to be God; his actions and cures consisting (in order and effect) according to the power by our witchmongers imputed to witches. Nowbeit, if there be any in these daies afflicted in such strange sort, as Christs cures and patients are described in the new testament to haue bene: we shie from trusting in God to trusting in witches, who do not onelie in their cōsening art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but vse his verie phrase of speech to such idolaters, as com to seeke diuine assistance

John. 5. 6.
Mark. 5. 34.

assistance at their hands, saing; Go thy waies, thy sonne or thy daughter, &c. shall doe well, and be whole.

It will not suffice to dissuade a witchmonger from his credulitie, that he seeth the sequele and event to fall out manie times contrarie to their assertion; but in such case (to his greater condemnation) he seeketh further to witches of greater fame. If all faile, he will rather thinke he came an houre too late; than that he went a mile too far. Trulie I for my part cannot perceiue what is to go a whozing after strange gods, if this be not. He that looketh vpon his neighbors wife, and lusteth after hir, hath committed adulterie. And trulie, he that in hart and by argument mainteineth the sacrifice of the masse to be propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, is an idolater; as also he that alloweth and commendeth creeping to the crosse, and such like idolatrous actions, although he bend not his corporall knees.

To go to
witches, &c.
is idolatric.

In like maner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such diuine power, as dulie and onelie apperteineth vnto GOD (which all witchmongers doe) is in hart a blasphemour, an idolater, and full of grosse impietie, although he neither go nor send to hir for assistance.

A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by inuincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulitie.

The sixt Chapter.

If witches could doe anie such miraculous things, as these and other which are imputed to them, they might doe them againe and againe, at anie time or place, or at anie mans desire: for the diuell is as strong at one time as at another, as busie by daie as by night, and readie enough to doe all mischeefe, and careth not whom he abuseth. And in so much as it is confessed, by the most part of witchmongers themselues, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he should (me thinks) sometimes appeere vnto

unto honest and credible persons, in such grosse and coꝛpoꝛall foꝛme, as it is said he dooth unto witches : which you shall neuer heare to be iustified by one sufficient witnesse. Foꝛ the diuell indēd entrench into the mind, and that waie seeketh mans confusion.

The art alwaies presupposeth the power; so as, if they saie they can do this oꝛ that, they must shew how and by what meanes they do it; as neither the witches, noꝛ the witchmongers are able to do. Foꝛ to enerie action is required the facultie and abilitie of the agent oꝛ doer; the aptnes of the patient oꝛ subiect; and a convenient and possible application. Now the witches are moꝛtall, and their power dependeth vpon the analogie and consonancie of their minds and bodies; but with their minds they can but will and vnderstand; and with their bodies they can do no moze, but as the bounds and ends of terrene sense will suffer: and therefore their power extendeth not to do such miracles, as surmounteth their owne sense, and the vnderstanding of others which are wiser than they; so as here wanteth the vertue and power of the efficient. And in reason, there can be no moze vertue in the thing caused, than in the cause, oꝛ that which proceedeth of oꝛ from the benefit of the cause. And we see, that ignorant and impotent women, oꝛ witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes; wherein we shall perceiue there is none effect, if we will credit our owne experience and sense vnabused, the rules of philosophie, oꝛ the word of God. Foꝛ alas! What an vnapt instrument is a toothles, old, impotent, and vnweldie woman to flie in the ater: Truelie, the diuell little needs such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

It is strange, that we shewio suppose, that such persons can worke such seates: and it is moze strange, that we will imagine that to be possible to be done by a witch, which to nature and sense is impossible; specially when our neighbours life dependeth vpon our credulitie therein; and when we may see the defect of abilitie, which alwaies is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And because there is nothing possible in lawe, that in nature is impossible; therefore the iudge dooth not attend oꝛ regard what the accused man saith; oꝛ yet would do; but what is proued to haue bene committed, and naturallie

As only power, but the group of persons, presupposes in every act

Aristos. de anima lib. 2. Actis. 8.

Why should not the diuell be as readie to helpe a theefe reallie as a witch?

L. multum. I. si quis alius, vel sibi.

turallie falleth in mans power and will to do. For the lawe saith, that To will a thing impossible, is a signe of a mad man, or of a foole, vpon whom no sentence or iudgement taketh hold. Furthermore, what Iurie will condemne, or what Iudge will giue sentence or iudgement against one for killing a man at Berwicke; when they themselves, and manie other saue that man at London, that verie daie, wherein the murther was committed; yea though the partie confesse himselfe guiltie therein, and twentie witnessses depose the same: But in this case also I saie the iudge is not to weigh their testimonie, which is weakened by lawe; and the iudges authoritie is to supplie the imperfection of the case, and to mainteine the right and equitie of the same.

An obiection
answered.

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturallie be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bring; let not vs that professe the Gospell and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to beleue that they do such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they saie it is done through the diuels helpe, who can worke miracles; whie do not theues bring their busines to passe miraculoussie, with whom the diuell is as conuersant as with the other? Such mischæses as are imputed to witches, happen where no witches are; yea and continue when witches are hanged and burnt: whie then should we attribute such effect to that cause, which being taken awaie, happeneth neuertheless?

By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, and how diuerllie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions.

The seuenth Chapter.



Miracles
are ceased.

Urelie the naturall power of man or woman cannot be so enlarged, as to do anie thing beyond the power and vertue given and ingrafted by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraued by the diuell: neither doth God permit anie more, than that which the naturall order appointed by him

him doth require. Which naturall order is nothing else, but the ordinarie powrer of God, powred into euerie creature, according to his state and condition. But hereof more shall be said in the title of witches confessions. Notwithstanding you shall vnderstand, that few or none are thoroughlie perswaded, resolved, or satisfied, that witches can indeed accomplish all these impossibilities: but some one is bewitched in one point, and some is cosened in another, vntill in fine, all these impossibilities, and manie mo, are by seuerall persons affirmed to be true.

And this I haue also noted, that when anie one is cosened with a cosening toie of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordinglie, verifieng a matter most impossible and false as it were vpon his owne knowledge, as being ouertaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right enchantments) euen the selfe same man will deride the like lie proceeding out of another mans mouth, as a fabulous matter vnto the of credit. It is also to be wondered, how men (that haue seen some part of witches cosenages detected, and see also therein the impossibilitie of their owne presumptions, & the follie and falsehood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remaine unsatisfied, or rather obstinatelie defend the residue of witches supernaturall actions: like as when a juggler hath discovered the slight and illusion of his principall feats, one would fondlie continue to thinke, that his other petie juggling knacks of legerdemaine are done by the helpe of a familiar: and according to the follie of some papists, who seeing and confessing the popes absurd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolatrie and superstition, speciallie in images, pardons, and reliques of saints, will yet perseuere to thinke, that the rest of his doctrine and trumperie is holie and good.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diuerse and inconstant.

Finallie, manie mainteine and crie out for the execution of witches, that particularlie beloue neuer a whit of that which is imputed vnto them; if they be therein priuatelie dealt withall, and substantiallie opposed and tried in argument.

Causes

Causes that mooue as well witches themselves as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine objections: where also their punishment by lawe is touched.

The eight Chapter.

*Card. de var.
rerum lib. 15.
cap. 80.*



Ardanus writeth, that the cause of such credulitie consisteth in three points; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholike, in the constancie of them that are corrupt there with, and in the deceit of the Judges; who being inquisitors themselves against heretikes and witches, did both accuse and condemne them, hauing for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquisitors added manie fables herevnto, least they should seeme to haue done iniurie to the poore wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offense. But sithe (saith he) the springing vp of Luthers sect, these priests haue tended more diligentlie vpon the execution of them; bicause more wealth is to be caught from them: insomuch as now they deale so loselie with witches (through distrust of gaires) that all is seene to be malice, follie, or avarice that hath bene practised against them. And whosoeuer shall search into this cause, or read the chiefe writers herevpon, shall find his words true.

An objection
on answered.

It will be objected, that we here in England are not notwithstanding by the popes lawes; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or conuicted by the inquisitors *Heretice prauitatis*. I answer, that in times past here in England, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath bene in force and vse; although now some part of old rigor be qualified by two severall statutes made in the fift of Elizabeth, and xxxiii of Henrie the eight. Nevertheless the estimation of the omnipotencie of their words and charmes seemeth in those statutes to be somewhat mainteined, as a matter hitherto generallie received; and not yet so looked into, as that it is refuted and decided. But how wiselie so euer the Parle-
ment

ment house hath dealt therein, or how mercifuller soeuer the prince beholdeth the cause: if a poore old woman, supposed to be a witch, be by the ciuill or canon lawe conuicted; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not onelie to giue scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices vpon hir. And most certaine it is, that in what point soeuer anie of these extremities, which I shall rehearse vnto you, be mitigated, it is thorough the goodnesse of the Quenes Maiestie, and hir excellent magistrates placed among vs. For as touching the opinion of our wryters therein in our age; yea in our owne countrie, you shall see it doth not onlie agree with forren crueltie, but surmounteth it farre. If you read a foliish pamphlet dedicated to the lord Darcy, by W. W. 1582. you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudentlie exclaimeth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murderers, & such malefactors be so vsed, which deserue not the hundredth part of their punishments. But if you will see more folie and lewdnes comprised in one lewd booke, I commend you to Ri. Ga. a Windsor man; who being a mad man hath wrytten according to his frantike humor: the reading wherof may satisfie a wise man, how mad all these witchmongers dealings be in this behalfe.

W. W. his
booke printed in
Anno Dom.
1582.

A conclusion of the first booke, wherein is fore-shewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same.

The ninth Chapter.



Ad bicause it may appeare vnto the world what trecherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreme and intollerable tyrannie, what grosse and fond absurdities, what vnnaturall & vnciuill discourtesie, what cancred and spitefull malice, what outragions and barbarous crueltie, what lewd and false packing, what cunning and craftie intercepting, what bald and perniuous interpretations,

D. J.

pretations, what abhominable and diuelish inuentions, and what flat and plaine knauerie is practised against these old women; I will set downe the whole order of the inquisition, to the euerlasting, inexcusable, and apparent shame of all witchmongers. Neither will I insert anie priuate or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either denie to be vsuall, or iustlie call in question; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commensment of poperie, established by lawes, practised by inquisitors, priuiledged by princes, commended by doctors, confirmed by popes, counsels, decrees, and canons; and finallie be left of all witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I praye you therefore, though it be tedious & intollerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) so heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters given in evidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatores, confutations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, deuised and practised vsuallie against them.



The second Booke,

What testimonies and witnesses are allowed to giue euidence against reputed witches, by the report & allowance of the inquisitors themselves, and such as are speciall writers heerein.

The first Chapter.



Uncommunicat persons, Mal. Malef. quest. 5. pa. 3. I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 2. de demon. partakers of the salt, infants, wicked seruants, and runnauaies are to be admitted to beare witness against their dames in this mater of witchcraft: bicause (saith Bodin the champion of witchmongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Heretikes also and witches shall be receiued to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finallie, the Arch. in C. al. le. accusatus. in S. l. super. verba. testimonie of all infamous

persons in this case is good and allowed. I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 1. de demon. Yea, one lewd person (saith Bodin) may be receiued to accuse and condemne a thousand suspected witches. And although by lawe, a capitall enimie may be challenged; yet Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, Mal. malef. quest. 56. pa. 3. & que. 5. part. 3. (from whom Bodin, and all the writers that euer I haue read, doe receiue their light, authorities and arguments) saie (vpon this point of lawe) that The poore frendlesse old woman must proue, that hir capitall enimie would haue killed hir, and that hee hath both assailed & wounded hir; otherwise she pleadeth all in vaine. Ibidem. If the iudge aske hir, whether she haue anie capitall enimies; and she rehearse other, and forget hir accuser; or else answer that he was hir capitall enimie, but now she hopeth he is not so: such a one is neuertheles admitted for a witnes. And though by Quest. 7. art. 3. lawe, single witnesses are not admittable; yet if one depose she

D. g,

hath

hath belwitched hir colw; another, hir soſw; and the third, hir but-
ter: these saith (saith M. Mal. and Bodin) are no single witnesses;
because they agree that the is a witch.

The order of examination of witches
by the inquisitors.

The second Chapter.

The Scot-
tish custome
of accusing
a witch.

Women suspected to be witches,
after their apprehension may not be suffe-
red to go home, or to other places, to seek
suerties: for then (saith Bodin) the people
would be tooſe willing to accuse them;
for feare least at their returne home, they
worke reuenge vpon them. In which res-
pect Bodin commendeth much the Scot-
tish custome and order in this behalfe: where (he saith) a hollowe
peece of wood or a chest is placed in the church, into the which anie
bodie may freelic cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be con-
teined the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And
the same chest being locked with three seuerall locks, is opened
euerie fiftieth daie by three inquisitors or officers appointed for
that purpose; which keepe three seuerall keyes. And thus the ac-
cuser need not be knowne, nor shamed with the reproch of slander
or malice to his poore neighbour.

Item, there must be great persuaſions used to all men, wo-
men, and children, to accuse old women of witchcraft.

Item, there may alwaies be promised impunitie and fauour
to witches, that confesse and detect others; and for the contrarie,
there may be threatnings and violence practised and used.

Item, the little children of witches, which will not confesse,
must be attached; who (if they be crassilie handled saith Bodin)
will confesse against their owne mothers.

Item, witches must be examined as suddenlie, and as vna-
wares as is possible: the which will so amaze them, that they will
confesse any thing, supposing the diuell hath forsaken them; where-
as if they should first be committed to prison, the diuell would tem-
per

Examinations. of Witchcraft. Cap.2. 21

per with them, and informe them what to do.

Item, the inquisitor, iudge, or examiner, must begin with small matters first.

Item, they must be examined, whether their parents were witches or no: for witches (as these Doctors suppose) come by propagation. And Bodin setteth downe this principle in witchcraft, to wit, *Si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia*: howbeit the lawe forbiddeth it, *Ob sanguinis reuerentiam.*

I. Bod. lib. de demon. 4. cap. 4.

L. parentes de testibus.

Item, the examiner must looke stedfastlie vpon their eyes: for they cannot looke directlie vpon a mans face (as Bodin affirmeth in one place, although in another he saith, that they kill and destroye both men and beasts with their lookes.)

Item, he must be examined of all accusations, presumptions, and faulcs, at one instant; least sathan should afterwards dissuade him from confession.

Item, a witch may not be put in prison alone, least the diuell dissuade him from confession, through promises of his indemnitie. For (saith Bodin) some that haue bene in the gaole haue proued to lie awaie, as they were wont to do when they met with Diana and Minerva, &c: and so brake their owne necks against the stone walles.

Item, if anie denie his owne confession made without torture, he is neuerthelesse by that confession to be condemned, as in anie other crime.

Item, the iudges must seeme to put on a pittifull countenance and to mone them; saying, that It was not they, but the diuell that committed the murther, and that he compelled them to do it; and must make them beleue that they thinke them to be innocents.

Item, if they will confesse nothing but vpon the racke or torture; their apparrell must be changed, and euerie haire in their bodie must be shauen off with a sharpe razor.

Item, if they haue charmes for taciturnitie, so as they feele not the common tortures, and therefore confesse nothing: then some sharpe instrument must thrust betwixt euerie naile of their fingers and toes: which (as Bodin saith) was King Childeberts deuise, and is to this daie of all others the most effectuell. For by meanes of that extreme paine, they will (saith he) confesse anie thing.

K. Childeberts cruell deuise.

thing.

P. Grillan-
dus.

Item, Paulus Grillandus, being an old dwer in these matters, wisheth that when witches sleepe, and feele no paine vpon the torture, *Domine labia mea aperies* should be said, and so (saith he) both the toiments will be felt, and the truth will be vttered: *Et sic ars deludatur arte.*

A subtil
and diue-
lish deuise.

Item, Bodin saith, that at the time of examination, there should be a semblance of great a dow, to the terrifieng of the witch: and that a number of instruments, gieues, manacles, ropes, halters, fetters, &c. be prepared, brought forth, and laid before the examinee: and also that some be procured to make a most horrible and lamentable crie, in the place of torture, as though he or she were vpon the racke, or in the tormentors hands: so as the examinee may heare it whiles she is examined, before she hir selfe be brought into the prison; and perhaps (saith he) she will by this meanes confesse the matter.

Item, there must be suborned some craftie spie, that may seme to be a prisoner with hir in the like case; who perhaps may in conference vndermine hir, and so belwaie and discouer hir.

Item, if she will not yet confesse, she must be told that she is detected, and accused by other of hir companions; although in truth there be no such matter: and so perhaps she will confesse, the rather to be reuenged vpon hir aduersaries and accusers.

Matters of evidence against
witches.

The third Chapter.

If an old woman threaten or touch one being in health, who dieth shortly after; or else is infected with the leprosie, apoplexie, or anie other strange disease: it is (saith Bodin) a permanent fact, and such an evidence, as condemnation or death must insue, without further proofe; if anie bodie haue mistrusted hir, or said before that she was a witch.

Item,

Item, if anie come in, or depart out of the chamber or house, the doores being shut; it is an apparent and sufficient evidence to a witches condemnation, without further triall: which thing Bodin neuer saue. If he can shew me that feat, I will subscribe to his follie. For Christ after his resurrection vled the same: not as a ridiculous toie, that euerie witch might accomplish; but as a speciall miracle, to strengthen the faith of the elect.

Item, if a woman be witch anie bodie dies, she is to be executed without further proofe.

Item, if anie inchant or bewitch mens beafts, or coorne, or flie in the aire, or make a dog speake, or cut off anie mans members, and vnite them againe to men or childrens bodies; it is sufficient proofe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and coniectures are sufficient proofes against witches.

Item, if three witnesses doe but saie, Such a woman is a witch; then is it a cleere case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter Bodin saith is not onelie certaine by the canon and ciuill lawes, but by the opinion of pope Innocent, the wisest pope (as he saith) that euer was. *B. r. Spineus.
Et I. Bod. de
demon. lib. 2.
cap. 2.*

Item, the complaint of anie one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poore woman to the racke or pulle.

Item, a condemned or infamous persons testimonie is good and allowable in matters of witchcraft. *Alexander.
I. ubi nume-
rus de testi-
bus.
I. Bod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 2.*

Item, a witch is not to be deliuered, though she endure all the tortures, and confesse nothing; as all other are in anie criminall cases.

Item, though in other cases the depositions of manie women at one instant are disabled, as insufficient in lawe; bicause of the imbecillitie and frailtie of their nature or sex: yet in this matter, one woman, though she be a partie, either accuser or accused, and be also infamous and inipudent (for such are Bodins words) yea and already condemned; she may neuertheless serue to accuse and condemne a witch.

Item, a witness vnited, and offering himselfe in this case is to be heard, and in none other.

Item, a capitall enemie (if the enimitie be pretended to growe by meanes of witchcraft) may obiekt against a witch; and none
D. iij. exception

*Par. in L.
postlegatum.
9. his, de iis
quibus vs
indig.
Alex. cap. 72.
L. 2. c. c.*

In his foo-
lish pam-
phlet of the
execution
of Windsor
watches.

exception is to be had o; made against him.

Item, although the profe of periurie may put backe a witnesse in all other causes; yet in this, a periured person is a good and lawfull witnesse.

Item, the proctozs and aduocats in this case are compelled to be witnesses against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constrained therevnto.

Item, none can giue euidence against witches, touching their assemblies, but witches onelie: bicause (as Bodin saith) none o; ther can do it. Howbeit, Ri. Ga. writeth, that he came to the God sped, and with his sword and buckler killed the diuell; o; at the least he wounded him so sore, that he made him sinke of brimstone.

Item, Bodin saith, that bicause this is an extrao;dinarie mat; ter; there must herein be extrao;dinarie dealing: and all maner of waies are to be vsed, direct and indirect.

Confessions of witches, whereby they
are condemned.

The fourth Chapter.

*I. Bod. lib. 4.
cap. 3.*

Is there a-
nie proba-
bilitie that
such would
continue
witches?
Idem Ibid.

*Joan. An. ad
specular. iij.
de iis con-
uict. par. 2.*

*I. non alie-
rum eodem.*



Some witches confesse (saith Bo-
din) that are desirous to die; not so; glorie,
but so; despaire: bicause they are tormen-
ted in their life time. But these may not
be spared (saith he) although the lawe doth
excuse them.

The best and surest confession is at
Christ, to hir ghoslie father.

Item, if she confesse manie things that are false, and one thing
that may be true; she is to be taken and executed vpon that con-
fession.

Item, she is not so guiltie that confelleth a falshood o; lie, and
denieth a truth; as she that answereth by circumstance.

Item, an equiuocall o; doubtfull answer is taken so; a confes-
sion against a witch.

Item,

Presumptions. of Witchcraft. Cap.4.5. 25

Item, Bodin reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather by into the aire, and was transported manie miles to the fairies danse, onelie bicause he would spee vnto what place his wife went to haggng, and how she behaued hir selfe. Where vpon was much a doo among the inquisitors and lawpers, to discusse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, bicause he betwraied not his wife: the which he forbare to doo, *Propter reuerentiam honoris & familie.*

Item, if a woman confesse freely herein, before question be made; and yet afterward denie it: she is neuerthelesse to be burned.

Item, they affirme that this extremitie is herein vsed, bicause not one among a thousand witches is detected. And yet it is affirmed by Sprenger, in M. Mal. that there is not so little a parill, but there are manie witches knowne to be therein.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

The fift Chapter.

If anie womans child chance to die at hir hand, so as no bodie knoweth how; it may not be thought or presumed that the mother killed it, except she be supposed a witch: and in that case it is otherwise, for she must vpon that presumption be executed; except she can proue the negatiue or contrarie.

Item, if the child of a woman that is suspected to be a witch, be lacking or gone from hir; it is to be presumed, that she hath sacrificed it to the diuell: except she can proue the negatiue or contrarie.

Item, though in other persons, certeine points of their confessions may be thought erronious, and imputed to error: yet in witches causes) all ouersights, imperfections, and escapes must be

be adiudged impious and malicious, and tend to hir confusion and condemnation.

Item, though a theefe be not said in lawe to be infamous in any other matter than in theft; yet a witch defamed of witchcraft is said to be defiled with all maner of faults and infamies brierly sallie, though she were not condemned; but (as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (saith Bodin) to condemne a witch.

*I. Bod. de de-
monio lib. 4.
cap. 4.*

Item, if any man, woman, or child doe saie, that such a one is a witch; it is a most vehement suspicion (saith Bodin) and sufficient to bring hir to the racke: though in all other cases it be deceitlie against lawe.

*I. de cessionē
de penis.*

Panorm. c.

Felin. in c.

veniens. l.

de resub. par-

si. causa. 15. 4.

Lib. 4. nume-

ro 12. v. q.

a 18.

Item, in presumptions and suspicions against a witch, the common bruite or voice of the people cannot erre.

Item if a woman, when she is apprehended, crye out, or saie; I am vndone; Saue my life; I will tell you how the matter standeth, &c: she is there vpon most vehementlie to be suspected and condemned to die.

Item, though a coniurer be not to be condemned for curing the diseased by vertue of his art: yet must a witch die for the like case.

Item, the behaviour, looks, becks, and countenance of a woman, are sufficient signes, whereby to presume she is a witch: for alwaies they looke downe to the ground, and dare not looke a man full in the face.

Item, if their parents were thought to be witches, then is it certaine to be presumed that they are so: but it is not so to be thought of whores.

Item, it is a vehement presumption if she cannot weepe, at the time of hir examination: and yet Bodin saith, that a witch may shed three drops out of hir right eye.

Item, it is not onelie a vehement suspicion, and presumption, but an euident prooue of a witch, if any man or beast die suddenlie where she hath bene scene lathelie; although hir witching stuffe be not found or espied.

Item, if any bodie vse familiaritie or companie with a witch conuicted; it is a sufficient presumption against that person to be adiudged a witch.

Item,

Interrogatories. of Witchcraft. Cap.6. 27

Item, that euidence that may serue to bring in any other person to examination, may serue to bring a witch to hir condemnation.

*L. s. de adulr.
S. gl. & Barr.
c. venerabilis
de electio. &
I. Bod. de de-
mono. lib. 4.
cap. 4.*

Item, herein iudgment must be pronounced & executed (as Bodin saith) without order, and not like to the orderlie proceeding and forme of iudgement in other crimes.

Item, a witch may not be brought to the torture suddenlie, or before long examination, least she go awaie scotfree: for they feele no torments, and therefore care not for the same (as Bodin affirmeth.)

Item, little children may be had to the torture at the first dash; *Idem Ibid.* but so may it not be done with old women: as is aforesaid.

Item, if she haue anie priuie marke vnder hir arme pokes, vnder hir haire, vnder hir lip, or in hir buttocke, or in hir priuities: it is a presumption sufficient for the iudge to proceed and giue sentence of death vpon hir.

The onlie pitie they shew to a poore woman in this case, is; that though she be accused to haue slaine anie bodie with hir incantments; yet if she can bring forth the partie aliuie, she shall not be put to death. Whereat I maruell, in as much as they can bring the diuell in any bodies likenesse and representation.

Item, their lawe saith, that an vncerteine presumption is sufficient, when a certeine presumption faileth.

*Cap. preterea
cum glos. ex-
tra. de test.
Panormi in
C. vener. col.
2. eodem, &c.*

Particular interrogatories yfed by the inquisitors
agairst witches.

The sixt Chapter.

Neede not staie to confute such parcial and horrible dealings, being so apparentlie impious, and full of tyrannie which except I should haue so manifestlie detected, euen with their owne writings and assertions, few or none would haue beleued. But for breuities sake I will passe ouer the same; supposing that the ci-
ting

ting of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient confutation thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more particular order and manner of examinations, &c: used by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

*Mal. malef.
super. inter-
rog.*

First the witch must be demanded, why she touched such a child, or such a cow, &c: and afterward the same child or cow fell sicke or lame, &c.

*tragad.
Mal. malef.
part. 3. quest.
15. act. 10.*

Item, why hir two kine giue more milke than hir neighbors. And the note before mentioned is here againe set downe, to be speciallie obserued of all men: to wit; that Though a witch cannot weepe, yet she may speake with a crieng voice. Which assertion of weeping is false, and contrarie to the saying of Seneca, Cato, and manie others; which affirme, that A woman weepeth when she meaneth most deceit: and therefore saith M. Mal. she must be well looked vnto, otherwise she will put spittle priuile upon hir cheeks, and seeme to weepe: which rule also Bodin saith is infallible. But alas that teares should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemne in so great a cause, and so weightie a triall!

*Num. 11. 4.
1. Sam. 11. 4.
2. Sa. 15. 23.
Mat. 8. & 13
& 22. & 24.
& 25.
Luk. 3. &c.*

I am sure that the worst sort of the children of Israel wept bitterly: yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept. Finally, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they weepe: for there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

*Seneca in
tragad.*

But God knoweth, many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in the heauines of hir heart shed teares; the which oftentimes are more readie and common with craftie queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of teares in a womans eie, the one of true græfe, the other of deceit. And it is written, that *Dediscere flere feminam est mendacium*: which argueth, that they lie which saie, that wicked women cannot weepe. But let these tormentors take heed, that the teares in this case which runne downe the widowes cheeks, with their crie spoken of by Iesus Sirach, be not heard aboue. But

Ecc. 35. 15.

lo what learned, godlie, and lawfull meanes these popish inquisitors haue inuented for the triall of true or false teares.

The inquisitors triall of weeping
by coniuration.

The seuenth Chapter.

TConiure thee by the amorous ^{Triall of}
teares, which Iesus Christ our Sauour ^{teares.}
shed vpon the crosse for the saluation of the
world; and by the most earnest and lur-
ning teares of his mother the most glori-
ous virgine Marie, sprinkled vpon his
wounds late in the euening; and by all
the teares, which euerie saint and elect
vessel of God hath poyzed out here in the world, and from whose
eyes he hath wiped alwaie all teares; that if thou be without fault,
thou maist poyze downe teares abundantlie; and if thou be
guiltie, that thou weepe in no wise: In the name of the father, of
the sonne, and of the holie ghost; Amen. And note (saith he) that *Mal. Maief.*
the more you coniure, the lesse the weepeth. *que. 15. pa. 3.*

Certaine cautions against witches, and of their tor-
tures to procure confession.

The eight Chapter.

Al to manifest their further fol-
lies, I will recite some of their cautions,
which are published by the ancient inquisi-
tors, for perpetuall lessons to their succe-
sors: as followeth.
The first caution is that, which was last
rehearsed concerning weeping; the which
(say they) is an infallible note.

Secondlie, the iudge must beware the touch no part of him, spe-
ciallie of his bare; and that he alwaies weare about his necke
coniured salt, palme, herbes, and ware halowed: which (say they) *Id. Sprenger.*
are not onelic approued to be good by the witches confessions; but *H. Inquisitor.*
also

also by the vse of the Romish church, which halloweth them onlie so: that purpose.

*Mal. Malef.
pd. 3. q. 4. 15.*

*Prolepsis or
Preuocupa-
tion,*

Item, the must come to hir arreiignment backward, to wit, with hir taile to the iudges face, who must make manie crosses, at the time of hir approaching to the barre. And least we should condemne that so: superstition, they pꝛeuent vs with a figure, and tell vs, that the same superstition may not seeme superstitious vnto vs. But this resembleth the perswasion of a theefe, that dissuadeth his sonne from stealing; and neuerthelesse telleth him that he may picke oꝛ cut a purse, and rob by the high waie.

Mal. Malef.

One other caution is, that she must be shauen, so as there remaine not one haire about hir: foꝛ sometimes they keepe secrets foꝛ taciturnitie, and foꝛ other purposes also in their haire, in their pꝛinities, and betwene their skinne and their flesh. Foꝛ which cause I maruell they flea them not: foꝛ one of their witches would not burne, being in the middest of the flame, as M. Mal. reporteth; vntill a charme wꝛitten in a little scroll was espied to be hidden betwene hir skin and flesh, and taken awaie. And this is so grauelie and faithfullie set downe by the inquisitoꝛs themselves, that one may beleue it if he list, though indeed it be a verelie. The like lie citeth Bodin, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, doe what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisitoꝛ Cumanus in one yeare did shauē one and fourtie poꝛe women, and burnt them all when he had done.

*Ioh. Bod.
Anno. 1485
a knaue in-
quisitor.*

*Q. 16. de
tempore &
modo inter-
rog.*

*Blasphemo-
us pope
Julie, of
that name
the third.*

Another caution is, that at the time and place of torture, the hallowed things aforesaid, with the seauen woꝛds spoken on the crosse, be hanged about the witches necke; and the length of Christ in ware be knit about hir bare naked bodie, with relikes of saints, &c. All which stufte (saie they) will so woꝛke within and vpon them, as when they are racked and tortured, they can hardly staie oꝛ hold themselves from confession. In which case I doubt not but that pope, which blasphemed Christ, and cursed his mother foꝛ a peacocke, and cursed God with great despights foꝛ a peece of porke, with lesse compulsion would haue renounced the trinitie, and haue worshipped the diuell vpon his knees.

Another caution is, that after she hath bene racked, and hath passed ouer all tortures deuised foꝛ that purpose; and after that she hath bene compelled to drinke holie water, she be conueied
againē

again to the place of torture : and that in the midst of hir torments, hir accusations be read vnto hir ; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face vnto hir : and finally, that she be asked, whether for triall of hir innocencie she will haue iudgement, *Candentis ferri*, which is, To carrie a certaine weight of burning iron in hir bare hand. But that may not (saie they) in anie wise be granted. For both M. Mal. and Bodin also affirme, that manie things may be promised, but nothing need be performed : for whie, they haue authoritie to promise, but no commission to performe the same.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. que. 16

Another caution is, that the iudge take heed, that when she once beginneth to confesse, he cut not off hir examination, but continue it night and daie. For many times, whiles they go to dinner, she returneth to hir vomit.

Another caution is, that after the witch hath confessed the annoyng of men and beasts, she be asked how long she hath had Incubus, when she renounced the faith, and made the reall league, and what that league is, &c. And this is indeed the chiefe cause of all their incredible and impossible confessions : for vpon the racke, when they haue once begunne to lie, they will saie what the tormentor list.

The last caution is, that if she will not confesse, she be had to some strong castle or gaole. And after certaine daies, the gaoler must make hir beleue he goeth forth into some farre countrie : and then some of hir friends must come in to hir, and promise hir, that if she will confesse to them, they will suffer hir to escape out of prison : which they may well doe, the keeper being from home. And this waie (saith M. Mal.) hath serued, when all other meanes haue failed.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. que. 25 art. 11.

And in this place it may not be omitted, that about all other times, they confesse vpon fridaies. Now saith James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, we must saie all, to wit : If she confesse nothing, she should be dismissed by lawe ; and yet by order she may in no wise be bailed, but must be put into close prison, and there be talked withall by some craftie person (those are the words) and in the meane while there must be some eyes & eares with pen and inke behind the wall, to hearken and note what she confesseth : or else some of hir old companions and acquaintance

tance may come in and talke with hir of old matters, and so by cues-droppers be also bewraied; so as there shall be no end of torture before she haue confessed what they will.

The fifteene crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers; speciallie by Bodin, in Dæmonomania.

The ninth Chapter.

1 **T**hey denie God, and all religion.

Answer. Then let them die therefore, or at the least be vsed like infidels, or apostataes.

2 They curse, blaspheme, and prouoke God with all despite.

Answer. Then let them haue the law expressed in Leuit. 24. and Deut. 13. & 17.

3 They giue their faith to the diuell, and they worship and offer sacrifice vnto him.

Ans. Let such also be iudged by the same lawe.

4 They do solemnelie vow and promise all their progenie vnto the diuell.

Ans. This promise proceedeth from an vnsound mind, and is not to be regarded; because they cannot performe it, neither will it be proued true. Holobett, if it be done by anie that is sound of mind, let the curse of Ieremie. 32. 36. light vpon them, to wit, the sword, famine and pestilence.

5 They sacrifice their owne children to the diuell before baptism, holding them vp in the aire vnto him, and then thrust a needle into their braines.

Ans. If this be true, I maintaine them not herein: but there is a lawe to iudge them by. Holobett, it is so contrarie to sense and nature, that it were follie to beleue it; either vpon Bodins bare word, or else vpon his presumptions; speciallie when so small commoditie and so great danger and inconuenience inueth to the witches thereby.

6 They burne their children when they haue sacrificed them.

Ans. Then let them haue such punishment, as they that offered their children vnto Moloch: Leuit. 20. But these be mere deuises

deuises of witchmongers and inquisitors, that with extream tortures haue wꝛong such confessions from them; or else with false reports haue belied them; or by flatterie & faire words and promises haue wonn it at their hands, at the length.

They sweare to the diuell to bꝛing as manie into that societie as they can.

Anf. This is false, and so pꝛoued elsẽthere.

They sweare by the name of the diuell.

Anf. I neuer heard anie such oth, neither haue we warrant to kill them that so doe sweare; though indeed it be verie letvð and impious.

They vse incestuous adulterie with spirits.

Anf. This is a stale ridiculous lie, as is pꝛoued apparentlie hereafter.

They boile infants (after they haue murdered them vn baptised) vntill their flesh be made potable.

Anf. This is vntrue, incredible, and impossible.

They eate the flesh and dꝛinke the bloud of men and children openlie.

Anf. Then are they kin to the Anthropophagi and Canibals. But I beleue neuer an honest man in England nor in France, will affirme that he hath sene any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they shuld, I beleue it would poison them.

They kill men with poison.

Anf. Let them be hanged foꝛ their labour.

They kill mens cattell.

Anf. Then let an action of trespassse be brought against them foꝛ so doing.

They bewitch mens come, and bring hunger and barrennes into the countrie; they ride and flie in the aire, bring stozmes, make tempests, &c.

Anf. Then will I worship them as gods; foꝛ those be not the woꝛks of man, nor yet of witch: as I haue elsẽthere pꝛoued at large.

They vse venerie with a diuell called Incubus, euen when they lie in bed with their husbands, and haue children by them, which become the best witches.

Anf. This is the last lie, verie ridiculous, and confuted by me elsẽthere.

A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched together by Bodin, and the onelie waie to escape the inquisitors hands.

The tenth Chapter.

If more ridiculous or abominable crimes could haue bene inuented, these poore women (whose chiefe fault is that they are scolds) should haue bene charged with them.

In this libell you doe see is contented all that witches are charged with; and all that also, which anie witchmonger surmiseth, or in malice imputeth vnto witches power and practise.

Some of these crimes may not onelie be in the power and will of a witch, but may be accomplished by naturall meanes: and therefore by them the matter in question is not decided, to wit; Whether a witch can worke wonders supernaturallie? For manie a knaue and whose dooth more commonlie put in execution those lewd actions, than such as are called witches, and are hanged for their labour.

The question or matter in controversy: that is to say, the proposition or theme.

Some of these crimes also laid vnto witches charge, are by me denied, and by them cannot be proued to be true, or committed by any one witch. Other some of these crimes likewise are so absurd, supernaturall, and impossible, that they are derided almost of all men, and as false, fond, and fabulous reports condemned: insomuch as the very witchmongers themselves are ashamed to heare of them.

If part be vntue, why may not the residue be thought false? For all these things are laid to their charge at one instant, euen by the greatest doctors and patrones of the sect of witchmongers, producing as manie proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other. So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserueth no credit. If all be true that is alledged of their dowings, why should we beleue in Christ, bicause of his miracles, when a witch doth as great wonders as euer

But it will be said by some; As for those absurd and popish writers, they are not in all their allegations, touching these matters, to be credited. But I assure you, that euen all sorts of writers here in (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to the schoolmen, protestants and papists, learned and vnlearned, poets and historiographers, Iewes, Christians, or Gentiles agree in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authoritie of all writers in this matter. The reason is, because it was neuer thoughtlie looked into; but euerie fable credited; and the word (Witch) named so often in scripture.

They that haue seene further of the inquisitors orders and customs, saie also; that There is no waite in the world for these poore women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequentlie burning: but to gild their hands with monie, whereby oftentimes they take pitie vpon them, and deliuer them, as sufficientlie purged. For they haue authoritie to exchange the punishment of the bodie with the punishment of the purse, applying the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reape such profit, as a number of these selie women paie them percellie pensions, to the end they may not be punished againe.

A generall error.

The onelie way for witches to auoid the inquisitors hands.

The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he conuincd the inquisitors.

The eleuenth Chapter.



Cornelius Agrippa saith, that while he was in Italie, manie inquisitors in the dutchie of Millen troubled diuers most honest & noble matrones, prauilie twining much monie from them, untill their knauerie was detected. Further he saith, that being an aduocate or counsellor in the Commonwelth of Maestricht in Brabant, he had soe contention with an inquisitor, who through vn-
C. y. iust

inst accusations be to a poore woman of the countrie into his butcherie, and to an vnfit place; not so much to examine hir, as to torment hir. Whom when C. Agrippa had vnder taken to defend, declaring that in the things done, there was no profe, no signe or token that could cause hir to be tormented; the inquisitor stoutlie denieng it, said; One thing there is, which is profe and matter sufficient: for hir mother was in times past burned for a witch. Now when Agrippa replied, affirming that this article was impertinent, and ought to be refused by the iudge, as being the deed of another; alledging to the inquisitor, reasons and lawe for the same: he replied againe that this was true, because they vsed to sacrifice their children to the diuell, as soone as they were bozne; and also because they vsuallie conceived by spirits transformed into mans shape, and that thereby witchcraft was naturallie ingrafted into this child, as a disease that cometh by inheritance.

A bitter in-
uectiue a-
gainst a
cruell in-
quisitor.

C. Agrippa replieng against the inquisitors follie & superstitious blindnesse, said; O thou wicked preest! Is this thy diuinitie? Dost thou vse to dialue poore guiltlesse women to the racke by these forged deuises? Dost thou with such sentences iudge others to be heretikes, thou being a more heretike than either Faustus or Donatus? Be it as thou saiest, dost thou not frustrate the grace of Gods ordinance; namelie baptism? Are the words in baptism spoken in vaine? Or shall the diuell remaine in the child, or it in the power of the diuell, being there and then consecrated to Christ Iesus, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost? And if thou defend their false opinions, which affirm, that spirits accompanieng with women, can ingender; yet dost thou more than anie of them, which neuer beleued that anie of those diuels, together with their stolne seed, doe put part of that their seed or nature into the creature. But though indeed we be borne the children of the diuell and damnation, yet in baptism, through grace in Christ, sathan is cast out, and we are made new creatures in the Lord, from whome none can be separated by another mans deed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the aduocate to proceed against him, as a supporter of heretikes or witches; yet neuerthelesse he ceased not to defend the free woman, and through the power of the lawe he deliuered hir
from

from the clauwes of the bloodie monke, who with hir accusers, were condemned in a great summe of monie to the charter of the church of Mentz, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

But by the waie you must vnderstand, that this was but a petie inquisitor, and had not so large a commission as Cumanus, Sprenger, and such other had; nor yet as the Spanish inquisitors at this daie haue. For these will admit no aduocats noly vnto the poore soules, except the tormentor or hangman may be called an aduocate. You may read the summe of this inquisition in few wordes set out by M. Iohn Fox in the Acts and monuments. For witches and heretikes are among the inquisitors of like reputation; sauing that the extremitie is greater against witches, because through their simplicitie, they may the more boldlie trye and trie vpon them, and triumph ouer them.

Iohn Fox
in the acts
and monu-
ments.

What the feare of death and feeling of torments may force one to doe, and that it is no maruell though witches condemne themselves by their owne confessions so tyrannicallie extorted.

The twelue Chapter.

HE that readeth the ecclesiasticall histories, or remembreth the persecutions in Quene Maries time, shall find, that manie good men haue fallen for feare of persecution, and returned vnto the Lord againe. What maruell then, though a poore woman, such a one as is described elsse where, & tormented as is declared in these latter leaues, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and blood is vnable to endure such triall? D: how can she in the middelt of such horrible tortures and torments, promise vnto hir selfe constancie; or forbear to confesse anie thing? D: what auaieth it hir, to perseuere in the deniall of such matters, as are laid to hir charge vniustlie; when on the one side there is neuer anie end of hir torments; on the other side,

E. iij.

if

if she continue in hir assertion, they saie she hath charmes for taciturnitie or silence :

Peters apostasie
& renouncing of
Christ.

Peter the apostle renounced, cursed, and forswore his maister and our Saviour Iesus Christ, for feare of a wenchs manaces ; or rather at a question demanded by hir , wherein he was not so circumuented as these poore witches are, which be not eramined by girles , but by cunning inquisitors , who hauing the spoile of their gods, and bringing with them into the place of iudgement minds to maintaine their bloudie purpose, spare no manner of allurements, threatnings, nor torments, untill they haue wrong out of them all that, which either maketh to their owne desire , or serueth to the others destruction.

Peter (I saie) in the presence of his Lord and maister Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge manie yeares , being forsworned, not passing foure or fise houres before, and hauing made a reall league and a faithfull promise to the contrarie, without anie other compulsion than (as hath bene said) by a question proposed by a girle, against his conscience, forsooke, thise denied, and abandoned his said maister : and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignitie aloft, and nearer to Christ by manie degrees, than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as Peters; bicause she neuer ascended halfe so manie steps. A pastors declination is much more abhominable than the going astrate of a nie of his sheepe : as an ambassadors conspiracie is more odious, than the falshood of a common person : or as a capteins treason is more mischeuous, than a priuate soldiers mutinie. If you saie, Peter repented ; I answer that the witch doth so likewise sometimes, and I see not in that case, but mercie may be employed vpon hir. It were a mightie temptation to a saelie old woman, that a visible diuell (being in shape so vgglie , as Danaeus and others saie he is) should assalt hir in maner and forme as is supposed , or rather auowed ; speciallie when there is promise made that none shal be tempted aboue their strength. The poore old witch is commonlie vnlearned, vntwarned, and vnprouided of counsell and frendship, void of iudgement and discretion to moderate hir life and communication , hir kind and gender more weake and fraile than the masculine, and much more subiect to melancholie ; hir bringing vp and compaignie is so base , that nothing is to be
looked

Danaeus in
diabz.

1. Cor. 10.

looked for in his speciallie of these extraordinarie qualities; his age also is commonlie such, as maketh his decrepitude, which is a disease that moueth them to these follies.

Finallie, Christ did charitably remit Peter, though his offense were committed both against his diuine and humane person: yea afterwards he did put him in trust to feed his sheepe, and shewed great countenance, friendship and loue vnto him.

And therefore I see not, but we may shew compassion vpon these poore soules, if they shew themselves sorrowfull for their misconcepts and wicked imaginations.



¶ *The third Booke.*

The witches bargain with the diuell, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Danæus, Psel-lus, Erastus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomæus Spineus, &c.

The first Chapter.



THAT which in this matter of witchcraft hath abused so manie, and seemeth both so horrible and intolerable, is a plaine bargain, that (they saie) is made betwixt the diuell and the witch. And manie of great learning conceiue it to be a matter of truth, and in their writings publish it accordingly: the which (by Gods grace) shall be proued as true and false as the rest.

The double bargain of witches with the diuell.

The order of their bargain or profession is double; the one solemn and publike; the other secret and priuate. That which is called solemn or publike, is where witches come together at certaine assemblies, at the times prefixed, and doe not onelie see the diuell in visible forme; but confer and talke familiarlie with him. In which conference the diuell exhorteth them to obserue their fidelitie vnto him, promising them long life and prosperitie. Then the witches assembled, commend a new disciple (whom they call a nouice) vnto him: and if the diuell find that young witch apt and forward in renunciation of christian faith, in despising anie of the seuen sacraments, in treading vpon crosses, in spetting at the time of the eleuation, in breaking their fast on fasting daies, and fasting on sunndaies; then the diuell giueth forth

his

his hand, and the noutice ioining hand in hand with him, promiſeth to obſerue and keepe all the diuels commandements.

This done, the diuell beginneth to be moze bold with hir, telling hir plainlie, that all this will not ſerue his turne; and therefore requireth homage at hir hands: yea he alſo telleth hir, that ſhe muſt grant him both hir bodie and ſoule to be tormented in euerlaſting fire; which ſhe yeldeth vnto. Then he chargeth hir, to procure as manie men, women, and children alſo, as ſhe can, to enter into this ſocietie. Then he teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the aire, and accompliſh all their deſires. So as, if there be anie children vnbaptiſed, or not garded with the ſigne of the croſſe, or orizons; then the witches may and doe catch them from their mothers ſides in the night, or out of their cradles, or otherwiſe kill them with their ceremonies; and after buriall ſteale them out of their graues, and ſet them in a caldron, vntill their fleſh be made potable. Of the thickeſt whereof they make ointments, whereby they ride in the aire; but the thinner potion they put into flaggons, whereof whoſoeuer drinketh, obſeruing certaine ceremonies, immediatlie becommeth a maiſter or rather a miſtreſſe in that praſtiſe and facultie.

*Mal. Malef.
de modo
p^oſeſſionis.*

The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquiſitors and pecuiliſh witchmoongers) to the diuell in perſon; of their ſongs and danſes, and name-
lie of La volta, and of other ceremonies, alſo of their ex-
courſes.

The ſecond Chapter.



Sometimes their homage with their oth and bargaine is receiued for a certaine terme of yeares; ſometimes for euer. Sometimes it conſiſteth in the deniail of the whole faith, ſometimes in part. The firſt is, when the ſoule is abſolutelie yelded to the diuell and hell fier: the other is, when they haue but bargained to obſerue

*Homage of
witches to
the diuell.*

obserue certeine ceremonies and statutes of the church; as to conceale faults at shrift, to fast on sundaies, &c. And this is done either by oth, protestation of words, or by obligation in writing, sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes signed with blood, sometimes by kissing the diuels bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called Edlin, who as (Bodin saith) was burned for witchcraft.

*Bar. Spineus,
cap. 1. in nouo
Mal. malef.*

You must also vnderstand, that after they haue delicatlie banquetted with the diuell and the ladie of the fairies; and haue eaten vpon a fat ore, and emptied a butt of malmesie, and a binne of beead at some noble mans house, in the dead of the night, nothing is missed of all this in the morning. For the ladie Sibylla, Minerva, or Diana with a golden rod striketh the vessell & the binne, and they are fullie replenished againe. Yea, she causeth the bullocks bones to be brought and laid together vpon the hide, and lappeth the foure ends thereof together, laieing hir golden rod thereon; and then riseth vpon the bullocke againe in his former estate and condition: and yet at their returne home they are like to starue for hunger; as Spineus saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that euerie fortnight, or at the least euerie moneth, each witch must kill one child at the least for hir part.

Idem Ibid.

*I. Bod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 4.*

And here some of Monsieur Bodins lies may be inserted, who saith, that at these magicall assemblies, the witches neuer faile to danse; and in their danse they sing these words; *Har har, diuell diuell, danse here, danse here, plaie here, plaie here, Sabbath, sabbath.* And whiles they sing and danse, euerie one hath a broome in hir hand, and holdeth it vpon aloft. Item he saith, that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches, brought out of Italie into France, that danse, which is called *La volta*.

Mal. Malef.

A part of their league is, to scrape off the oile, which is receiued in extreame follie (unction I should haue said.) But if that be so dangerous, they which socke the corpes had neede to take great care, that they rub not off the oile, which diuers other waies may also be thrust out of the forehead; and then I perceiue all the vertue thereof is gone, and farewell it. But I maruell how they take on to preserue the water powred on them in baptism, which I take to be largelic of as great force as the other; and yet I thinke is commonlie wiped and washed off, within foure and twentie houres after baptism: but this agreeth with the residue

of

And this is to be noted, that the inquisito:rs affirme, that during the whole time of the witches exco:urse, the diuell occupieth the roome and place of the witch, in so perfect a similitude, as hir husband in his bed, neither by feeling, speech, nor countenance can discern hir from his wife. Peca the wife departeth out of hir husbands armes insensible, and leaueth the diuell in hir roome visible. Wherein their incredulitie is incredible, who will haue a verie bodie in the feined plaie, and a phantassicall bodie in the true bed: and yet (forsooth) at the name of Iesus, or at the signe of the crosse, all these bodilie witches (they saie) banish awaie.

*Grillandus.
de fortio.
vol. i. tract.*

How witches are summoned to appeere before the diuell, of their riding in the aire, of their accompts, of their conference with the diuell, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices: according to Danaus, Psellus, &c.

The third Chapter.

Hitherto, for the most part, are the verie words contained in M. Mal. or Bodin, or rather in both; or else in the new M. Mal. or at the least-wise of some writer or other, that mainteineth the almightie power of witches. But Danaus saith, the diuell oftentimes in the likeness of a sumner, meeteth them at markets and faires, and warneth them to appeere in their assemblies, at a certeine houre in the night, that he may vnderstand whom they haue slaine, and how they haue profited. If they be lame, he saith the diuell deliuereth them a staffe, to conuie them thither insensible through the aire; and that then they fall a danſing and singing of balddie songs, wherein he leadeth the danſe himselſe. Which danſe, and other conferencies being ended, he supplicth their wants of powders and roots to intoricate withall; and giueth to euerie nouice a marke, either with his teeth or with his clauces, and so they kisse the diuels bare buttocks, and depart:
not

*Danaus in
dialog. cap. 4.*

3. Booke. The discouerie *Reall league.*

not forgetting every daie afterwards to offer to him, dogs, cats, hens, or blood of their owne. And all this doth Danæus report as a troth, and as it were vpon his owne knowledge. And yet else where he saith; In these matters they do but dreame, and do not those things indeed, which they confesse through their dis-temperature, growing of their melancholike humors: and therefore (saith he) these things, which they report of themselves, are but mere illusions.

Pfellus addeth hereunto, that certeine magicall heretikes, to wit; the Eurydians, assemblie themselves euerie good fridaie at night; and putting out the candles, do commit incestuous adulterie, the father with the daughter, the sister with the brother, and the sonne with the mother; and the ninth moneth they returne and are deliuered; and cutting their children in peeces, fill their pots with their blood; then burne they the carcases, and mingle the ashes therewith, and so preserue the same for magicall purposes. Cardanus writeth (though in mine opinion not verie probable) that these exorcises, danlings, &c: had their beginning from certeine heretikes called Dulcini, who deuised those feasts of Bacchus which are named Orgia, whereunto these kind of people openlie assembled; and beginning with riot, ended with this follie. Which feasts being prohibited, they neuertheles hated them secretlie; and when they could not do so, then did they it in cogitation onelie, and euen to this daie (saith he) there remaineth a certeine image or resemblance thereof among our melancholike women.

*Card. lib. de
var. rerum.
15 cap. 80.*

That there can no reall league be made with the diuell the first author of the league, and the weake proofes of the aduersaries for the same.

The fourth Chapter.



If the league be untrue, as are the residue of their confessions, the witchmongers arguments fall to the ground: for all the writers herein hold this bargain for certeine, god, and granted, and as their onelie maxime. But surelie the indentures

indentures, containing those covenants, are sealed with butter; and the labels are but bables. What firme bargaine can be made betwixt a carnall bodie and a spirituall: Let any wise or honest man tell me, that either hath bene a partie, or a witnesse; and I will beleue him. But by what authoritie, prowe, or testimonie; and vpon what ground all this geere standeth, if you read M. Mal. you shall find, to the shame of the reporters (who doe so varie in their tales, and are at such contrarietie:) and to the reproch of the beleuers of such absurd lies.

*Mal. Malef.
par. 2. que. 7.
cap. 2.*

For the beginning of the credit heresof, resteth vpon the confession of a baggage yong fellow condemned to be burnt for witchcraft; who said to the inquisitors, of likelihood to prolong his life, (if at leastwise the storie be true, which is taken out of Nider;) If I will (quoth he) that I might obtaine pardon, I would discouer all that I knowe of witchcraft. The which condition being accepted, and pardon promised (partie in hope thereof, and partlie to be rid of his wife) he said as followeth.

*Vpon what
ground this
real league
began to
growe in
credit.*

The nouice or yong disciple goeth to some church, together with the mistresse of that profession, vpon a sundae morning, before the conuration of holic water, & there the said nouice renounceth the faith, promisseth obedience in obseruing, or rather omitting of ceremonies in meetings, and such other follies; and finally, that they doe homage to their yong maister the diuell, as they covenanted.

But this is notable in that storie, that this yong witch, doubting that his wiues examination would betraie his knauerie, told the inquisitor; that in truth his wife was guiltie as well as he, but she will neuer, I am sure (quoth he) though she should be burned a thousand times, confesse any of these circumstances.

And this is in no wise to be forgotten, that notwithstanding his contrition, his confession, and his accusation of his owne wife (contrarie to the inquisitors promise and oth) he and his wife were both burned at a stake, being the first discouersers of this notable league, wherevpon the fable of witchcraft is mainteined; and whereby such other confessions haue bene from the like persons, since that time, extorted and augmented.

Of the priuate league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French ladie, with a confutation.

The fift Chapter.

The maner
of witches
priuate
league with
the diuell.



The maner of their priuate league is said to be, when the diuell inuisible, and sometimes visible, in the midst of the people talketh with them priuatelie; promising, that if they will followe his counsell, he will supplie all their necessitics, and make all their endeuors prosperous; and so beginneth with small matters: whereunto they consent priuillie, and come not into the faeries assemblie.

And in this case (mee thinks) the diuell sometimes, in such eternall or corporall shape, should meete with some that would not consent to his motions (except he will saie he knoweth their cogitations) and so should be belwaied. They also (except they were idiots) would spie him, and forsake him for breach of covenants. But these bargaines, and these assemblies doe all the writers hereupon mainteine: and Bodin confirmeth them with a hundred and odd lies; among the number whereof I will (for diuerse causes) recite one.

*I. Bod Lib. 2.
de demonio-
mania. cap. 4.*

There was (saith he) a noble Gentlewoman at Lions, that being in bed with a louer of hers, suddenlie in the night arose vp, and lighted a candle: which when she had done, she toke a box of ointment, wherewith she annointed hir bodie; and after a few words spoken, she was carried awaie. Hir bedfellow seeing the order hereof, leapt out of his bed, toke the candle in his hand, and sought for the ladie round about the chamber, and in euerie corner thereof. But though he could not find hir, yet did he find hir box of ointment: and being desirous to know the vertue thereof, besinered himselfe therewith, euen as he perceiued hir to haue done before. And although he were not so superstitious, as to vse anie words to helpe him forward in his busines, yet by the vertue of that ointment (saith Bodin) he was immediatlie conuered

This agree-
eth not
with their
interpreta-

to

to Lorreine, into the assemblie of witches. Which when he sawe, he was abashed, and said; In the name of God, what make I heere? And vpon those words the whole assemblie vanished awaie, and left him there alone starke naked; and so was he faine to returne to Lions. But he had so good a conscience (for you may perceiue by the first part of the historie, he was a verie honest man) that he accused his true louer for a witch, and caused hir to be burned. But as for his adulterie, neither M. Mal. nor Bodin doe once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof.

tion, that
saie, this is
onlie done
by vertue
of the
legue; nor
yet to them
that referre
it vnto
words:
quoth nota.

It appeareth throughout all Bodins booke, that he is sore offended with Cornelius Agrippa, and the rather (as I suppose, because the said C. Agrippa recanted that which Bodin mainteineth, who thinketh he could wo:ke wonders by magicke, and speciallie by his blacke dog. It should seeme he had prettie skill in the art of diuination. For though he wrote before Bodin manie a yeare, yet vttereth he these words in his booke *De vanitate scientiarum*: A certaine French protonotarie (saith he) a lewd fellow and a cosener, hath written a certaine fable or miracle done at Lions, &c. What Bodin is, I knowe not, other wise than by report; but I am certaine this his tale is a fond fable: and Bodin saith it was performed at Lions; and this man (as I vnderstand) by profession is a ciuill lawier.

C. Agrippa.
cap. 51.

A disproofe of their assemblies, and of
their bargaine.

The sixt Chapter.

That the ioining of hands with the diuell, the kissing of his bare buttocks, and his scratching and biting of them, are absurd lies; euerie one hauing the gift of reason may plainlie perceiue: in so much as it is manifest vnto vs by the word of God, that a spirit hath no flesh, bones, nor sinewes, whereof hands, buttocks, claws, teeth, and lips doe consist. For admit that the constitution of a diuels bodie (as Tatian and other affirme) consisteth in spirituall

Tatianus
contra Gre-
conge-
cos.

congelations, as of fier and aire; yet it cannot be perceiued of moztall creatures. What credible witnesse is there brought at anie time, of this their coꝝpoꝝall, visible, and incredible bargaine; sauing the confession of some person diseased both in bodie and mind, wilfullie made, oꝝ iniuriouſlie constrained: It is meruell that no penitent witch that ſoꝝlaketh hir trade, confeſſeth not theſe things without compulſion. Wee thinkeſt their couenant made at baptiſme with God, befoꝝe god witneſſes, ſanctified with the woꝝd, confirmed with his promiſes, and eſta bliſhed with his ſacraments, ſhould be of moꝝe foꝝce than that which they make with the diuell, which no bodie ſeeth oꝝ knoweth. Foꝝ God deceiueſt none, with whom he bargaineth; neither doth he mocke oꝝ diſappoint them, although he danſe not among them.

The author
ſpeaketh
vpon due
prooſe and
triall.

Their oth, to procure into their league and fellowſhip as manie as they can (whereby euerie one witch, as Bodin affirmeth, augmenteth the number of fiſtie) betwixt greatlie their indreſt dealing. Whereof I haue made triall, as alſo of the reſidue of their coſening deuices; and haue bene with the beſt, oꝝ rather the woꝝſt of them, to ſee what might be gathered out of their counſels; and haue cunninglie treated with them thereabouts: and further, haue ſent certeine old perſons to indent with them, to be admitted into their ſocietie. But as well by their excuſes and delaies, as by other circumſtances, I haue tried and found all their trade to be moꝝe coſening.

I praie you what bargaine haue they made with the diuell, that with their angrie loſes bewitch lambs, children, &c: Is it not confeſſed, that it is naturall, though it be a lie: What bargaine maketh the ſoꝝthſaier, which hath his ſeueral kinds of witchcraft and diuination expreſſed in the ſcripture: Or is it not granted that they make none: How chanceſt it that we heare not of this bargaine in the ſcriptures:

A confutation of the obiection concerning
witches confessions.

The feuenth Chapter.

IT is confessed (saie some by the
waie of obiection) even of these women
themselues, that they do these and such
other horrible things, as deserueth death,
with all extremitie, &c. Whereunto I an-
swer, that whosoever considerateli be-
holdeth their confessions, shall perceiue
all to be vaine, idle, false, inconstant, and
of no weight; except their contempt and ignorance in religion:
which is rather the fault of the negligent pastor, than of the simple
woman.

First, if their confession be made by compulsion, of force or au-
thoritie, or by persuation, and vnder colour of friendship, it is not
to be regarded; because the extremitie of thyets and tortures pro-
uokes it; or the qualitie of faire words and allurements con-
straines it. If it be voluntarie, manie circumstances must be
considered, to wit; whether the approach not his selfe to ouerthrow
his neighbour, which manie times happeneth through their can-
kered and malicious melancholike humors: then; whether in that
same melancholike mood and frenetike humor, the desire not the
abridgment of his owne daies. Which thing Aristotle saith dooth
oftentimes happen vnto persons subiect to melancholike passi-
ons: and as Bodin and Sprenger saie) to these old women called
witches, which manie times (as they affirme) refuse to liue; thre-
ning the iudges, that if they may not be burned, they will laie
hands vpon themselues, and so make them guiltie of their dam-
nation.

I my selfe haue knowen, that where such a one could not pre-
uaile, to be accepted as a sufficient witnesse against himselfe, he
presentlic went and threth himselfe into a pond of water, where
he was drowned. But the laue saith; *Volenti mori non est habenda*
fides, that is; His word is not to be credited that is desirous to

F. i.

die.

Confession
compul-
sorie; as by
Hispanickall
inquisition:
Looke Mal.
malef. & Io.
Bo. li. v.
Confession
persuasorie;
as by flatter-
rie: Looke
Bry. Darcie
against
Visu. Kempe.
Iohn. Bod.
Mal. Malef.

L. absens. de
procis.
L. 2. cum glos.

*de iis, qui ante
sentent. mor-
tuis sunt, sibi
necem con-
fiscantes.*

die. Also sometimes (as else-where I haue proued) they confesse that whereof they were neuer guiltie; supposing that they did that which they did not, by meanes of certeine circumstances. And as they sometimes confesse impossibilitie, as that they lie in the aire, transubstantiate themselves, raise tempests, transfer or remove coine, &c: so doe they also (I saie) confesse voluntarie, that which no man could proue, and that which no man would ghesse, nor yet beleue, except he were as mad as they; so as they bring death wilfullie vpon themselves: which argueth an vnsound mind.

*Absurdities
in witches
confessions.*

If they confesse that, which hath bene indeed committed by them, as poisoning, or anie other kind of murther, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish; I stand not to defend their cause. Notwithstanding, I would wish that euen in that case there be not too rash credit giuen, nor too hastie proceedings vsed against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of euerie thing be duly considered, and diligentlie examined. For you shall vnderstand, that as sometimes they confesse they haue murdered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a looke, &c: so they confesse, that with the deliuering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they haue killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added therevnto, which naturallie could be noisome or hurtfull.

In like maner they confesse, that with a touch of their bare hand, they sometimes kill a man being in perfect health and strength of bodie; when all his garments are betwixt their hand and his flesh.

But if this their confession be examined by diuinitie, philosophie, physicke, lawe or conscience, it will be found false and insufficient. First, for that the working of miracles is ceased. Secondly, no reason can be yelded for a thing so farre beyond all reason. Thirdlie, no receipt can be of such efficacie, as when the same is touched with a bare hand, from whence the veines haue passage through the bodie vnto the hart, it should not annoie the poisoner; and yet reteine vertue and force enough, to pearse through so manie garments and the verie flesh incurable, to the place of death in another person. *Cui argumento* (saith Bodin) *nescio quid*

*l. Rod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 8.*

respon-

responderi possit. Fourthlie, no lawe will admit such a confession, as yeldeth vnto impossibilities, against the which there is neuer any lawe provided; otherwise it would not serue a mans turne, to plead and proue that he was at Berwicke that daie, that he is accused to haue done a murther in Canturburie: for it might be said he was conuicted to Berwicke, and backe againe by inchantment. Fiftlie, he is not by conscience to be executed, which hath no sound mind nor perfect iudgement. And yet forsooth we read, that one mother Seile did kill one mother Saddocke with a touch on the shoulder, for not keeping promise with hir for an old cloake, to make hir a safegard; and that she was hanged for hir labour.

In a little pamphlet of the acts and hanging of foure witches, in anno. 1579.

What follie it were for witches to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gaine or commoditie, and how it comes to passe that witches are ouerthrowne by their confessions.

The eight Chapter.



Las! if they were so subtil, as witchmongers make them to be, they would espie that it were mere follie for them, not onelie to make a bargaine with the diuell to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporall fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all: but they would at the leastwise indent with the diuell, both to enrich them, and also to enoble them; and finally to endue them with all worldlie felicitie and pleasure: which is furthest from them of all other. Yea, if they were sensible, they would saie to the diuell; Whie should I hearken to you, when you will deceiue me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother Dutton to saue and rescue hir; and yet lo she is hanged? Surely this would apose the diuell verie sore. And it is a wonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this daie, hath made this and such like obications, whereto the diuell could neuer

f. ij.

make

Iohn. Bod.

make answer. But were it not more madnes for them, to serue the diuell, vnder these conditions; and yet to endure whippings with iron rods at the diuels hands: which (as the witchmongers write) are so set on, that the print of the lathes remaine vpon the witches bodie ever after, euen so long as she hath a daie to liue?

But these old women being daunted with authoritie, circumuented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by feare, induced by error, and deceiued by ignorance, doe fall into such rash credulitie, and so are brought vnto these absurd confessions. Whose error of mind and blindness of will dependeth vpon the disease and infirmitie of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the more to be bozne withall; because they, being destitute of reason, can haue no consent. For, *Delictum sine consensu non potest committi, neque iniuria sine animo iniuriandi*; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor iniurie committed without a mind to doe wrong. Yet the lawe saith further, that A purpose retained in mind, doth nothing to the priuat or publike hurt of anie man; and much more that an impossible purpose is unpunishable. *Sane mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willet nothing, but that which is possible.

*I. si per erro-
rem iniuri-
omni cum
inde.
C. sed hoc d.
de publ. &c.
Bal. in leg.
&c.*

How melancholie abuseth old women, and of the effects thereof by sundrie examples.

The ninth Chapter.

If anie man aduisedlie marke their words, actions, cogitations, and gestures, he shall perceiue that melancholie abounding in their head, and occupieng their braine, hath depriued or rather depraued their iudgements, and all their senses: I meane not of colsening witches, but of poore melancholike women, which are themselves deceiued. For you shall vnderstand, that the force which melancholie hath, and the effects that it worketh in the bodie of a man, or rather of a woman, are almost incredible. For as some of these melancholike persons imagine, they are witches, and

and by witchcraft can worke wonders, and do what they list : so do other, troubled with this disease, imagine manie strange, incredible, and impossible things. Some, that they are monarchs and princes, and that all other men are their subiects : some, that they are brute beasts : some, that they be vyzinals or earthen pots, greatlie fearing to be broken : some, that euerie one that meeteth them, will conuie them to the gallowes ; and yet in the end hang themselues. One thought, that Atlas, whome the poets feigne to hold vp heauen with his shoulders, would be wearie, and let the skie fall vpon him : another would spend a whole daie vpon a stage, imagining that he both heard and saw interludes, and therewith made himselfe great sport . One Theophilus a physician, other wise sound inough of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and sawe musicians continuallie plaieng on instruments, in a certeine place of his house. One Bessius, that had killed his father, was notablie detected; by imagining that a swallowe vppaided him therewith : so as he himselfe thereby reuealed the murther.

But the notablest example hereof is, of one that was in great perplexitie, imagining that his nose was as big as a house ; insomuch as no frend nor physician could deliuer him from this conceipt, nor yet either ease his grieue, or satisfie his fantasie in that behalfe : till at the last, a physician more expert in this humors than the rest, vsed this deuise following. First, when he was to come in at the chamber doore being wide open, he suddentlie staied and withdrew himselfe ; so as he would not in any wise approach nêrer than the doore. The melancholike person musing hereat, asked him the cause why he so demeaned himselfe : Who answered him in this maner : Sir, your nose is so great, that I can hardlie enter into your chamber but I shall touch it, and consequentlie hurt it. Lo (quoth he) this is the man that must doe me good ; the residue of my friends flatter me, and would hide mine infirmitie from me. Well (said the physician) I will cure you, but you must be content to indure a little paine in the dressing : which he promised patientlie to susteine, and conceiued certeine hope of his recouerie. Then entred the physician into the chamber, creeping close by the walles, feining to feare the touching and hurting of his nose. Then did he blindfold him, which

F. ij.

being

Strange
effect of
Melancholy

Of one that
through
melancholie
was induced
to thinke that
he had a
nose as big
as a house,
&c.

being done, he caught him by the nose with a paire of pinsses, and threw downe into a tub, which he had placed before his patient, a great quantitie of bloud, with manie peeces of bullocks liuers, which he had conueied into the chamber, whilst the others eies were bound vp, and then gaue him libertie to see and behold the same. He hauing done thus againe two or thre times, the melancholike humoꝝ was so qualified, that the mans mind being satisfied, his græfe was eased, and his disease cured.

Thraſibulus, other wise called Thraſillus, being soꝛe oppressed with this melancholike humoꝝ, imagined, that all the ships, which arriued at port Pyreus, were his: insomuch as he would number them, and command the mariners to lanch, &c: triumphing at their safe returnes, and mourning foꝛ their misfoꝛtunes. The Italian, whom we called here in England, the Monarch, was possessed with the like spirit oꝛ conceipt. Danæus himselfe reporteth, that he sawe one, that affirmed constantlie that he was a cocke; and saith that thꝛough melancholic, such were alienated from themselves.

*Danæus in
dialog. cap. 3.*

*J. Baptista. P.
N. cap. 2.
Card. de
v. r. rerum.
I. Wier. de
p. stigij de-
monum, &c.
Aristotle.*

John Bod.

Now, if the fanſie of a melancholike person may be occupied in causes which are both false and impossible; why should an old witch be thought free from such fantasies, who (as the learned philosophers and physicians saie) vpon the stopping of their monethly melancholike flux oꝛ issue of bloud, in their age must needs increase therein, as (thꝛough their weakenesse both of bodie and braine) the aptest persons to mixe with such melancholike imaginations: with whom their imaginations remaine, even when their senses are gone. Which Bodin laboureth to disprove, therein shewing himselfe as good a physician, as else-where a diuine.

But if they may imagine, that they can transfoꝛme their owne bodies, which neuerthelesse remaineth in the former shape: how much moꝛe credible is it, that they may falselie suppose they can hurt and infecte other mens bodies; oꝛ which is lesse, hinder the comming of butter: &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and consequentlie confesse that they can doo; speciallie being so earnestlie perswaded therevnto, so sorelie tormented, so craftilie examined, with such promises of fauour, as therby they imagine, that they shall euer after liue in great credit & welth: &c.

If you read the executions done vpon witches, either in times past

past in other countries, or latelie in this land; you shall see such impossibilitie confessed, as none, hauing his right wits, will beleue. Among other like false confessions, we read that there was a witch confessed at the time of hir death or execution, that she had raised all the tempests, and procured all the frosts and hard weather that happened in the winter 1565: and that manie graue and wise men beleued hir.

Ans. Howin.

That voluntarie confessions may be vnturlic made, to the vndoing of the confessor, and of the strange operation of melancholie, prooued by a familiar and late example.

The tenth Chapter.

But that it may appere, that euen voluntarie confession (in this case) may be vnturlic made, though it tend to the destruction of the confessor; and that melancholie may moue imaginations to that effect: I will cite a notable instance concerning this matter, the parties themselves being yet aliue, and dwelling in the parish of Sellenge in Kent, and the matter not long sithence in this sort perfozmed.

One Ade Dauie, the wife of Simon Dauie husbandman, being reputed a right honest bodie, and being of good parentage, grew suddenlie (as hir husband informed me, and as it is well knowne in these parts) to be somewhat pensue and more sad than in times past. Which thing though it grieved him, yet he was loth to make it so appere, as either his wife might be troubled or discontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; least ill husbandrie should be laid to his charge (which in these quarters is much abhorred.) But when she grew from pensuenes, to some perturbation of mind; so as hir accustomed rest began in the night season to be withdraue from hir, through sighing and secret lamentation; and that, not without teares, hee could not but demand the cause of hir conceipt and extraordinarie

A Kentish storie of a late accident.

rie morning. But although at that time she couered the same, acknowledging nothing to be amisse with hir : some after notwithstanding she fell downe before him on hir knees, desiring him to forgive hir, for she had greivously offended (as she said) both God & him. Hir poore husband being abashed at this hir behaviour, comforted hir, as he could ; asking hir the cause of hir trouble & grēse : who told him, that she had, contrarie to Gods lawe, & to the offense of all good christians, to the iniurie of him, & speciallie to the losse of hir owne soule, bargained and giuen hir soule to the diuell, to be deliuered vnto him within short space. Wherevnto hir husband answered, saing ; Wife, be of good chere, this thy bargaine is void and of none effect : for thou hast sold that which is none of thine to sell ; sith it belongeth to Christ, who hath bought it, and dearelie paid for it, euen with his blood, which he shed vpon the crosse ; so as the diuell hath no interest in thee . After this, with like submission, teares, and penitence, she said vnto him ; Oh husband, I haue yet committed another fault, and done you more iniurie : for I haue bewitched you and your children . Be content (quoth he) by the grace of God, Iesus Christ shall vniwitch vs : for none euill can happen to them that feare God.

And (as trulie as the Lord liueth) this was the tenor of his words vnto me, which I knowe is true, as proceeding from vnfained lips, and from one that feareth God. Now when the time appoched that the diuell should come, and take possession of the woman, according to his bargaine, he watched and praied earnestlie, and caused his wife to read psalmes and prayers for mercie at Gods hands : and suddenlie about midnight, there was a great rumbling belowe vnder his chamber windowe, which amazed them exceedinglie. For they conceiued, that the diuell was belowe, though he had no power to come vp, bicause of their seruent prayers.

Ye that noteth this womans first and second confession, free and voluntarilie made, how euerie thing concurred that might serue to adde credit therevnto, and yeld matter for hir condemnation, would not thinke, but that if Bodin were some man of hir inquest, he would crye ; Guiltie : & would hasten execution vpon hir ; who would haue said as much before any iudge in the

Note the
christian
comfort of
the husband
to his wife.

Confutation.

the world, if she had bene examined; and haue confessed no lesse, if she had bene arraigned therupon. But God knoweth, she was innocent of anie these crimes: howbeit she was brought lowe and pressed downe with the weight of this humoꝝ, so as both hir rest and sleepe were taken awaie from hir; & hir fantasies troubled and disquieted with despaire, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I beleaue, if any mishap had insued to hir husband, or his children; few witchmongers would haue iudged otherwise, but that she had bewitched them. And she (foꝝ hir part) so constantlie perswaded hir selfe to be a witch, that she iudged hir selfe woꝝthie of death; insomuch as being reteined in hir chamber, she saue not anie one carrying a faggot to the fier, but she would saie it was to make a fier to burne hir foꝝ witcherie. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither insued there anie hurt vnto anie, by hir imagination, but vnto hir selfe.

And as foꝝ the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheepe, which was slawed, and hong by the wals, so as a dog came and deuoured it; whereby grew the noise which I before mentioned: and she being now recovered, remaineth a right honest woman, far from such impietie, and ashamed of hir imaginations, which she perceiueeth to haue growne through melancholie.

A comicall
catastro-
phe.

The strange and diuers effects of melancholie, and how the same humor abounding in witches, or rather old women, filleth them full of meruellous imaginations, and that their confessions are not to be credited.

The eleuenth Chapter.

UT in truth, this melancholike humoꝝ (as the best physicians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible, and incredible confessions: which are so fond, that I wonder how anie man can be abused thereby. Howbeit, these affections, though they appeare in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the bodie, and proceed from this humoꝝ, which is the verie dregs of blood, nourishing and feeding those places, from whence proceed feares, cogitations,

H. Card. de
var. rerum,
cap. 8.
Io. Wierus
de prest. lib. 6
cap. 8.

*Aristotle de
somnia.
H. Card. lib. 8
de cat. rer.*

gitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like.

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some saie) soze-
sight of things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and
drie: it maketh men subiect to leanenesse, and to the quartane a-
gue. They that are vexed therewith, are destroyers of themselves,
stout to suffer iniuries, fearefull to offer violence; except the hu-
mor be hot. They learne strange tongues with small industrie (as
Aristotle and others affirme.)

*Io. Bod. con-
tra Io. Wier-
rum.*

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wils
confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarilie and
readilie confesse that which calleth their life in question; whereof
they could neuer otherwise be convicted. I. Bodin with his law-
yers phisicke reasoneth contrarilie; as though melancholie were
furthest of all from those old women, whom we call witches: de-
riding the most famous and noble physician Iohn Wier for his
opinion in that behalfe. But bicause I am no physician, I will
set a physician to him; namelie Erasmus, who hath these words, to
wit, that these witches, through their corrupt phantasie abom-
ding with melancholike humors, by reason of their old age, doe
drame and imagine they hurt those things which they neither
could nor doe hurt; and so thinke they knowe an art, which they
neither haue learned nor yet vnderstand.

But whie should there be more credit giuen to witches, when
they saie they haue made a reall bargaine with the diuell, killed a
cow, bewitched butter, infebled a child, forespoken his neigh-
bour, &c: than when she confesseth that she transubstantiateth hir
selfe, maketh it raine or haile, lieth in the aire, goeth inuisible,
transferreth corne in the grasse from one field to another: &c. If
you thinke that in the one their confessions be sound, whie should
you saie that they are corrupt in the other; the confession of all
these things being made at one instant, and affirmed with like
constancie, or rather audacitie: But you see the one to be impos-
sible, and therefore you thinke thereby, that their confessions are
vaine and false. The other you thinke may be done, and see them
confesse it, and therefore you conclude, *A posse ad esse*; as being
persuaded it is so, bicause you thinke it may be so. But I saie, both
with the diuines, and philosophers, that that which is imagined
of witchcraft, hath no truth of action; or being besides their ima-
gination,

*August. lib.
de Trinit. 3.
Idem de ci-
uit. Dei.*

gination, the which (for the most part) is occupied in false causes. *Clemens, recogn. 3.*
 For whosoever desireth to bring to passe an impossible thing, hath a vaine, an idle, and a childish persuasion, bzed by an vn- *Iamblichus.*
 found mind: for *Sana mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est;* The *Io. Wierus.*
 will of a sound mind, is the desire of a possible thing. *Cardanus.*
Pamphilus, &c.

A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league.

The twelfth Chapter.

BUt it is objected, that witches *An objection.*
 confesse they renounce the faith, and as their confession must be true (or else they would not make it:) so must their fault be worthy of death, or else they should not be executed. Whereunto I answer as before; *The resolution.*
 that their confessions are extorted, or else proceed from an vnfound mind. Vea I

saie further, that we our selues, which are sound of mind, and yet seeke anie other waie of saluation than Christ Iesus, or bzeake his commandements, or walke not in his steps with a liuelie faith, &c: do not onlie renounce the faith, but God himselfe: and therefore they (in confessing that they forsake God, and imbrace sa-
 than) do that which we all should do. As touching that horrible part of their confession, in the league which tendeth to the killing of their owne and others children, the seething of them, and the making of their potion or pottage, and the effects thereof; their good fridaies meeting, being the date of their deliuerance, their incests, with their returne at the end of nine moneths, when commonlie women be neither able to go that iournie, nor to re-
 turne, &c: it is so horrible, vnnaturall, vnlikelie, and vnpossible; that if I should behold such things with mine eyes, I should rather thinke my selfe dreaming, drunken, or some waie deprived of my senses; than giue credit to so horrible and filthie matters.

How hath the oile or pottage of a sodden childe such vertue, as *A forged miracle.*
 that a staffe annointed therewith, can carrie folke in the aire: Their potable liquoz, which (they saie) maketh maisters of that fa-
 cultie,

3. Booke. The discouerie *Witches tempests*,
cultie, is it not ridiculous? And is it not, by the opinion of all
philosophers, physicians, and diuines, void of such vertue, as is
imputed therevnto?

Their not fasting on fridaies, and their fasting on sundaies,
their spetting at the time of eleuation, their refusall of holie wa-
ter, their despising of superstitious crosses, &c: which are all good
steps to true christianitie, helpe me to confute the residue of their
confessions.

A confutation of witches confessions, concerning
making of tempests and raine: of the naturall cause of
raine, and that witches or diuels haue no power to doe
such things.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Ad to speake moze generallie of
all the impossible actions referred vnto
them, as also of their false confessions; I
saie, that there is none which acknowled-
geth God to be onlie omnipotent, and the
onlie worker of all miracles, nor anie o-
ther indued with meane sense, but will
denie that the elements are obedient to

witches, and at their commandement; or that they may at their
pleasure send raine, haile, tempests, thunder, lightening; when
she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint stone ouer hir
left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea sand vp in-
to the element, or wettesth a brome sprig in water, and sprinkleth
the same in the aire; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putteth
water therein, stirreth it about with hir finger; or boileth hogs
bristles, or laieeth sticks acrosse vpon a banke, where neuer a drop
of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten: all which things are
confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes
that witches vse to moue extrao:dinarie tempests and raine, &c.

The waies
that wit-
ches vse to
make raine,
&c.

Nider. Mal.
Malef. I. Bod.
Frier Barth.
Heming. Da-
neus, &c.

Mal. Malef.
p. r. 2. que. 1.
cap. 12.

Whe read in M. Maleficarum, that a little girle walking abroad
with hir father in his land, heard him complaine of drought, with-
ing for raine, &c. The father (quoth the child) I can make it raine

o2 haile, when and where I list? He asked where she learned it. She said, of hir mother, who so bad hir to tell anie bodie thereof. He asked hir how hir mother taught hir? She answered, that hir mother committed hir to a maister, who would at anie time do anie thing for hir. Whie then (said he) make it raine but onlie in my field. And so she went to the streame, and threw vp water in hir maisters name, and made it raine presentlie. And proceeding further with hir father, she made it haile in another field, at hir fathers request. Here vpon he accused his wife, and caused hir to be burned; and then he new christened his child againe: which circumstance is common among papists and witchmongers. And howsoever the first part hereof was proued, there is no doubt but the latter part was throughlie executed. If they could indeed bring these things to passe at their pleasure, then might they also be impediments vnto the course of all other naturall things, and ordinances appointed by God: as, to cause it to hold vp, when it should raine; and to make midnight, of high none: and by those meanes (I saie) the diuine power should become seruite to the will of a witch, so as we could neither eat nor drinke, but by their permission.

He that can lie, can steale; as he that can worke can plaie.

We think Seneca might satisfie these credulous o2 rather idolatrous people, that runne a whorehunting, either in bodie o2 phansie, after these witches, beleeuing all that is attributed vnto them, to the derogation of Gods glorie. He saith, that the rude people, and our ignorant predecessours did beleeue, that raine and showes might be procured and staied by witches charmes and inchantments: of which kind of things that there can nothing be wrought, it is so manifest, that we need not go to anie philosophers schole, to learne the confutation thereof.

But Ieremie, by the word of God, doth vtterlie confound all that which may be deuised for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, saieing; Are there any among the gods of the gentiles, that sendeth raine, o2 giueth showes from heauen? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We will trust in thee, for thou dost and makest all these things. I may therefore with Brentius boldly saie, that It is neither in the power of witches nor diuels, to accomplish that matter; but in God onelie. For when exhalations are drawne and lifted vp from out of the earth, by the power of

Ieremie, 22.

De gentium deorum.
The gods of the gentiles are diuels.

The natu-
rall gene-
ration of
haile and
raine.

3. Booke. The discouerie The power of

of the sunne, into the middle region of the aire, the coldnes there of constringeth and thickeneth those vapours; which being become clouds, are dissolued againe by the heate of the sunne, where by raine or haile is ingendred; raine, if by the waie the drops be not frozen and made haile. These circumstances being considered with the course of the whole scripture, it can neither be in the power of witch or diuell to procure raine, or faire weather.

And whereas the storie of Iob in this case is alledged against me (wherein a witch is not once named) I haue particularlie answered it else where. And therefore thus much onelie I say here; that Euen there, where it pleased God (as Caluine saith) to set downe circumstances for the instruction of our grosse capacities, which are not able to conceiue of spirituall communication, or heauenlie affaires; the diuell desireth God to stretch out his hand, and touch all that Iob hath. And though he seemeth to grant satthans desire, yet God himselfe sent fire from heauen, &c. Where, it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand: it was the Lords hand that punished Iob, and not the hand of the diuell, who said not, Giue me leaue to plague him; but, Laie thine hand vpon him. And when Iob continued faithfull notwithstanding all his afflictions, in his children, bodie and goods; the diuell is said to come againe to God, and to saie as before, to wit:

How stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not do it, as that he himselfe did it not before. And be it here remembered, that M. Mal. and the residue of the witchmongers denie, that there

were any witches in Iobs
time. But see more
hereof else
where.

Iob. i. 11.

Ib. verse. 16.

Iob. 2. 5.

Mal. Mal. 2.
pa. 1. q. 2.

What would ensue, if witches confessions or witchmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.

*most diligent
Job 41*



If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that soles beleue, we should neuer haue butter in the chearne, nor colw in the close, nor corne in the field, nor faire weather abroad, nor health within dozes. And if that which is contained in M. Mal. Bodin, &c: or in the pamphlets late set forth in English, of witches erecutions, shuld be true in those things that witches are said to confesse, what creature could liue in securitie? And what needed such preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? No prince should be able to reigne or liue in the land. For (as Danaus saith) that one Martine a witch killed the emperour of Germanie with witchcraft: so would our witches (if they could) destroe all our magistrates. One old witch might ouerthrowe an armie rot all: and then what needed we any guns, or wild fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might supplie all wants, and accomplish a princes will in this behalfe, euen without charge or bloodshed of his people.

But these
suppositiōs
are false,
Ergo the
consequen-
cies are not
true.

If it be objected, that witches worke by the diuell, and christian princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that se to princes disposed to battell would make conscience therein, speciallie such as take vniuersall wars in hand, vsing other helpes, deuises, & engines as vnlawfull and diuelish as that; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christian order obserued: inso much as rauishments, murders, blasphemies and thefts are there most commonlie and freeke committed. So that the diuell is more feared, and better serued in their camps, than God almightie.

*Mal. Malif.
L. Bodin
Bar. Spinoza*

But admit that souldiers would be scrupulous herein, the pope hath authoritie to dispense therewith; as in like case he hath done,

done, by the testimonie of his owne autho:rs and friends. Admit also, that throughout all christendome, warres were iustly main-
teined, and religion duly obserued in their camps; yet would the
Turke and other infidels cut our throates, or at least one ano-
thers throte, with the helpe of their witches; for they would make
no conscience thereof.

Examples of forren nations, who in their warres vsed
the assistance of witches; of eybiting witches in Ireland, of
two archers that shot with familiars.

The xv. Chapter.

Witches in
warres.

In the warres between the kings
of Denmarke and Sueueland, 1563. the
Danes doe write, that the king of Sueue-
land caried about with him in his campe,
four old witches, who with their charms
so qualified the Danes, as they were there-
by disabled to annoie their enimies: inso-
much as, if they had taken in hand anie
enterprise, they were so infeebled by those witches, as they could
performe nothing. And although this could haue no credit at the
first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and
confessed the whole matter; so as (saith he) the threds, the line, and
the characters were found in the high waie and water plashes.

Eybiting
witches.

The Irishmen addict themselves wonderfullie to the credit and
practise hereof; insomuch as they affirme, that not onelie their
childzen, but their cattell, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they
fall suddenlie sicke, and terme one sort of their witches eybiters;
onelic in that respect: yea and they will not sicke to affirme,
that they can rime either man or beast to death. Also the West
Indians and Muscouits doe the like: and the Hunnes (as Grego-
rie Turonensis writeth) vsed the helpe of witches in time of war.

Pe wher an
archer.

I find another storie written in M. Mal. repeated by Bodin;
that one souldier called Pumher, daillie through witchcraft killed
with his bowe and arrowes three of the enimies, as they stood pee-
ping over the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he kil-
led them all quste, sauing one. The triall of the archers sinister
doe

dealing, and a profe thereof exprest, is; for that he neuer lightly failed when he shot, and for that he killed them by three a daie; and had shot three arrowes into a rood. This was he that shot at a pemie on his sonnes head, and made readie another arrow, to haue flaine the duke Reingraue that commanded it. And doubtlesse, bicause of his singular dexteritie in shooting, he was reputed a witch, as doing that which others could not do, nor thinke to be in the power of man to do: though indeed no miracle, no witchcraft, no impossibilitie nor difficultie consisted therein.

But this latter storie I can requite with a familiar example. For at Totone Malling in kent, one of M. Maries iustices, vpon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boies, laid an archer by the heeles; bicause he shot so nere the white at buts. For he was informed and perswaded, that the poore man played with a sie, otherwise called a diuell or familiar. And bicause he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he before had heard of or seene, he conceived it could not be in Gods name, but by enchantment: whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Quenes liege people) gained some one daie two or three shillings, to the detriment of the common wealth, and to his owne enriching. And therefore the archer was seuerely punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of iustice; but speciallie to the ouerthrowe of witchcraft. And now againe to our matter.

A skilfull archer punished by an vnskillfull iustice.

Authorities condemning the fantastickal confessions of witches, and how a popish doctour taketh vpon him to disproue the same.

The xvj. Chapter.



Certeine generall counceils, by their decrees, haue condemned the confessions and erronious credulitie of witches, to be vaine, fantastickal and fabulous. And euen those, which are parcell of their league, ther vpon our witchmongers do so build, to wit; their night wal-kings and meetings with Herodias, and the

the Pagan gods: at which time they should passe so farre in so little a space on cockhorse; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides, their entring into mens houses, through chinks and little holes, where a sic can scarce lie wryng out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants, &c: all which are not onelie said by a generall counsell to be mere fantastickall, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the counsell are these; It may not be omitted, that certeine wicked women following sathans p:ouocations, being seduced by the illusion of diuels, beleue and professe, that in the night times they ride abroad with Diana, the goddesse of the Pagans, or else with Herodias, with an innumerable multitude, vpon certeine beasts, and passe ouer manie countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and do whatsoeuer those faeries or ladies command, &c. And it followeth euen there; Let all ministers therefore in their seuerall cures, preach to Gods people, so as they may knowe all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same counsell; Therefore, whoso euer beleueth that any creature may be either created by them, or else changed into better or worse, or be any way transformed into any other kind or likenes of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredlie an infidell, and worse than a Pagan.

And if this be credible, then all these their bargaines and assemblies, &c: are incredible, which are onelie ratified by certeine foolishly and extorted confessions; and by a fable of S. Germane, who watched the faeries or witches, being at a reere banquet, and through his holinesse staied them, till he sent to the houses of those neighbours, which seemed to be there, and found them all in bed; and so tried, that these were diuels in the likenesse of those women. Which if it were as true, as it is false, it might serue well to confute this their meeting and night-walking. For if the diuels be onlie present in the likenesse of witches, then is that false, which is attributed to witches in this behalfe.

But bicause the old hammer of Sprenger and Institor, in their old *Malleo maleficarum*, was insufficient to knocke downe this counsell; a yong battie-head called Frier Bartholomæus Spineus hath made a new leaden battie, to beate downe the counsell, and to kill these old women. Wherein he counterfeiting

Aelops

*Concil. Ac-
quien/ in
decret. 26.
que. 5. can.
episcopi.
August. de
spiritu et
anima cap. 8.
Franc. Pon-
tific. tract.
de lam. nu-
mero 49.
Grillandus
de fort. nu-
mero 6.*

*In histor.
vel vita san-
cti Germani.*

*Novus Mal.
Me. in que.
de singul.
cap. 11. 22.
23. 24.*

Aefops afse, clatweth the pope with his beeles : affirming vpon his credit, that the counsell is false and erronious ; bicaufe the doctrine swarweth from the popish church, and is not authentickall but apocryphall ; laien (though vntrulie) that that counsell was not called by the commandement and pleasure of the pope, nor ratified by his authoritie, which (saith he) is sufficient to disannull all counsels. For surelie (saith this frier, which at this instant is a chiefe inquisitor) if the words of this counsell were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notozious lies, and committed manie iniurious executions ; whereby the popes themselues also might iustlie be detected of error, contrarie to the catholike beleafe in that behalfe. Parrie he saith, that although the words and direct sense of this counsell be quite contrarie to truth and his opinion ; yet he will make an exposition thereof, that shall somewhat mitigate the letwines of the same ; and this he saith is not onlie allowable to doe, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and iudge his meaning.

Bar. Spinens.
Mal. Malef.
cap. 23. in
que de stri-
gib.

Witchmongers reasons, to prooue that witches can worke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland preest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholic doo cause illusions.

The xvij. Chapter.



DM. Maleficarum also saith, that the counsels and doctors were all deceived herein, and alledging authoritie therfore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called *Petio principij*, or rather, *Ignotum per ignotius*, in this maner : They can put changlings in the place of other children ; Ergo they can transerre and transforme themselues and others, &c : according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and Bodin iustifieth it, that a preest in Friseland was corporallie transferred into a farre countrie, as witnessed another preest of Oberdorf his companion, who saw him aloft in the aire ; Ergo saith M. Mal. they haue all bene decei-

Mal. Malef.
pa. I. cap. 3.
Guil. Parisi.

C. ij.

ur d

ued hitherto, to the great impunitie of horrible witches. Wherein he opposeth his follie against God and his church, against the truth, and against all possibilitie. But surelie it is almost incredible, how imagination shall abuse such as are subiect vnto melancholie; so as they shall beleue they see, heare, and do that, which neuer was nor shall be; as is partlie declared, if you read Galen *De locis affectis*, and may moze plainelie appere also if you read Aristotle *De somnio*.

*August. de
spiritu &
anima.*

*Lib. 1. cap. 7.
de eucharistia.*

And thereof S. Augustine saith well, that he is too much a foole and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be done indeed, and corporallie, which are by such persons phantasticallie imagined: which phantasticall illusions do as well agree and accord (as Algerus saith) with magicall deceipts, as the veritie accompanieth diuine holinesse.

That the confession of witches is insufficient in ciuill and common lawe to take awaie life. What the sounder diuines, and decrees of counells determine in this case.

The xviij. Chapter.

It is not
likelie they
would so
do: Ergo
a lie.



As! what creature being sound in state of mind, would (without compulsion) make such maner of confessions as they do; or would, for a trifle, or nothing, make a perfect bargaine with the diuell for hir soule, to be yeldd bp vnto his tortures and euermolting flames, and that within a verie short time; speciallie being through age most commonlie vnlike to liue one whole yeare. The terroz of hell fire must needs be to them diuerslie manifested, and much moze terrible; because of their weaknesse, nature, and kind, than to any other: as it would appere, if a witch were but asked, Whether she would be contented to be hanged one yeare hence, vpon condition hir displeasure might be wexed bp on hir enimie presentlie. As for thieues, & such other, they thinke not to go to hell fire; but are either perswaded there is no hell, or that their crime deserueth it not, or else that they haue time enough

nough to repent: so as, no doubt, if they were perfectly resolved hereof, they would neuer make such adventures. Neither do I thinke, that for any summe of monie, they would make so direct a bargain to go to hell fire. Now then I conclude, that confession in this behalf is insufficient to take awaie the life of any body; or to attaine such credit, as to be belieued without further profe.

For as Augustine and Idore, with the rest of the sounder diuines saie, that these prestigious things, which are wrought by witches, are fantastickall: so do the sounder decrees of councils and canons agree, that in that case, there is no place for criminall action. And the lawe saith, that The confession of such persons as are illoded, must needs be erroneous, and therefore is not to be admitted: for, *Confessio debet tenere verum & possibile*. But these things are opposite both to lawe and nature, and therefore it followeth not; Because these witches confesse so, Ergo it is so. For the confession differeth from the act, or from the possibilitie of the act. And whatsoeuer is contrarie to nature faileth in his principles, and therefore is naturallie impossible.

The lawe also saith, *In criminalibus regulariter non statuitur soli confessioni rei*, In criminall cases or touching life, we must not absolutely stand to the confession of the accused partie: but in these matters profes must be brought more cleare than the light it selfe. And in this crime no bodie must be condemned vpon presumptions. And where it is objected and vied, that Since God onelie knoweth the thoughts, therefore there is none other waie of profe but by confession: It is answered thus in the lawe, to wit: Their confession in this case conteineth an outward act, and the same impossible both in lawe and nature, and also vnlikelie to be true; and therefore *Quod verisimile non est, attendi non debet*. So as, though their confessions may be worthis of punishment, as whereby they shew a will to commit such mischaunce, yet not worthis of credit, as that they haue such power. For, *Si factum ablit, solaque opinione laborent, & strutorum genere sunt*; If they confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed among the number of soles. Neither may any man be by lawe condemned for criminall causes, vpon presumptions, nor yet by single witness: neither at the accusation of a capitall enimie, who indeed is not to be admitted to giue euidence in this case; though it please

August. de ciuit. Dei. Isidor. lib. 8. cap. 9. Etymol. 25. que. 5. ca. nec mirum.

Pon. iudic. de larnis, volum. 10.

L. error, & L. cum poss. eade inuis & facti i. nor. ac in L. de erat S.

uon de in-terrog. acti.

Per gl. f. Bal.

& alios in L.

uic. de confes.

glos. nec. si de confes. in 6. S.

ad leg. Aquil.

L. Neracius.

S. fin.

Vi per Bald.

& Aug. ff.

in L. l. c. de confes. & c.

Extra de presump. li.

teraz.

Per Bald. in d. leg. & c.

Extra de test.

cum lictis.

Mal. Malef.

p. 3. qu. 5.

cap. 11.

M. Mal. and Bodin to affirme the contrarie. But beyond all equitie, these inquisitors haue shifts and deuises enow, to plague and kill these poore soules: for (they say) their fault is greatest of all others; because of their carnall copulation with the diuell, and therefore they are to be punished as heretikes, foure maner of waies: to wit; with excommunication, deprivation, losse of goods, and also with death.

Mal. malef.
quest. 14.
p. 1.

C. de malef.
l. mulier.
l. nemo &
l. culpa. and
affirmed by
Mal. malef.

Mal. malef.
quest. 17.

And in dede they find lawe, and prouide meanes thereby to mainteine this their bloudie humor. For it is written in their popish canons, that As for these kind of heretikes, how much soeuer they repent and retorne to the faith, they may not be retene aliuie, or kept in perpetuall prison; but be put to extream death. Yea, M. Mal. writeth, that A witches sinne is the sinne against the Holie-ghost; to wit, irremissible: yea further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that Moses deliuered not three tables to the children of Israll; or at the least wise, that he exhibited not commandments for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the lesse, &c.

But when these witchmongers are conuincd in the obiection concerning their confessions; so as thereby their tyrannicall arguments cannot preuaile, to imbrue the magistrates hands in so much bloud as their appetite requireth: they fall to accusing them of other crimes, that the world might thinke they had some colour to mainteine their malicious furie against them.

Of foure capitall crimes objected against witches, all
fullie answered and confuted as triuolous.

The xix. Chapter.

Idolatrie,
confuted.



First therefore they laie to their charge idolatrie. But alas without all reason: for such are properlie knowne to vs to be idolaters, as doe externall worship to idols or strange gods. The furthest point that idolatrie can be stretched vnto, is, that they, which are culpable therein, are such as hope for, and seeke saluation at the

the hands of idols, or of anie other than God; or fir their whole mind and loue vpon anie creature, so as the power of God be neglected and contemned thereby. But witches neither sake nor beleeue to haue saluation at the hands of diuels, but by them they are onlie deceiued; the instruments of their phantasie being corrupted, and so infatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and saie they can doe that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to doe, as to kill a man at Yorke before noone, when they haue bene seene at London in that morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters, whose idolatrie is spirituall, and committed onelie in mind, should be punished by death; then should euerie couctous man, or other, that setteth his affection anie waie too much vpon an earthlie creature, be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scottfree.

Secondlie, apostasie is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are worthe to die. But apostasie is, where anie of sound iudgement forsake the gospell, learned and well knowne vnto them; and doe not onelie embrace impietie and infidelitie; but opugne and resist the truth erst while by them professed. But alas these poore women go not about to defend anie impietie, but after god admonition repent.

Thirdlie, they would haue them executed for seducing the people. But God knoweth they haue small store of Rhetorike or art to seduce; except to tell a tale of Robin good-fellow be to deceiue and seduce. Neither may their age or sex admit that epinion or accusation to be iust: for they themselves are poore seduced soules. I for my part (as else where I haue said) haue proued this point to be false in most apparent sort.

Fourthlie, as touching the accusation, which all the writers vse herein against them for their carnall copulation with Incubus: the follie of mens credulitie is as much to be wondered at and derided, as the others vaine and impossible confessions. For the diuell is a spirit, and hath neither flesh nor bones, which were to be vsed in the performance of this action. And since he also lacketh all instruments, substance, and seed ingendred of blood; it were follie to staie ouerlong in the confutation of that, which is not in the nature of things. And yet must I saie somewhat herein, because the opinion hereof is so stronglie and vniuersallie received,

C.iii. and

2. Apostasie, confuted.

3. Seducing of the people, confuted.

4. Carnall copulation with Incubus, confuted.

How the
diuell plai-
eth Succu-
bus and In-
cubus.

and the fables here vpon so unnumerable, whereby M. Mal. Bodin, Hemingius, Hyperius, Danæus, Erastus, and others that take vpon them to write herein, are so abused, or rather seeke to abuse others; as I wonder at their fond credulitie in this behalfe. For they affirme vndoubtedlie, that the diuell plaieyth Succubus to the man, and carrieth from him the seed of generation, which he deliuereth as Incubus to the woman, who manie times that waie is gotten with child; which will verie naturallie (they saie) become a witch, and such a one they affirme Merline was.

A request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe ouer eight chapters.

The xx. Chapter.

A peroration to the readers.



It in so much as I am driuen (for the more manifest betwixt and displaying of this most filthie and horrible error) to staine my paper with writing thereon certeine of their beastlie and bawdie assertions and examples, whereby they confirme this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to thinke vpon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation thereof) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste eares cannot well endure to heare of such abhominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the bookes of those witchmongers (although doctours of diuinitie, and otherwise of great authoritie and estimation) to turne ouer a few leaues, wherein (I saie) I haue like a grone thrust their bawdie stuffe (euen that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none other wise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remaine sweet, and this also couered as close as may be.

The

¶ *The fourth Booke.*

Of witchmongers opinions concerning euill spirits, how they frame themselves in more excellent sort than God made vs.

The first Chapter.



Ames Sprenger and Henric *Mal. malef. par. 2. cap. 4. quest. 1.*
 Institor, in M. Mal. agreeing
 with Bodin, Barth. Spineus,
 Danæus, Erastus, Hemin-
 gius, and the rest, do make a
 batwodie discourse; labouring
 to proue by a foolish kind of
 philosophie, that euill spirits
 cannot onlie take earthlie
 forms and shapes of men;
 but also counterfeite hea-
 ring, seeing, &c: and like-
 wise, that they can eate and
 deuoure meats, and also re-

teine, digest, and auoid the same: and finallie, vse diuerse kinds
 of activities, but speciallie excell in the vse and art of veneric. If
 M. Mal. saith, that The eyes and eares of the mind are farre more
 subtil than bodilie eyes or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed,
 that as they take bodies, and the likenesse of members; so they
 take minds and similitudes of their operations. But by the way,
 I would haue them answer this question. Our minds and soules
 are spirituall things. How corporall eares be stopped, what can
 they heare or conceiue of anie eternall wisdom? And truelie,
 a man of such a constitution of bodie, as they imagine of these
 spirits, which make themselves, &c: were of farre more excellent
 substance, &c: than the bodies of them that God made in paradise;
 and so the diuels workmanship should exceed the handes worke
 of God the father and creator of all things.

If his bo-
 dilie eyes
 were out,
 he would
 see but il-
 fauoredlie.

Of bawdie Incubus and Succubus, and whether the
action of venerie may be performed betweene witches
and diuels, and when witches first yeelded to Incubus.

The second Chapter.

*Nider in
fornicariis.
T. Brabant.
in lib. de a-
piis.*

In Cretofoze (they saie) Incubus was
faine to rauish women against their will,
vntill Anno. 1400: but now since that
time witches consent willingly to their
desires: in so much as some one witch ex-
erciseth that trade of lecherie with Incu-
bus twentie or thirtie yeares together; as
was confessed by fourtie and eight wit-
ches burned at Rauenl purge. But what goodlie fellows Incubus
begetteth vpon these witches, is proued by Thomas of Aquine,
Bodin, M. Mal. Hyperius, &c.

*In sen. dist. 4.
ari. 4.
Gen. 6, 4.*

This is proued first by the diuels cunning, in discerning the
difference of the seed which falleth from men. Secondlie, by his
vnderstanding of the aptnes of the women for the receipt of such
seed. Thirddie by his knowledge of the constellations, which are
frendlie to such corporall effects. And lastlie, by the excellent com-
plexion of such as the diuell maketh choice of, to beget such nota-
ble personages vpon, as are the causes of the greatnesse and ex-
cellencie of the child thus begotten.

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1.
Am. u. de
doctrina
Christ.*

And to proue that such bawdie doings betwixt the diuell and
witches is not fained, S. Augustine is alledged, who saith, that
All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous so-
cietie betwixt the diuell and man. Wherein he saith truelie; for
that in paradise, betwixt the diuell and man, all wickednes was
so contriued, that man euer since hath studied wicked arts: yea
and the diuell will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of
euerie mischæse. But that the diuell ingendreth with a woman,
in maner and forme as is supposed, and naturallie begetteth
the wicked, neither is it true, nor Augustines meaning in this
place.

Whobett M. Mal. proceedeth, affirming that All witches take
their

their beginning from such filthy actions, wherein the diuell, in likenes of a prettie wench, lieth prostitute as Succubus to the man, and reteining his nature and sexe, conueieth it vnto the witch, to whome he deliuereth it as Incubus. Wherein also is refused the opinion of them that hold a spirit to be vnpalpable. M. Mal. saith, There can be rendred no infallible rule, though a probable distinction may be set downe, whether Incubus in the act of veneric doe alwaies putre seed out of his assumed bodie. And this is the distinction; Either she is old and barren, or yong and pregnant. If she be barren, then doth Incubus vse hir without decission of seed; bicause such seed should serue for no purpose. And the diuell auoideth superfluitie as much as he may; and yet for hir pleasure and condemnation together, he goeth to worke with hir. But by the waie, if the diuell were so compendious, what should he need to vse such circumstances, euen in these berie actions, as to make these assemblies, conuenticles, ceremonies, &c. when he hath already bought their bodies, and bargained for their soules: Or what reason had he, to make them kill so manie infants, by whom he rather loseth than gaineth any thing; bicause they are, so farre as either he or we knowe, in better case than we, of riper yeares by reason of their innocencie: Well, if she be not past children, then stealeth he seed alwaie (as hath bene said) from some wicked man being about that lecherous business, and therewith getteth yong witches vpon the old.

And note, that they affirme that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is shed in dremes, through superfluitie of humors: bicause that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generatiue. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the waie, and so lose his naturall heate, and consequently the vertue: M. Mal. Danæus, and the rest doe answer, that the diuell can so carrie it, as no heate shall go from it, &c.

Furthermore, old witches are sworne to procure as manie yong virgins for Incubus as they can, whereby in time they growe to be excellent balvds: but in this case the priest plaith Incubus. For you shall find, that confession to a priest, and naminge this word Benedicite, driueth Incubus awaie, when Aue Marias, crosses, and all other charmes faile.

*Mal. malef.
que. 1. par. 1.*

*Mal. malef.
par. 1. que. 1.
Danæus in
dialog. de
fortiarijs.
Ia. Sprenger
in Mal. malef.*

Of the diuels visible & inuisible dealing with witches in the waie of lecherie.

The third Chapter.

BUt as touching the diuels visible or inuisible execution of lecherie, it is written, that to such witches, as before haue made a visible legue with the prest, (the diuell I should saie) there is no necessity that Incubus should appeare inuisible: marrie to the standers by hee is for the most part inuisible. For profe hereof

This was doone at Rauespurge.

Mal. Malef.

James Sprenger and Institor affirme, that many times witches are seene in the fields, and woods, prostituting themselves uncovered and naked vp to the nacill, wagging and mouing their members in euerie part, according to the disposition of one being about that act of concupiscence, and yet nothing seene of the beholders vpon hir; sauing that after such a conuenient time as is required about such a peece of worke, a blacke vapor, of the length and bignesse of a man, hath bene seene as it were to depart from hir, and to ascend from that place. Neuerthelesse, many times the husband seeth Incubus making him cuckold, in the likenesse of a man, and sometimes striketh off his head with his sword: but bicause the bodie is nothing but aire, it closeth together againe: so as, although the goodwife be some times hurt thereby, yet she maketh him beloeue he is mad or possessed, & that he dooth he knoweth not what. For she hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with Incubus that waie, than with anie mortall man: whereby you may perceiue that spirits are palpable.

(..)

That

That the power of generation is both outwardlie and inwardlie impeached by witches, and of diuers that had their genitals taken from them by witches, and by the same meanes againe restored.

The fourth Chapter.

They also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardlie, and outwardlie : for intrinsecallie they repress the courage, and they stop the passage of the mans seed, so as it may not descend to the vessels of generation : also they hurt extrinsecallie, with images, hearbs, &c. And to proue this true, you shall heare certeine stories out of M. Mal. w^hich to be noted.

A yong priest at Mespurge in the diocesse of Constance was bewitched, so as he had no power to occupie any other o^r mo^r women than one; and to be deliuered out of that thraldom, sought to flie into another countrie, where he might vse that prestlie occupation moze frelie. But all in vaine; for euermoze he was brought as far backward by night, as he went forward in the daie before; sometimes by land, sometimes in the aire, as though he flew. And if this be not true, I am sure that Iames Sprenger doth lie. *Mal. Malef. cap. 6. que. 1. pa. 2.*

For the further confirmation of our beleefe in Incubus, M. Mal. citeth a storie of a notable matter executed at Rauenspurge, as true and as cleanlie as the rest. A yong man lieng with a wench in that towne (saith he) was faine to leane his instruments of venerie behind him, by meanes of that prestigious art of witchcraft: so as in that place nothing could be sene o^r felt but his plaine bodie. This yong man was willed by another witch, to go to hir whom he suspected, and by faire o^r sotole meanes to require hir helpe: who lone after meeting with hir, intreated hir faire, but that was in vaine; and therefore he caught hir by the throte, and with a towell strangled hir, saing: Kestore me my tole

tole, or thou shalt die for it: so as she being swolne and blacke in the face, and through his boisterous handling readie to die, said; Let me go, and I will helpe thee. And whilest he was losing the towell, she put hir hand into his codpéece, and touched the place; saieing; Now hast thou thy desire: and euen at that instant he felt himselfe restored.

*Ia. Sprenger.
in Mal. malef.
cap. 7. par. 2.
ques. 1.*

Item, a reuerend father, for his life, holinesse, and knowledge notorizous, being a frier of the order and companie of Spire, reported, that a yong man at Shyft made lamentable moane vnto him for the like losse: but his grauitie suffered him not to beleue lightlie any such reports, and therefore made the yong man bridle his codpéece point, and saue the complaint to be true and iust. Whereupon he aduised or rather inioined the youth to go to the witch whome he suspected, and with flattering words to intreat hir, to be so good vnto him, as to restore him his instrument: which by that meanes he obtained, and some after returned to shew himselfe thankfull; and told the holie father of his good successe in that behalfe: but he so beleued him, as he would needs be *Oculus testis*, and made him pull downe his breeches, and so was satisfied of the troth and certeintie thereof.

*Mal. malef.
cap. 7. par. 2.
ques. 1.*

Another yong man being in that verie taking, went to a witch for the restitution thereof, who brought him to a tree, where she shewed him a nest, and bad him clime vp and take it. And being in the top of the tree, he toke out a mightie great one, and shewed the same to hir, asking hir if he might not haue the same. Saie (quoth she) that is our parish priests tole, but take anie other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that some haue found 20. and some 30. of them in one nest, being there preserved with prouender, as it were at the racke and manger, with this note, wherein there is no contradiction (for all must be true that is written against witches) that If a witch deprave one of his priuities, it is done onlie by prestigious meanes, so as the senses are but illuded. Marie by the diuell it is reallie taken awaie, and in like sort restored. These are no iesses, for they be written by them that were and are iudges vpon the liues and deaths of those persons.

Note.

Of bishop Syluanus his leacherie opened and couered againe, how maides hauing yellow haire are most combed with Incubus, how married men are bewitched to vse other mens wiues, and to refuse their owne.

The fifth Chapter.



You shall read in the legend, how *In vita Hieronymi.*

in the night time Incubus came to a ladies bed side, and made hot loue vnto hir: whereat she being offended, cried out so lowd, that companie came and found him vnder hir bed in the likenesse

Saints as holie and chaste as horses & mares.

of the holie bishop Syluanus, which holie man was much defamed therrebie, vntill at the length this infamie was purged by the confession of a diuell made at S. Ieroms towne. Oh excellent pcece of witchcraft or couensing wrought by Syluanus! Item S. Christine would nedes take vnto hir another maides Incubus, and lie in hir romme: and the storie saith, that she was therwolie accloied. But she was a thew indeed, that would nedes change beds with hir fellow, that was troubled euerie night with Incubus, and deale with him hir selfe. But here the inquisitors note maie not be forgotten, to wit: that Maides hauing yelloe haire are most molested with this spirit. Also it is written in the Legend, of S. Barnard, that a pretie wench that had had the vse of Incubus his bodie by the space of six or seuen yeares in Aquitania (being belike wearie of him for that he wared old) would nedes go to S. Barnard another while. But Incubus told hir, that if she would so forsake him, being so long hir true louer, he would be reuenged vpon hir, &c. But befall what would, she went to S. Barnard, who toke hir his staffe, and bad hir laie it in the bed besides hir. And indeed the diuell fearing the bedstaffe, or that S. Barnard laie there himselfe, durst not approch into hir chamber that night: that he did afterwards, I am vncertaine. Marrie you may find other circumstances hereof, and manie other like bawdie lies in the golden Legend. But here againe we maie not forget the in-

Maides hauing yelloe haire.

inquisitors

80 4. Booke. The discouerie *Bewitched loue.*

*Mal. Malef.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 2.*

quisitozs note, to wit; that manie are so bewitched, that they can not vse their owne wiues: but anie other bodies they maie well enough away withall. Which witchcraft is practised among manie bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuse to saie they were bewitched.

How to procure the dissoluing of bewitched loue,
also to enforce a man (how proper so euer he be) to
loue an old hag: and of a bawdie trick of a priest in
Gelderland.

The sixt Chapter.

THe priests saie, that the best cure
so: a woman thus molested, next to con-
fession, is excommunication. But to pro-
cure the dissoluing of bewitched and con-
strained loue, the partie bewitched must
make a takes of the louters shoe. And to
enforce a man, how proper so euer he be,
to loue an old hag, she giueth vnto him
to eate (among other meates) hir owne dong: and this waie
one old witch made thre abbats of one house successuelie to die
for hir loue, as she hir selfe confessed, by the report of M. Mal. In
Gelderland a priest perswaded a sick woman that she was be-
witched; and except he might sing a masse vpon hir bellie, she
could not be holpen. Wherevnto she consented, and laie
naked on the altar whilest he sang masse, to the satis-
fing of his lust; but not to the release of hir
græfe. Other cures I will speake of in
other places moze ciuill. Notobest,
certeine miraculous cures,
both full of bawderie and
lies, must either haue
place here, or
none at
all.

Of a baw-
die priest
in Gelder-
land.

Of diuers saincts and holie persons, which were exceeding bawdie and lecherous, and by certeine miraculous meanes became chaste.

The seuench Chapter.



CAssianus writeth, that S. Syren In coll. pas. 1747. being of bodie verie lecherous, and of mind wonderfull religious, fasted and praied; to the end his bodie might be reduced miraculously to chastitie. At length came an angell vnto him by night, and cut out of his flesh certeine kernels, which were the sparkes of concupiscence; so as afterwards he neuer had anie moze motions of the flesh. It is also reported, that the abbat Equicius being naturallie as vnchaste as the other, fell to his beads so deuoutlie for recouerie of honesty, that there came an angell vnto him in an apparition, that seemed to geld him; and after that (forsooth) he was as chaste as though he had had neuer a stone in his breech; and before that time being a ruler ouer monkes, he became afterwards a gouernour ouer nunnes. Euen as it is said Helias the holie monke gathered thirtie virgins into a monasterie, ouer whom he ruled and reigned by the space of two yeares, and grew so proud and hot in the coppece, that he was faine to forsake his holie house, and flie to a desert, where he fasted and praied two daies, saying; Lord quench my hot lecherous humors, or kill me. Whereupon in the night following, there came vnto him three angels, and demanded of him why he forsake his charge: but the holie man was ashamed to tell them. Wherupon they asked him further, saying; Wilt thou returne to these damfels, if we free thee from all concupiscence: Yea (quoth he) with all my heart. And when they had sworn him sollemnelie so to doe, they toke him by, & gelded him; and one of them holding his hands, and another his feet, the third cut out his stones. But the storie saith it was not so ended, but in a vision. Which I beleeue, because within five daies he returned to his minions, who pitiously mourned for him all this while,

Gregor. lib. 1. dial. 2.

In visio patrum. Heracles in paradiso.

*Nider in f-
nicario.*

while, and ioyfullie embraced his swete companie at his re-
turne. The like storie dooth Nider write of Thomas, whome two
angels cured of that lecherous disease; by putting about him a
girdle, which they brought downe with them from heauen.

Certeine popish and magicall cures, for them
that are bewitched in their priuities.

The eight Chapter.



EOr direct cure to such as are be-
witched in the priue members, the first
and speciall is confession: then follow in
a row, holie water, and those ceremonie
all trunperics, Aue Maries, and all ma-
ner of crossings; which are all said to be
wholesome, except the witchcraft be per-
petuall, and in that case the wise maie
haue a diuorſe of course.

Aliser.

Item, the eating of a haggister or pie helpeth one be witched in
that member.

Aliser.

Item, the smoke of the tooth of a dead man.

Aliser.

Item, to annoint a mans bodie ouer with the gall of a crow.

Item, to fill a quill with quicke siluer, and laie the same vnder
the cushione, where such a one sitteth, or else to put it vnder the
threshold of the dore of the house or chamber where he dwelleth.

Aliser.

Item, to spet into your owne bosome, if you be so bewitched,
is verie good.

Aliser.

Item, to passe through a wedding ring. If you would know
who is hurt in his priuities by witchcraft; and who otherwise is
therein diseased, Hostienſis answereth: but so, as I am asha-
med to english it: and therefore haue here set downe his experi-
ment in Latine; *Quando virga nullatenus mouetur, & nunquam po-
nit cognoscere; hoc est signum frigiditatis: sed quando mouetur & erigi-
tur, perficere autem non potest, est signum maleficij.*

S. Thomas
Moore,
medicina-
ble receipt,
&c.

But Sir Th. Moore hath such a cure in this matter, as I am
ashamed to write, either in Latine or English: for in filthy
baloderie it passeth all the tales that euer I heard. But that is
rather

rather a medicine to procure generation, than the cure of witchcraft, though it serue both turnes.

Item, when ones instrument of veneric is bewitched, certeine *Aliter.* characters must be written in virgine parchment, celebrated and holied by a popish priest; and thereon also must the 141. Psalm be written, and bound *Ad viri fuscinati coxam.*

Item, one Katharine Loe (hauing a husband not so readilie disposed that waie as she wished him to be) made a wairen image to the likeness of hir husbands bewitched member, and offered it vp at S. Anthonies altar; so as, through the holinesse of the masse it might be sanctified, to be more couragious, and of better disposition and abilitie, &c.

A strange cure doone to one that was molested with Incubus.

The ninth Chapter.

NOW being wearied with the re-
bearfall of so manie lecheries most horri-
ble, and verie filthie and fabulous actions
and passions of witches, together with
the spirit Incubus, I will end with a true
storie taken out of Iason Pratenus; which
though it be rude, yet is it not altogether
so vncleane as the rest.

*Iaso. Praten-
sis de cerebri
morbo, ca. 16.*

There came (saith he) of late a masse priest vnto me, making pitious moane, and saieng, that if I holpt him not, he should be vndone, and vtterlie ouerthrowne; so great was his infirmitie: for (saith he) I was wont to be faire and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and so how I looke, being now a verie ghost consisting of skinne and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth Iason?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There commeth vnto me, almost euerie night, a certeine woman, vnknewne vnto me, and lieth so heauie vpon my brest, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither haue anie power to crie, neither doe my hands serue me to shoue hir awaie, nor my feete to go from hir. I smiled (quoth Iason) and told him that he was vexed with a disease called In-

Incubus,

The priest
is opinio-
natiue in
the error of
his phanta-
sie.

cubus, or the mare; and the reason was phantasie and vaine imagination. Paie (said the priest) it cannot be so: for by our blessed ladie, I tell you nothing but that with waking I saw with mine eyes, and felt with mine hands. I saw hir when she commeth vpon me, and strue to repell hir; but I am so infiebled that I cannot: and for remedie I haue runne about from place to place, but no helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old srier that was counted an od fellow; and thought to haue had help at his hands, but the diuell a whit had I of him; sauing that for remedie he willed me to praie to God; whome I am sure I wearied with my tedious praiers long before. Then went I vnto an old woman (quoth the priest) who was said to be a cunning witch: and she willed me, that the next morning, about the dawning of the daie, I should pisse, and immediatlie should couer the pispot, or stop it with my right netherstocke, and before night the witch should come to visit me. And although (quoth he) the respect of mine orders somewhat terrified me from the execution of hir aduise; yet my necessities diuerse waies, and speciallie my paines moued me to make triall of hir words. And by the masse (quoth the priest) hir prophesie fell out as sure as a club. For a witch came to my house, and complained of a graie in hir bladder, and that she could not pisse. But I could neither by faire nor sottle meanes obtaine at hir hands, that she would leaue molesting me by night; but she kepeth hir old custome, determining by these filthie meanes to dispatch me. I could hardlie (said Iason) reclaime him from this mad humoz; but by that time he had bene with me thrée or foure times, he began to comfort himselfe, and at last perceiuing it, he acknowledged his disease, and recovered the same.

The priest
recovered.

A confutation of all the former follies touching Incubus, which by examples and proofes of like stufte is shewed to be flat knauerie, wherein the carnall copulation with spirits is ouerthrowne.

The tenth Chapter.

THUS are lecheries covered with the cloke of Incubus and witchcraft, contrarie to nature and veritie: and with these fables is maintained an opinion, that men haue bene begotten without carnall copulation (as Hyperius and others write that Merlin was, An. 440.) Merlin begotten of Incubus. Speciallie to excuse and mainteine the knaueries and lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes; and to couer the shame of their louers and concubines.

And alas, when great learned men haue bene so abused, with the imagination of Incubus his carnall societie with women, misconstruing the scriptures, to wit, the place in Genesis 6. to the securing of manie others; it is the lesse wonder, that this error hath passed so generallie among the common people.

But to vse few words herein, I hope you vnderstand that they affirme and saie, that Incubus is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c: and that he neither doth eate nor drinke. In deede your grandams maides were wont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin god-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight: and you haue also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or god-wife of the house, hauing compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, besides his melle of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith, What haue we here? Hemton hamten, here will I neuer more tread nor stampen.

But to proceed in this confutation. Where there is no meate eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingendred: although it be granted, that Robin could both eate and drinke, as being a

H. ly.

couise

Quia humor spermaticus ex succo alimentari promouetur.

cousening idle frier, or some such roge, that wanted nothing either belonging to lecherie or knauerie, &c. Item, where the generall members want, there can be no lust in the flesh: neither doth nature giue anie desire of generation, where there is no propagation or succession required. And as spirits cannot be grieved with hunger, so can they not be inflamed with lustes. And if men should liue euer, what needed succession or heires? For that is but an ordinance of God, to supplie the place, the number, the world, the time, and speciallie to accomplishe his will. But the power of generation consisteth not onlie in members, but chiefelie of vitall spirits, and of the hart: which spirits are neuer in such a bodie as Incubus hath, being but a bodie assumed, as they themselves saie. And yet the most part of writers herein affirme, that it is a palpable and visibill bodie; though all be phantasies and fables that are written here vpon.

Ad facultatem generationis tam interna quam externa organa requiruntur.

That Incubus is a naturall disease, with remedies for the same, besides magicall cures herewithall expressed.

The eleuenth Chapter.

What Incubus is, & who be most troubled therewith.



Ut in truth, this Incubus is a bodilie disease (as hath bene said) although it extend vnto the trouble of the mind: which of some is called *The mare*, oppressing manie in their sleepe so fore, as they are not able to call for helpe, or stir themselves vnder the burthen of that heauie humo, which is ingendred of a thicke vapor proceeding from the cruditie and rauenesse in the stomack: which ascending vp into the head oppresseth the braine, in so much as manie are much infeebled thereby, as being rightlie haunted therewith. They are most troubled with this disease, that being subiect thereto, lie right vpright: so as, to turne and lie on the one side, is present remedie. Likewise, if anie heare the groining of the partie, speake vnto him, so as he wake him, he is presently releued. Howbeit, there are magicall cures, the first example,

S. George,

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by daie, so did he by night:
Vntill such time as he hir found,
He hir beat and he hir bound,
Vntill hir troth lye to him plight,
She would not come to hir that night.

Whereas S. George our ladies knight, was named thrée times S. George.

Item, hang a stone ouer the afflicted persons bed, which stone hath naturallie such a hole in it, as wherein a string may be put through it, and so be hanged euer the diseased or bewitched partie; be it man, woman, or horse.

Item, you shall read in M. Malefic. that excommunication is verie notable, and better than any charme for this purpose. There are also other verses and charmes for this disease deuised, which is the common cloke for the ignorance of bad physicians. But Leonard Fuchsius in his first booke, and 31. chapter, doth not onelie describe this disease, and the causes of it; but also setteth downe verie learnedlie the cure thereof, to the vtter confusion of the witchmongers follie in this behalfe. Hyperius bring much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witchcraft, howeing about the interpretation of Genesis 6. from whence the opinion of Incubus and Succubus is extorted, *Viderunt filij Dei filios hominum, quod elegantes essent, acceperunt sibi in uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant*; &c. seemeth to mainteine vpon heare-saie, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is giuen to conclude thus, to wit: Of the euill spirits Incubus and Succubus there can be no firme reason or prooue brought out of scriptures, vsing these verie words; *Hæc ut probabilia dicta sunt, quandoquidem scripturarum presidio hac in causa destitumur*. As if he should saie, Take this as spoken probable; to wit, by humane reason, because we are destitute of scriptures to mainteine the goodnesse of the cause.

Tertullian and Sulpicius Seuerus doe interpret *Filios Dei* in that place to be angels, or euill spirits, and to haue bene enamored with the beautie of those wenches; and finallie, begat giants by

them.

them.

*M. malefic.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 1. col. 2.*

*Leon. Fuchsius
de curandis
ratione.*

*Tertull. in li-
bro de habi-
tu muliebri.
Sulp. Seuer.
in episome
hyst. sacr.*

The censure of G. Chaucer, vpon the knauerie
 of Incubus.

The twelſe Chapter.

Now will I (after all this long dis-
 course of abhominable cloked knaueries)
 here conclude with certeine of G. Chau-
 cers verses, who as he smelt out the absur-
 dities of poperie, so found he the priests
 knauerie in this matter of Incubus, and
 (as the time would suffer him) he derided
 their follie and falshood in this wise:

*Geffr. Chaucer,
 in the be-
 ginning of
 the wife of
 Bathes tale.*

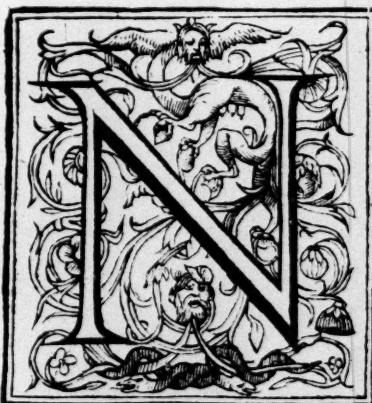
For now the great charitie and praiers
 Of limitors and other holie friers,
 That searchen euerie land and euerie streame
 As thicke as motes in the sunne beame,
 Blissing halles, kitchens, chambers & bowers,
 Cities, borroughes, castels and hie towers,
 Thropes, barnes, shepens, and dairies,
 This maketh that there beene now no fairies;
 For there as woont to walken was an elfe,
 There walketh now the limitor himselfe,
 In vndermeales, and in mornings,
 And saith his mattens and his holie things
 As he goeth in his limitatiowne,
 Women may go safelie vp and downe,
 In euerie bush, and vnder euerie tree,
 There nis none other Incubus but hee, &c.

The

The fift Booke.

Of transformations, ridiculous examples
brought by the aduersaries for the confirmati-
on of their foolish doctrine.

The first Chapter.



Now that I may with
the verie absurdities, con-
teined in their owne au-
thors, and euen in their
principall doctors and last
writters, confound them
that mainteine the tran-
substantiations of wit-
ches; I will shew you cer-
teine proper stufte, which
Bodin (their chiefe champi-
on of this age) hath gathe-
red out of M. Mal. and o-
thers, whereby he labour-

*1. Bod. lib. 2.
de demon.
cap. 6.*

reth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernaturall, or
rather bnnaturall doctrine of transubstantiation.

First, as touching the diuell (Bodin saith) that he doth most pro-
perlie and commonlie transfoyme himselfe into a gote, confir-
ming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of Esaie: where there is no
one title sounding to anie such purpose. Notwithstanding, he sometimes
allotweth the diuell the shape of a blacke dogge, and as he saith
he vsed to appeare to Mawd Cruse, Kate Darey, and Ione Haruill-
ler. But I mervell, whether the diuell createth himselfe, when he
appeareth in the likenesse of a man; or whether God createth him,
when the diuell wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they speciallie
transubstantiate themselues into wolues, and them whom they
bewitch into asses: though else where he differ somewhat herein
from

*I. Bodin a-
buseth
scripture to
prooue a
lie.*

*Pudenda
tunc primum
erumpenti-
bus.*

from himselfe. But though he affirme, that it may be naturallie brought to passe, that a girle shall become a boie; and that anie female may be turned into the male: yet he saith the same hath no affinitie with *Lycanthropia*; wherein he saith also, that men are wholie transformed, and citeth infinite examples hereof.

First, that one Garner in the shape of a wolfe killed a girle of the age of twelue yeares, and did eat vp hir armes and legges, and carried the rest home to his wife. Item, that Peter Burget, and Michael Werdon, hauing turned themselues with an ointment into wolues, killed, and finally did eate vp an infinite number of people. Which lie Wierus doth sufficientlie confute. But vntill you see and read that, consider whether Peter could eate rawe flesh without forgetting, speciallie flesh of his owne kind. Item, that there was an arrowe shot into a wolues thigh, who afterwards being turned into his former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrowe in his thigh, which the archer that shot it knew verie well. Item, that another being *Lycanthropus* in the forme of a wolfe, had his wolues feet cut off, and in a moment he became a man without hands or feet.

*Io. Wier.
lib. 6. de
mag. ca. 12.*

*I. Bodinus
mendacio-
rum helio.*

He accuseth also one of the mightiest princes in chrestendome, euen of late daies, to be one of those kind of witches (so as he could, when he list, turne himselfe to a wolfe) affirming that he was espied and oftentimes seene to perforce that villanie; because he would be counted the king of all witches. He saith that this transubstantiation is most common in Greece, and through out all Asia, as merchant strangers haue reported to him. For Anno Domini. 1542, when Sultan Solimon reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of wolues in Constantinople, that the emperour draue together in one flocke 150. of them, which departed out of the citie in the presence of all the people.

A warme
season to
swim in.

Imeruell
that they
forsake not
the diuell,

To persnade vs the more thoughtlie heerein, he saith, that in Liuania, yearelie (about the end of December) a certeine knaue or diuell warneth all the witches in the countrie to come to a certeine place: if they faile, the diuell commeth and whippeth them with an iron rod; so as the print of his lashes remaine vpon their bodies for euer. The capteine witch leadeth the waie through a great

great pole of water : manie millions of witches swim after. They are no sooner passed through that water, but they are all transfor med into wolues, and sie vpon and deuoure both men, women, cattell, &c. After twelue daies they retorne through the same water, and so receiue humane shape againe.

who puni-
sheth them
so sore: y-
wis they
get not so
much at his
hands.

Item, that there was one Baianus a Jew, being the sonne of Si-
meon, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a wolfe; and
by that meanes could escape the force and danger of a whole ar-
mie of men. Which thing (saith Bodin) is wonderfull: but yet
(saith he) it is much more maruelous, that men will not beleue it.
For manie poets affirme it; yea, and if you loke well into the
matter (saith he) you shall find it easie to doe. Item, he saith, that
as naturall wolues persecute beasts; so doe these magicall
wolues deuoure men, women, and children. And yet God saith
to the people (I trow) and not to the cattell of Israell; If you ob-
serue not my commandements, I will send among you the
beasts of the feld, which shall deuoure both you and your cattell.
Item, I will send the teeth of beasts vpon you. Where is Bodins
distinction now become? He neuer saith, I will send witches in
the likenes of wolues, &c: to deuoure you or your cattell. Neuer-
theles, Bodin saith it is a cleare case: for the matter was dispu-
ted vpon before pope Leo the seventh, and by him all these mat-
ters were iudged possible: and at that time (saith he) were the
transformations of Lucian and Apuleius made canonically.

Leuiti. 16.

Deut. 32.

Furthermore he saith, that through this art they are so cunning
that no man can apprehend them, but when they are a snake. I-
tem, he nameth another witch, that (as Mr. Mal. saith) could not be
caught, because he would transfor me himselfe into a mouse, and
runne into euerie little hole, till at length he was killed com-
ming out of the hole of a tawme in a windowe: which indeed is
as possible, as a camell to go through a needles eie. Item, he saith,
that diuerse witches at Vernon, turned themselves into cats, and
both committed and received much hurt. But at Argentine there
was a wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth,
who transforming themselves into three cats, assailed a faggot
maker: who hauing hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like
to haue bene put to death. But he was miraculoullie deliuered,
and they worthilie punished; as the storie saith, from whence

Statius a
witch could
nor be ap-
prehended,
and why?

I. Bodin.
Mal. malef.

Iohn. Bodin.
Mal. malef.
Barth. Spm.
&c.

Mal. malef.
part. 3.

Bodin

Bodin had it.

An error
about Ly-
canthropia.

After a great manie other such beaſtie fables, he inueieth a-
gainſt ſuch phyſicians, as ſaie that Lycanthropia is a diſeaſe, and
not a tranſformation. Item, he mainteineth, as ſacred and
true, all Homers fables of Circes and Vlyſſes his companions :
inueieng againſt Chryſoſtome, who rightlie interpreteth Ho-
mers meaning to be, that Vlyſſes his people were by the harlot
Circes made in their brutiſh maners to reſemble ſwine.

But leaſt ſome poets fables might be thought lies (whereby the
witchmongers arguments ſhould quaiſe) he mainteineth for
true the moſt part of Ouids Metamorphôſis, and the greateſt ab-
ſurdities and impoſſibilities in all that booke: marie he thinketh
ſome one tale therein may be ſained. Finallie, he confirmeth all
theſe toies by the ſtoie of Nabuchadnezzar. And bicauſe (ſaith he)
Nabuchadnezzar continued ſeuene yeres in the ſhape of a beaſt,
therefore may witches remaine ſo long in the forme of a beaſt ;
hauiug in all the meane time, the ſhape, haire, voice, ſtrength,
agilitie, ſwiftneſſe, food and excrements of beaſts, and yet reſerue
the minds and ſoules of women or men. Wholbeit, S. Auguſtine
(whether to confute or confirme that opinion ſudge you) ſaith ;

Auguſt. lib. 8
de ciuit. Dei.
cap. 18.
Idem, lib. de
ſpiritu & a-
nima, cap. 26.

*Non eſt credendum hominum corpus demonum arte vel poteſtate in beſtia-
lia lineamenta conuerſi poſſe :* We may not beleue that a mans bo-
die may be altered into the lineaments of a beaſt by the diuels
art or power. Item, Bodin ſaith, that the reaſon why witches
are moſt commonlie turned into wolues, is; bicauſe they blu-
allie eate children, as wolues eate cattell. Item, that the cauſe
why other are truelie turned into aſſes, is; for that ſuch haue
bene deſirous to vnderſtand the ſecrets of witches. Why wit-
ches are turned into cats, he alledgeſſe no reaſon, and therefore (to
helpe him forth with that paraphraſe) I ſaie, that witches are
curſe queanes, and manie times ſcratch one another, or their
neighbours by the faces; and therefore perchance are turned
into cats. But I haue put twentie of theſe witch-

Ironia.

mongers to ſilence with this one queſtion; to
wit, Whether a witch that can turne a
woman into a cat, &c. can alſo
turne a cat into a wo-
man?

Absurd

Absurd reasons brought by Bodin, and such others,
for confirmation of transformations.

The second Chapter.

These Examples and reasons might put vs in doubt, that euerie asse, wolfe, or cat that we see, were a man, a woman, or a child. I maruell that no man vseth this distinction in the definition of a man. But to what end should one dispute against these creations and recreations; when Bodin washeth away all our arguments with one word, confessing that none can create any thing but God; acknowledging also the force of the canons, and embracing the opinions of such diuines, as write against him in this behalfe: Yea he doth now (contrarie to himselfe elsewhere) affirme, that the diuell cannot alter his forme. And lo, this is his distinction, *Non essentialis forma (id est ratio) sed figura solum permutatur*: The essentiall forme (to wit, reason) is not changed, but the shape or figure. And thereby he proueth it easie enough to create men or beasts with life, so as they remaine without reason. *I. Bod. lib. 2. de mag. demon. cap. 6.* Howbeit, I thinke it is an easier matter, to turne Bodins reason into the reason of an asse, than his bodie into the shape of a sheepe: which he saith is an easie matter; bicause Lots wife was turned into a stone by the diuell. *Gen. 19. 24. & 16. & 27.* Whereby he sheweth his grosse ignorance. As though God that commanded Lot vpon paine of death not to looke backe, who also destroyed the citie of Sodome at that instant, had not also turned hir into a salt stone. And as though all this while God had bene the diuels drudge, to go about this businesse all the night before, and when a miracle should be wrought, the diuell must be faine to doo it himselfe.

Item, he affirmeth, that these kind of transfigurations are more common with them in the west parts of the world, than with vs here in the east. *I. Bod. lib. de dem. 2. cap. 10. M. Mal. pa. 1. que. 9.* Howbeit, this note is giuen withall; that that is ment of the second persons, and not of the first: to wit, of the bewitched, and not of the witches. For they can trans-
forme

*Iohn. Bodin.
lib. de de-
mon. 2. cap. 1.*

forme themselves in euerie part of the world, whether it be east, west, north, or south. Harrie he saith, that spirits and diuels be men most in the north countries, as Norway, Finland, &c: and in the westerne lands, as in the west India: but among the heathen spectallie, and wherefoeuer Christ is not preached. And that is true, though not in so folish, grosse, and corporall a sense as Bodin taketh it. One notable instance of a witches cunning in this behalfe touched by Bodin in the chapter aforesaid, I thought good in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of M. Mal. which tale was deliuerd to Sprenger by a knight of the Rhods, being of the order of S. Iones at Ierusalem; and it followeth thus.

*M. malefic.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 4.*

Of a man turned into an asse, and returned againe into a man by one of Bodins witches: S. Augustines opinion on thereof.

The third Chapter.

What the
diuel shuld
the witch
meane to
make choise
of the Eng-
lish man?

IT happened in the citie of Salamin, in the kingdome of Cyprus (wherein is a good haven) that a ship loaden with merchandize staied there for a short space. In the meane time many of the souldiers and mariners went to shoare, to prouide fresh victuals. Among which number, a certaine English man, being a sturdie yong fellowe, went to a womans house, a little waie out of the citie, and not farre from the sea side, to see whether she had anie eggs to sell. Who perceiuing him to be a lustie yong fellowe, a stranger, and farre from his countrie (so as vpon the losse of him there would be the lesse misse or inquirie) she considered with hir selfe how to destroie him; and willed him to staie there awhile, while st she went to fetch a few eggs for him. But she tarried long, so as the yong man called vnto hir, desiring hir to make haste: for he told hir that the tide would be spent, and by that meanes his ship would be gone, and leaue him behind. Howbeit, after some detracting of time, she brought him a few eggs, willing him to returne to hir, if his ship were gone when he came. The yong fellowe

lothe returned towards his ship: but before he went aboard, he would needs eate an eg or twaine to satisfie his hunger, and with in thort space he became dumb and out of his wits (as he afterwards said.) When he would haue entred into the ship, the mariners beat him backe with a cudgell, saing; What a murren lacks the asse: Whither the diuell will this asse: The asse or pong man (I cannot tell by which name I should terme him) being many times repelled, and vnderstanding their words that called him asse, considering that he could speake neuer a word, and yet could vnderstand euerie bodie, he thought that he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore, when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driuen to tarrie and see hir departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an asse: he remembred the witches words, and the words of his otone fellows that called him asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose seruice he remained by the space of three yeares, doing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she laied on his backe; hauing onelie this comfort, that although he were reputed an asse among strangers and beafts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him to be a man.

A strange metamorphosis, of bodie, but not of mind

After three yeares were passed ouer, in a morning betimes he went to towne before his dame; who vpon some occasion (of like to make water) staid a little behind. In the meane time being nere to a church, he heard a little saccharing bell ring to the elevation of a morrowe masse, and not daring to go into the church, least he should haue bene beaten and driuen out with cudgels, in great deuotion he fell downe in the churchyard, vpon the knees of his hinder legs, and did lift his forehead ouer his head, as the prest doth hold the sacrament at the elevation. Which prodigious sight when certeine merchants of Genua espied, and with wonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in hir hand, beating forth the asse. And bicause (as it hath bene said) such kinds of witchcrafts are verie vsuall in those parts; the merchants aforesaid made such meanes, as both the asse and the witch were attached by the iudge. And she being examined and set vpon the racke, confessed the whole matter, and promised, that if she might haue libertie to go home, she would restore him to his old shape:

Note the deuotion of the asse.

shape: and being dismissed, he did accordingly. So as notwithstanding they apprehended him againe, and burned him: and the young man returned into his countrey with a ioll and merrie hart.

*August. lib.
18. de ciui.
Dei cap. 17
et 18.*

*At the alps
in Arcadia.*

*Card. de var.
rerum. lib. 15
cap. 80.
August. Lib.
18. de ciui.
Dei.*

Upon the aduantage of this storie M. Mal. Bodin, and the rest due of the witchmongers triumph; and speciallie because S. Augustine subscribeth therevnto; or at the least to the verie like. Which I must confesse I find too common in his books, insomuch as I iudge them rather to be foisted in by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a mans doings. The best is, that he himselfe is no eye-witnesse to any of those his tales; but speaketh onelie by report; wherein he uttereth these wordes: to wit, that it were a point of great incivilitie, &c: to discredit so manie and so certeine reports. And in that respect he iustifieth the corporal transfigurations of Vlysses his mates, thogh the witchcraft of Circes: and that foolish fable of Prestantius his father, who (he saith) did eate prouender and haie among other horses, being himselfe turned into an horse. Yea he verifieth the starkest lie that euer was inuented, of the two alewiues that vsed to transforme all their ghests into horses, and to sell them awaie at markets and faires. And therefore I saie with Cardanus, that how much Augustine saith he hath seen with his eyes, so much I am content to beleue. Howbeit S. Augustine concludeth against Bodin. For he affirmeth these transubstantiations to be but fantasticall, and that they are not according to the veritie, but according to the appearance. And yet I cannot allow of such appearances made by witches, or yet by diuels: for I find no such power given by God to any creature. And I would wit of S. Augustine, where they became, whom Bodins transformed wolues deuoured. But

—o quam
Credula mens hominis, & erecta fabulis aures!

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

Good Lord! how light of credit is
the wauering mind of man!
How vnto tales and lies his eares
attentiuely all they can?

Generall

Generall counsels, and the popes canons, which Bodin so re-
gardeth, doe condemne and pronounce his opinions in this be-
halfe to be absurd; and the residue of the witchmongers, with
himselfe in the number, to be worse than infidels. And these are
the verie words of the canons, which else-where I haue more
largely repeated; Whosoever beleueth, that anie creature can
be made or changed into better or worse, or transformed into a-
nie other shape, or into anie other similitude, by anie other than
by God himselfe the creator of all things, without all doubt is an
infidell, and worse than a pagan. And therewithall this reason is
rendered, to wit: because they attribute that to a creature, which
onely belongeth to God the creator of all things.

Canon. 26.
que. 5. epif-
copi ex con-
acquir. &c.

A summarie of the former fable, with a refutation
thereof, after due examination of the same.

The fourth Chapter.



Concerning the veritie or proba-
bilitie of this enterlude, betwixt Bodin,
M. Mal. the witch, the asse, the masse, the
merchants, the inquisitors, the tormen-
tors, &c: First I wonder at the miracle
of transubstantiation: Secondlie at the
impudencie of Bodin and Iames Spren-
ger, for affirming so grosse a lie, deuised
belike by the knight of the Rhodes, to make a foole of Sprenger,
and an asse of Bodin: Thirdlie, that the asse had no more wit than
to kneele downe and hold by his forefeete to a peece of starch or
flowre, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him: Fourth-
lie, that the masse could not reforme that which the witch transfor-
med: Fifthlie, that the merchants, the inquisitors, and the tormen-
tors, could not either severallie or iointlie doe it, but referre the
matter to the witches courtlesse and god pleasure.

But where was the yong mans owne shape all these thre
yeares, wherein he was made an asse: It is a certeine and a ge-
nerall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subiect
simul & semel, both at once: which is confessed by themselves. The
I. i. some

His shape
was in the
woods:
where else
should it
be?

Mal. i. 1. 2.
par. 1. qu. 2.

In my discouerie of spirits and diuels, being the 17 booke of this volume.

forme of the beast occupied some place in the aire, and so I thinke should the forme of a man doe also. For to bring the bodie of a man, without feeling, into such a thin aerie nature, as that it can neither be seene nor felt, it may well be vnlikelie, but it is verie impossible: for the aire is inconstant, and continueth not in one place. So as this aerie creature would soon be carried into another region: as else-where I haue largelie proued. But indeed our bodie is visible, sensitiue, and passie, and are indured with manie other excellent properties, which all the diuels in hell are not able to alter: neither can one haire of our head perish, or fall awaie, or be transformed, without the speciall prouidence of God almightie.

But to proceed vnto the probabilitie of this storie. What lucke was it, that this yong fellow of England, landing so latelie in those parts, and that old woman of Cyprus, being both of so base a condition, should both vnderstand one anothers communication; England and Cyprus being so manie hundred miles distant, and their languages so farre differing: I am sure in these daies, wherein trafficke is more bled, and learning in more price; few yong or old mariners in this realme can either speake or vnderstand the language spoken at Salamin in Cyprus, which is a kind of Greeke; and as few old women there can speake our language. But Bodin will saie; You heare, that at the inquisitors commandement, and through the tormentors correction, she promised to restore him to his owne shape: and so she did, as being thereunto compelled. I answer, that as the whole storie is an impious fable; so this assertion is false, and disagreeable to their owne doctrine, which mainteineth, that the witch doth nothing but by the permission and leaue of God. For if she could doe or vndoe such a thing at hir owne pleasure, or at the commandement of the inquisitors, or for feare of the tormentors, or for loue of the partie, or for remorse of conscience: then is it not either by the extraordinary leaue, nor yet by the like direction of God; except you will make him a confederate with old witches. I for my part wonder most, how they can turne and tisse a mans bodie so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit, like a motse, or like an asse, &c: and the man all this while to feele no paine. And I am not alone in this mize: for Danæus a speciall maintainer of their fol-

Don in dia-
log. cap. 3.

lies

The former lies confuted. of Witchcraft. Cap. 5. 99

lies saith, that although Augustine and Apuleius doe write verie credible of these matters; yet will he neuer beleue, that witches can change men into other formes; as asses, apes, wolues, beates, mice, &c.

August. lib.
de ciuit. Dei.
cap. 17. 18.

That the bodie of a man cannot be turned into the bodie of a beast by a witch, is proued by strong reasons, scriptures, and authorities.

The fift Chapter.



It was this man an asse all this while: Or was this asse a man: Bodin saith (his reason onelie referued) he was trulie transubstantiated into an asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse. And yet Hermes Trismegistus thinketh he hath good authoritie and reason to saie; *Aliud corpus*

Hermes
Trismeg in
sua Perian-
dro.

quam humanum non capere animam humanam; nec fas esse in corpus animae ratione carentis animam rationalem corrumpere; that is; An humane soule cannot receiue anie other than an humane bodie, nor yet canne light into a bodie that wanteth reason of mind. But S. Iames saith; The bodie without the spirit is dead. And surelie, when the soule is departed from the bodie, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore Paule wished to be dissolved, when he would haue bene with Christ. The bodie of man is subiect to diuers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmities, wherevnto an asses bodie is not inclined: and mans bodie must be fed with bread, &c. and not with hay. Bodins asseheaded man must either eate haie, or nothing: as appeareth in the storie. Mans bodie also is subiect vnto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellowe had died in the meane time, as his houre might haue bene come, for anie thing the diuels, the witch, or Bodin knew; I meruell then what would haue become of this asse, or how the witch could haue restored him to shape, or whether he should haue risen at the daie of iudgement in an asses bodie and shape. For Paule saith, that that

Iam. 2. 26.

Phili. 1. 23.

1. Cor. 15.

44

a spirituall bodie. The life of Iesus is made manifest in our mortall flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

1. Cor. 15,
39.

God hath endued euerie man and euerie thing with his proper nature, substance, forme, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their waies. As for the waies of an asse, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they haue also their properties and substance seuerall to themselves. For there is one flesh (saith Paule) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds. And therefore it is absolutelie against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should lie like a bird, or swim like a fish, or creepe like a worme, or become an asse in shape: insomuch as if God would giue me leaue, I cannot doe it: for it were contrarie to his owne order and decre, and to the constitution of anie bodie which he hath made. Yea the spirits themselves haue their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe one haire's breadth; other wise God should be contrarie to himselfe: which is farre from him. Neither is Gods omnipotencie hereby qualified, but the diuels impotencie manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed vnto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restrained from his power and will, but beyond the same he cannot passe, as being Gods minister, no further but in that which he hath from the beginning enabled him to doe: which is, that he being a spirit, may with Gods leaue and ordinance vict at and corrupt the spirit and will of man: wherein he is verie diligent.

Psal. 119.

1. Cor. 6, 12
verse. 15, &c
verse. 2.
verse. 13.

What a beastlie assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his owne similitude and likenes, should be by a witch turned into a beast: What an impietie is it to affirme, that an asses bodie is the temple of the Holy-ghost: Or an asse to be the child of God, and God to be his father; as it is said of man: Which Paule to the Corinthians so diuinelie confuteth, who saith, that our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God: for the bodie is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the bodie. Surelie he meaneth not for an asses bodie, as by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as Bodin may go hide him for shame; especiallie when he shall vnderstand, that euen into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his owne likeness,

nesse, he hath also bred that spirit, which Bodin saith is now remaining within an asses bodie, which God hath so subiected in such seruilitie vnder the sorte of man; of whom God is so minde full, that he hath made him little lower than angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship, and made him to haue dominion ouer the workes of his hands, as hauing put all things vnder his feete, all sheepe and oren, yea wolues, asses, and all other beasts of the field, the foules of the aire, the fishes of the sea, &c. Bodins poet, Ouid, whose Metamorphosis make so much for him, saith to the ouerthrow of this phantasticall imagination:

*Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque videre
Iussit, & erectos ad sœdera tollere vultus.*

The effect of which verses is this;

The Lord did set mans face so hie,
That he the heauens might behold,
And looke vp to the starrie skie,
To see his woonders manifold.

Now, if a witch or a diuell can so alter the shape of a man, as contrarily to make him looke downe to hell, like a beast; Gods workes should not onelie be defaced and disgraced, but his ordinance should be wonderfullie altered, and thereby confounded.

The witchmongers obiections, concerning Nabuchadnezzar answered, and their error concerning Lycanthropia confuted.

The sixt Chapter.



Alleus Maleficarum, Bodin, and Their
manie other of them that mainteine ground
witchcraft, triumph vpon the storie of worke is
Nabuchadnezzar; as though Circes as sure as
had transformed him with hir sorceries quick dele
into an ore, as she did others into swine, by the
&c. I answer, that he was neither in bo-
die nor shape transformed at all, accor-
ding

I. iij.

Dan. 4.

ding to their grosse imagination; as appeareth both by the plaine words of the text, and also by the opinions of the best interpreters thereof: but that he was, for his beastlie gouernment and conditions, throwne out of his kingdome and banished for a time, and diuened to hide himselfe in the wildernesse, there in erile to lead his life in beastlie sort, among beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire (for by the waie I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) untill he reiecting his beastlie conditions, was vpon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored vnto his kingdome. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither diuels nor witches doing; but a miracle wrought by God, whom alone I acknowledge to be able to bring to passe such workes at his pleasure. Wherein I would knowe what our witchmongers haue gained.

Cor. Agrip. de
vanit. scient.
cap. 44.

I am not ignozant that some write, that after the death of Nabuchadnezzar, his sonne Eilumorodath gaue his bodie to the rauens to be deuoured, least afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man againe. But this tale is meete to haue place in the Cabalisticall art, to wit: among vnwritten verities than here. To conclude, I saie that the transformations, which these witchmongers doe so raue and rage vpon, is (as all the learned sort of physicians affirme) a disease proceeding partlie from melancholie, whereby manie suppose themselves to be wolues, or such rauening beasts. For Lycandropia is of the ancient physicians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina insania*. I. Wierus declareth verie learnedlie,

Paul. Aegip.
lib. 3. c. 16.
Aetius lib. 6.
cap. 11.
L. Wier. de
praest. dem.
lib. 4. cap. 23.

the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I haue written the more herein; because hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poore women and innocents, haue bene defamed and accounted among the number of witches.

A speciall obiection answered concerning transpor-
tations, with the consent of diuerse writers therevpon.

The seuenth Chapter.



Of the maintenance of witches
transportations, they obiect the words
of the Gospell, where the diuell is said to
take by Christ, and to set him on a pinna-
cle of the temple, and on a mountaine,
ic. Which if he had done in maner and
forme as they suppose, it followeth not
therefore that witches could doe the like;
no; yet that the diuell would doe it for them at their pleasure; for
they know not their thoughts, neither can other wise communi-
cate with them. But I answer, that if it were so grosselie to be
vnderstood, as they imagine it, yet should it make nothing to
their purpose. For I hope they will not saie, that Christ had made
anie ointments, or entred into anie league with the diuell, and
by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wilderness,
vnto the top of the temple of Jerusalem; or that the diuell could
haue maistries ouer his bodie, whose soule he could neuer laie
hold vpon; especiallie when he might (with a becke of his finger)
haue called vnto him, and haue had the assistance of manie legi-
ons of angels. Neither (as I thinke) will they presume to make
Christ partaker of the diuels purpose and sinne in that behalfe.
If they saie, This was an action wrought by the speciall prou-
idence of God, and by his appointment, that the scripture might
be fulfilled: then what gaine our witchmongers by this place:
First, for that they maie not produce a particular example to
proue so generall an argument. And againe, if it were by Gods
speciall prouidence and appointment; then why should it not be
done by the hand of God, as it was in the storie of Iob? Or if it
were Gods speciall purpose and pleasure, that there should be so
extraordinarie a matter brought to passe by the hand of the di-
uell; could not God haue giuen to the wicked angell extraordinarie
power, and cloathed him with extraordinarie shape; where
I say. by

Matth. 4, 8.
Luk. 3, 9.

Answer to
the former
obiection.

Matt. 26, 53.

Iob. 1, 11.
Iob. 2, 5.

by he might be made an instrument able to accomplish that matter, as he did to his angell that carried Abacuck to Daniell, and to them that he sent to destroie Sodome? But you shall vnderstand, that this was done in a vision, and not in veritie of action. So as they haue a verie cold pull of this place, which is the speciall pce of scripture alledged of them for their transportations.

*I. Caluine in
harmon. E-
uang. in
Matth. 4. &
Luk. 4.*

Heare therefore what Caluine saith in his commentarie vpon that place, in these words; The question is, whether Christ were carried aloft indeed, or whether it were but in a vision: Danie affirme verie obstinatlie, that his bodie was trulie and reallie as they saie taken vp: bicause they thinke it too great an indignitie for Christ to be made subiect to sathans illusions. But this obiection is easilie washed awaie. For it is no absurditie to grant all this to be wrought through Gods permission, or Christs voluntarie subiection: so long as we yeld not to thinke that he suffered these temptations inwardlie, that is to saie, in mind or soule. And that which is afterwards set downe by the Euangelist, where the diuell shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glorie of the same, and that to be done (as it is said in Luke) in the twinkling of an eie, doth more agree with a vision than with a reall action. So farre are the verie words of Caluine. Which differ not one syllable nor five words from that which I had written herein, before I looked for his opinion in the matter. And this I hope will be sufficient to ouerthrow the assertions of them that laie the ground of their transportations and sieng in the aire herevpon.

Ye that will saie, that these words; to wit, that Christ was taken vp, &c: can hardlie be applied to a vision, let him turne to the prophesie of Ezechiel, and see the selfe-same words bled in a vision: sauing that where Christ is said to be taken vp by the diuell, Ezechiel is taken vp, and lifted vp, and carried by the spirit of God, and yet in a vision. But they haue lesse reason that build vpon this sandie rocke, the supernaturall frame of transubstantiation; as almost all our witching writers do. For Sprenger & Infortior saie, that the diuell in the likenesse of a falcon caught him vp. Danæus saith; it was in the similitude of a man; others saie, of an angell painted with wings; others, inuisible: *Ergo the di-*

uel

nell can take (saie they) what shape he list. But though some may canill vpon the diuels transforming of himselfe; yet, that either diuell or witch can transfoyme or transubstantiat others, there is no tittle nor colour in the scriptures to helpe them. If there were authoritie for it, and that it were past all peradventure, lo, what an easie matter it is to resubstantiate an asse into a man. For Bodin saith vpon the word of Apuleius, that if the asse eate new roses, anise, or baie leaues out of spring water, it will presentlie returne him into a man. Which thing Sprenger saith maie be done, by washing the asse in faire water: yea he sheweth an instance, where, by drinking of water an asse was turned into a man.

*I. Bod. lib. de
dem. 3. cap. 5.*

In Mal. mal.

The witchmongers obiection concerning
the historie of Iob answered.

The eight Chapter.



These witchmongers, for lacke of better arguments, doe manie times obiect Iob against me; although there be neuer a word in that storie, which either maketh for them, or against me: in so much as there is not the name of a witch mentioned in the whole booke. But (I praie you) what witchmonger now seeing one so afflicted as Iob, would not saie he were bewitched, as Iob neuer saith: ^a For first there came a messenger vnto him, and said; Thy oren were plowing, and thy asses were feeding in their places, ^b and the Sabeans came violentlie and toke them; yea they haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. ^c And whilst he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The fier of God is fallen from the heauen, & hath burnt vp thy sheepe and thy seruants, and deuoured them; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. ^d And while he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The Chaldeans set out their bands, and fell vpon thy camels, and haue taken them, and haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am escaped.

^aIob. 1. 14.

^bverse, 15.

^cverse, 16.

^dverse, 17.

verse, 18.

verse, 19.

Ibid. ca. 2.
vers. 7.

escaped alone to tell thee. ^c And whilst he was yet speaking, came another, and said; Thy sonnes and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their elder brothers house, ^d and behold there came a great wind from beyond the wilderness, and smote the foure corners of the house, which fell vpon thy children, and they are dead; and I onlie am escaped alone to tell thee. ^e Besides all this, he was smitten with biles, from the sole of his fote to the crowne of his head. If anie man in these daies called Iob should be by the appointment o: hand of God thus handled, as this Iob was; I warrant you that all the old women in the countrie should be called *Coman nobis*: warrants would be sent out on euerie side, publike and priuate inquirie made that old women latelie resorted to Iobs house, o: to anie of those places, where these misfortunes fell. If anie po:re old woman had chanced within two o: three moneths to haue borrowed a curtise of leasing, o: to haue fetcht from thence a pot of milke, o: had she required some almes, and not obtained it at Iobs hand; there had bene argument enough to haue brought hir to confusion: and to be moze certeine to haue the right witch apprehended, figures must haue bene cast, the sue and sheares must haue bene set on wo:ke; yea rather than the witch should escape, a coniuro: must haue earned a little monie, a circle must haue bene made, and a diuell raised to tell the truth: mother Bungie must haue ben gon vnto, and after she had learned hir name, whom Iob most suspected, she would haue confirmed the suspicion with artificiall accusations: in the end, some woman o: other must haue bene hanged fo: it. But as Iob said; *Dominus dedit*: so said he not; *Diabolus vel Lonia sed Dominus abstulit*. Which agreeth with the tenor of the text, where it is written, that the diuell at euerie of Iobs afflictions desired God to laie his hand vpon him. Insomuch as Iob imputed no part of his calamitie vnto diuels, witches, no: yet vnto coniuro:z, o: their inchantments; as we haue learned now to doe. Neither sinned he, o: did God any wrong, when he laid it to his charge: but we dishonour God greatlie, when we attribute either the power o: proprietie of God the creato: vnto a creature.

* I. Caluin. in
Iob, cap. 2.
Sermon. 8.
Musc. in
loc. comm.
Idem. ibidem.

* Caluine saith; We derogate much from Gods glorie and omnipotencie, when we saie he dooth but giue sathan leaue to doe it: which is (saith he) to mocke Gods iustice; and so fond an assertion,

tion, that if asses could speake, they would speake moze wiselie than so. For a temporall iudge saith not to the hangman; I giue thee leaue to hang this offender, but commandeth him to doe it. But the maintainers of witches omnipotencie, saie; Doe you not see how reallie and palpable the diuell tempted and plagued Job? I answer first, that there is no corporall or visible diuell named no: seene in any part of that circumstance; secondlie, that it was the hand of God that did it; thirdlie, that as there is no communitie betwene the person of a witch, and the person of a diuell, so was there not any conference or practise betwixt them in this case.

And as touching the communication betwixt God and the diuell, behold what Caluine saith, writing or rather preaching of purpose vpon that place, wher vpon they thinke they haue so great aduantage; When sathan is said to appeere before God, it is not done in some place certeine, but the scripture speaketh so to applie it selfe to our rudenes. Certainlie the diuell in this and such like cases is an instrument to worke Gods will, and not his owne: and therefore it is an ignorant and an vngodlie sateng (as Caluine iudgeth it) to affirme, that God doth but permit and suffer the diuell. For if sathan were so at his owne libertie (saith he) we should be ouerwhelmed at a sudden. And doubtlesse, if he had power to hurt the bodie, there were no waie to resist: for he would come inuisible vpon vs, and knocke vs on the heads; yea hee would watch the best and dispatch them, whilst they were about some wicked act. If they saie; God commandeth him, no bodie impugneeth them: but that God should giue him leaue, I saie with Caluine, that the diuell is not in such fauour with God, as to obtaine any such request at his hands.

And whereas by our witchmongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the diuell, and the diuell asketh leaue of God to plague whom the witch is disposed: there is not (as I haue said) any such corporall communication betwene the diuell and a witch, as witchmongers imagine. Neither is God moued at all at sathans sute, who hath no such fauour or grace with him, as to obtaine any thing at his hands.

But M. Mal. and his friends denie, that there were any witches in Iobs time: yea the witchmongers are content to saie, that there

I. Caluine in his sermons vpon Iob.

I. Caluine in Iob. cap. 1. sermon. 5.

Mal. malef. pa. 1. quest. 1. Idem part. 1. quest. 4.

Note what
is said tou-
ching the
booke of
Iob.

there were none found to exercise this art in Christs time, from his birth to his death, even by the space of thirtie three yeares. If there had bene anie (saie they) they should haue bene there spoken of. As touching the authoritie of the booke of Iob, there is no question but that it is verie canonicall and authentike. Howbeit, manie writers, both of the Iewes and others, are of opinion, that Moses was the author of this booke; and that he did set it as a looking glasse before the people: to the intent the children of Abraham (of whose race he himselfe came) might knowe, that God shewed fauour to others that were not of the same line, and be ashamed of their wickednesse: seeing an vncircumcised Hamime had so well demeaned himselfe. Upon which argument Caluine (though he had written vpon the same) saith, that forsomuch as it is vncerteine, whether it were *Res gesta* or *Exempli gratia*, we must leaue it in suspense. Neuertheles (saith he) let vs take that which is out of all doubt; namelie, that the Holy-ghost hath indited the booke, to the end that the Iewes should knowe that God hath had a people alwaies to serue him throughout the world, euen of such as were no Iewes, nor segregated from other nations.

In legenda
antea.

Howbeit, I for my part denie not the veritie of the storie; though indeed I must confesse, that I thinke there was no such corpozall enterlude betwene God, the diuell, and Iob, as they imagine: neither anie such reall presence and communication as the witchmongers conceiue and mainteine; who are so grosse herein, that they doe not onlie beleue, but publish so palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions betwixt the diuell and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much more to credit: as that S. Dunstan lead the diuell about the house by the nose with a paire of pinsores or tongs, and made him roze so lowd, as the place rung thereof, &c: with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of poperie nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may see more of this matter else-where, where in few wordes (which I thought good here to omit, least I should seeme to vse too manie repetitions) I answer effectuallye to their rancils about this place.

What

What feuerall sorts of witches are mentioned in the scriptures, and how the word witch is there applied.

The ninth Chapter.

BUt what sorts of witches so euer M. Mal. or Bodin saie there are; Moses spake onlie of foure kinds of impious counsellers or witches (whereof our witchmongers old women which dance with the fairies, &c. are none.) The first were *Præstigiatores Pharaonis*, which (as all diuines, both Hebrewes and others conclude) were but counsellers and sugglers, deceiuing the kings eyes with illusions and sleights; and making false things to appeare as true: which neuertheless our witches cannot doe. The second is *Mecapha*, which is she that destroyeth with poison. The third are such as vse sundrie kinds of diuinations, and here vnto pertaine these words, *Kalam, Onen, Ob, Idoni*. The fourth is *Habar*, to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, mumble certaine secret words, wherein is thought to be great efficacie.

1. Præstigiatores Pharaonis.

2. Mecapha.

3. Kalam. Onen.

Ob. Idoni.

4. Habar.

These are all counsellers and abusers of the people in their seuerall kinds. But because they are all termed of our translators by the name of witches in the Bible: therefore the lies of M. Mal. and Bodin, and all our old wiues tales are applied vnto these names, and easilie beleued of the common people, who haue neuer hitherto bene instructed in the vnderstanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you (concerning the signification of them) the opinion of the most learned in our age; spectallie of Iohannes Wierus; who though hee himselfe were singularlie learned in the tongue, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the iudgement of Andreas Massius, the most famous Hebrician in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I meane to set downe vnto you. And yet I giue you this note by the waie, that witchcraft or enchantment is diuerse taken in the scriptures; sometimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonlie thought to doe. For in

Note.

1. Samuel,

1. Sa. 15, 23. muell, 15, 23. it is all one with rebellion. Iesabell for hir idolatrous life is called a witch. Also in the new testament, euen S. Paule saith the Galathians are bewitched, bicause they were seduced and lead from the true understanding of the scriptures.

Math. 2, 1. Item sometimes it is taken in good part; as the magicians that came to worship and offer to Christ: and also where Daniell is said to be an inchanter, yea a principall inchanter: which title being giuen him in diuers places of that storie, he neuer seemeth to refuse or dislike; but rather intreateth for the pardon and qualification of the rigo: towards other inchanters, which were mere couisers indeed: as appeareth in the second chapter of Daniell, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Dan. 2, 8. Sometimes such are called coniuroers, as being but roges, and lewd people, would vse the name of Iesus to worke miracles, whereby, though they being faithlesse could worke nothing; yet is their practise condemned by the name of coniuration.

Gen. 4, 18. Sometimes iugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called soxcerers, that impugne the gospell of Christ, and seduce others with violent persuasions. Sometimes a murderet with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the verie signification of their names; as Elanners, which signifieth a soxcerer. Sometimes bicause they studie curious and vaine arts. Sometimes it is taken for wounding or greiuing of the hart. Yea the verie word *Magus*, which is Latine for a magician, is translated a witch; and yet it was heretofore alwaies taken in the good part. And at this daie it is indifferent to saie in the English tong; She is a witch; or, She is a wise woman.

Deut. 18, 2. Sometimes obseruers of dreames, sometimes sothlaiers, sometimes the obseruers of the flieng of foules, of the meeting of todes, the falling of salt, &c: are called witches. Sometimes he or she is called a witch, that take vpon them either for gaine or glorie, to do miracles, and yet can do nothing. Sometimes they are called witches in common speech, that are old, lame, curst, or melancholike, as a nickname. But as for our old women, that are said to hurt children with their eyes, or lambs with their looks, or that pull downe the mone out of heauen, or make so foolish a bargain, or do such homage to the diuell; you shall not read in the bible of any such witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.

¶ The sixth Booke.

The exposition of this Hebrue word Chasaph, wherein is answered the obiection contained in Exodus 22. to wit: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue, and of Simon Magus. Acts. 8.

The first Chapter.



Hasaph, being an Hebrue word, is Latined *veneficum*, and is in English, poisoning, or witchcraft; if you will to haue it. The Hebrue sentence written in Exodus, 22. is by the 70. interpreters translated thus into Graeke, *πάρεουσιν ἐν ἐπιζείοντε*, which in Latine is, *veneficos sine veneficis non retinebitis in vita*, in English, You shall not suffer anie poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to liue.

The which sentence Iosephus an Hebrue bozne, and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise; Let none of the children of Israel haue any poison that is deadlie, or prepared to anie hurtfull use. If anie be apprehended with such stufte, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he ment to do to them, for whom he prepared it. The Rabbins exposition agree here withall. *Lex Cornelia* differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death, which either maketh, selleth, or hath anie poison, to the intent to kill anie man. This word is found in these places following: Exodus. 22, 18. Deut. 18, 10. 2. Sam. 9, 22. Dan. 2, 2. 2. Chr. 33, 6. Esay. 47, 9, 12. Malach, 3, 5. Ierem. 27, 9. Mich. 5, 2. Nah. 3, 4. bis. Howbeit, in all our English transla

*Ioseph. in
Iudeorum
antiquitas.*

translations, *Chasaph* is translated, witchcraft.

And bicaufe I will auoid prolixitie and contention both at once, I will admit that Venefica were such witches, as with their poisons did much hurt among the children of Israel; and I will not denie that there remaine such vntill this daie, bewitching men, and making them beleue, that by vertue of words, and certeine ceremonies, they bring to passe such mischeeses, and intorications, as they indeed accomplish by poisons. And this abuse in coufenge of people, together with the taking of Gods name in vaine, in manie places of the scripture is proued, especially by the name of witchcraft, euen where no poisons are. According to the sense which S. Paule vseth to the Galathians in these words, where he sheweth plainelie, that the true signification of witchcraft is coufenge; O ye foolish Galathians (saith he) who hath bewitched you: to wit, coufened or abused you, making you beleue a thing which is neither so nor so. Whereby he meaneth not to aske of them, who haue with charmes, &c: or with poisons depriued them of their health, life, cattell, or children, &c: but who hath abused or coufened them, to make them beleue lies. This phrase is also vsed by Iob. 15. But that we may be thoroughly resolu'd of the true meaning of this phrase vsed by Paule, Gal. 3. let vs examine the description of a notable witch called Simon Magus, made by S. Luke; There was (saith he) in the citie of Samaria, a certeine man called Simon, which vsed witchcraft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, saieing that he himself was some great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we see anie witchcraft, than that he abused the people, making them beleue he could worke miracles, whereas in truth he could do no such thing; as manifestlie may appeare in the 13. and 19. verses of the same chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apostles, and would haue purchased with monie the power of the Holy-ghost to worke wonders.

It will be said, the people had reason to beleue him, bicaufe it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with sorceries. But let the bewitched Galathians be a warning both to the bewitched Samaritans, and to all other that are coufened or bewitched through false doctrine, or legierdemaine; least while they attend to such fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance, and

and so in time be led with them alwaie from God. And finally, let vs all abandon such witches and couseners, as with Simon Magus set themselues in the place of God, boasting that they can do miracles, expound dreames, foretell things to come, raise the dead, &c: which are the workes of the Holy-ghost, who onlie searcheth the heart and reines, and onelic worketh great wonders, which are now staied and accomplished in Christ, in whome who so stedfastlie beleueth shall not need to be by such meanes resolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the vnfaithfull, they shall haue none other miracle shewed vnto them, but the signe of Ionas the prophet.

1. Reg. 8, 39.
Matth. 9. 4.
12. 29. 22.
Acts. 1, 24.
& 15, 8.
Rom. 8, 27.
Mark 2.
Luk. 6, 17. &
11. & 9.
Ioh. 1. & 2.
& 6. & 13.
Apoc. 2. & 3.
Luk. 11, 29.
Eccl. 34, 5.
Eccl. 34, 8.
Leui. 19, 31.

And therefore I saie, whatsoeuer they be that with Simon Magus take vpon them to worke such wonders, by soothsaieng, sozcerie, or witchcraft, are but liers, deceiuers, and couseners, according to Syrachs saieng; Sozcerie, witchcraft, soothsaieng, and dreames, are but vanitie, and the latwe shalbe fulfilled without such lies. God commanded the people, that they should not regard them that wrought with spirits, nor soothsaiers: for the estimation that was attributed vnto them, offended God.

The place of Deuteronomie expounded, wherein are recited all kind of witches; also their opinions confuted, which hold that they can worke such miracles as are imputed vnto them.

The second Chapter.

The greatest and most common obiection is, that if there were not some, which could worke such miraculous or supernaturall feats, by themselues, or by their diuels, it should not haue bene said; Let none be found among you, that maketh his sonne or his daughter to go through the fier, or that bleth witchcraft, or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the fiering of fowles, or a sozcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a soothsaiier, or that asketh counsell of the dead, or (as some translate it)

Deut. 18. o.
11.

It. j.

that

Eſay. 42. 8.
Pf. 24. 8. 10.

that raiſeth the dead. But as there is no one place in the ſcripture that ſaith they can worke miracles, ſo it ſhalbe eaſie to proue, that theſe were all couſeners, euerie one abuſing the people in his ſeueral kind; and are accuſed of God. Not that they can doe all ſuch things indeed, as there is expreſſed; but for that they take vpon them to be the mightie power of God, and to doe that which is the onelie worke of him, ſeducing the people, and blaſpheming the name of God, who will not giue his glorie to anie creature, being himſelfe the king of glorie and omnipotencie.

Fiſt I aſke, what miracle was wrought by their paſſing through the ſiege: Trulie it cannot be proued that anie effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to ſuppoſe their finnes to be purged thereby; as the Spaniards thinke of ſcourging and whipping themſelues. So as Gods power was imputed to that action, and ſo forbidden as an idolatrous ſorcerie. What wonders worke the regard of times: What other diuell dealeth he withall, than with the ſpirit of ſuperſtition: Doth he not deceiue himſelfe and others, and therefore is worthilie condemned for a witch: What ſpirit vſeth he, which marketh the ſting of ſowles: Neuertheles, he is here condemned as a practiſer of witchcraft; becauſe he couſeneth the people, and taketh vpon him to be a prophet; impiouſlie referring Gods certaine ordinances to the ſlittering fethers and vncertaine waies of a bird: The like effects produceth ſorcerie, charming, conſultation with ſpirits, ſoothſaieng, and conſulting with the dead: in euerie of the which Gods power is obſcured, his glorie defaced, and his commandement infringed.

Deut. 18. 14

And to proue that theſe ſoothſaiers and witches are but lieng mates and couſeners; note theſe words pronounced by God himſelfe, euen in the ſelfe ſame place to the children of Iſrael: Although the Gentiles ſuffered themſelues to be abuſed, ſo as they gaue eare to theſe ſorcerers, &c: he would not ſuffer them ſo, but would raiſe them a prophet, who ſhould ſpeake the truth. As if he ſhould ſaie; The other are but lieng and conſenting mates, deceitfull and vndermining merchants, whoſe abuſes I will make knowne to my people. And that euerie one maie be reſolued herein, let the laſt ſentence of this precept be well weighed; to wit, Let none be found among you, that aſketh counſell of oꝝ raiſeth

seth the dead.)

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and resting with Lazarus in Abrahams bosome, do sleepe in Iesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heauens be no more: according to this of Dauid; *Wilt thou shew wonders among the dead?* Nay, the Lord saith, *The liuing shall not be taught by the dead, but by the liuing.* As for the vnrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption; neither is there anie passage from heauen to earth, but by God and his angels. As touching the resurrection and restauration of the bodie, read Iohn. 5. and you shall manifestlie see, that it is the onelie worke of the father, who hath giuen the power therof to the sonne, and to none other, &c. *Dominus percutit, & ipse medetur: Ego occido, & ego uiuifacio.* And in manie other places it is written, that God giueth life and beeing to all. Although Plato, with his maister Socrates, the chiefe pillars of these vanities, say, that one Pamphilus was called vp out of hel, who when he cam among the people, told manie incredible tales concerning infernall actions. But herein I take vp the prouerbe; *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed maior amica veritas.*

So as this last precept, or last part thereof, extending to that which neither can be done by witch nor diuell, maie well expound the other parts and points therof. For it is not ment hereby, that they can do such things indeed; but that they make men beleeue they do them, and thereby coulsen the people, and take vpon them the office of God, and therewithall also blaspheme his holie name, and take it in vaine; as by the words of charmes and coniuurations do appeare, which you shall see, if you loke into these words, Habar and Idoni.

In like maner I saie you may see, that by the prohibition of diuinations by angurie, and of soothsayings, &c, who are witches, and can indeed do nothing but lie and coulsen the people, the lawe of God condemneth them not, for that they can worke miracles, but bicause they saie they can do that which pertaineth to God, and for coulenage, &c. Concerning other points of witchcraft contained therein, and bicause some cannot otherwise be satisfied, I will alledge vnder one sentence, the decretals, the mind of S. Augustine, the counsell Aurelian, and the determination of

Sap. 3. 1.

Luk. 16. 23.

Job. 14. 12.

Psal. 88. 10.

Deut. 18. 11.

Luk. 16. 29.

31.

Luk. 16. 22.

Loh. 5. 21.

Osc. 6.

Acts. 17. 25.

28.

Tim. 6. 13.

26 que. 7. non

obser. fact.

1398. act. 17.

August. de

spirit. & ani-

ma. cap. 28.

Paris, to wit: Who so obserueth, or giueth heed vnto soothsayings, diuinations, witchcraft, &c. or doth giue credit to anie such, he renounceth christianitie, and shalbe counted a pagane, & anemie to God; yea and he erreth both in faith and philosophie. And the reason is therewithall expessed in the canon, to wit; Bicause hereby is attributed to a creature, that which pertaineth to God onelie and alone. So as, vnder this one sentence (Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner or a witch to liue) is forbidden both murther and witchcraft; the murther consisting in poison; the witchcraft in coufenance or blasphemie.

That women haue vsed poisoning in all ages more than men, and of the inconuenience of poisoning.

The third Chapter.



Swomen in all ages haue bene counted most apt to conceiue witchcraft, and the diuels speciall instruments therein, and the onelie or chiefe practisers thereof: so also it appeareth, that they haue been the first inuenters, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturallie addicted and giuen therevnto than men: according to the sayeng of Quintilian; *Latrocinium facilius in viro, veneficium in femina credam.* From whom Plinie differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, *Scientiam feminarium in veneficij praevalere.* To be short, Augustine, Liue, Valerius, Diodorus, and manie other agree, that women were the first inuenters and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning, in what estimation it was had, may appeare by these verses of Horace, wherein he doth not onelie declare the vanitie of witchcraft, but also expoundeth the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand.

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentâq; Tessala rides:*

These

These dreames and terrors magicall,
these miracles and witches,
Night-walking sprites, or Thessal bugs,
esteeme them not twoo rushes.

Here Horace (you see) contemneth as ridiculous, all our wittes cunning: marrie herein he comprehendeth not their poisoning art, which hereby he onelie seemed to thinke hurtfull. Pythagoras and Democritus giue vs the names of a great manie magicall hearbs and stones, thereof now, both the vertue, and the things themselves also are vnknowne: as Marmarin, whereby spirits might be raised: Archimedeon, which would make one be wise in his sleep, all the secrets in his heart: Adincantida, Calicia, Meuais, Chirocinera, &c: which had all their severall vertues, or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: marrie in their stead we haue hogs turd and cheruill, as the onelie thing whereby our wittes tooke miracles.

Trulie this poisoning art called *veneficium*, of all others is most abhominable; as whereby murders maie be committed, where no suspicion maie be gathered, nor anie resistance can be made; the strong cannot auoid the weake, the wise cannot prevent the foolish, the goodlie cannot be preserved from the hands of the wicked; children maie hereby kill their parents, the seruant the maister, the wife hir husband, so priuillie, so inenitablie, and so incurrablie, that of all other it hath bene thought the most odious kind of murther; according to the saying of Ouid:

non hospes ab hospite tutus,

Ouid. meta.
morph. lib. 1.

Non socer à genero, fratrum quòq; gratia rara est:

Imminet exitio vir coniugis, illa mariti,

Lurida terribiles miscent aconita nouerca,

Filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos.

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

— The traueilling ghest opprest
Dooth stand in danger of his host,
the host eke of his ghest :
The father of his sonne in lawe,
yea rare is seene to rest
Twixt brethren loue and amitie,
and kindnesse void of strife ;
The husband seekes the goodwifes death,
and his againe the wife.
Vngentle stepdames grizlie poi-
son temper and doo giue :
The sonne too soone dooth aske how long
his father is to liue.

*Aeneid. 4.
lib. 4.*

The monke that poisoned king Iohn, was a right Veneficus;
to wit, both a witch and a murtherer : for he killed the king with
poison, and perswaded the people with lies, that he had done a
good and a meritorious act ; and doubtlesse, manie were so
bewitched, as they thought he did verie well therein. Antonius
Sabellicus writeth of a horrible poisoning murther, commit-
ted by women at Rome, where were executed (after due
condemnation, 170. women at one time ; besides
20. women of that consort, who were
poisoned with that poison which
they had prepared
for others.

Of diuers poisoning practises, otherwise called veneficia, committed in Italie, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discovered and executed.

The fourth Chapter.



Another practise, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was done in Cassalis at Salassia in Italie, Anno 1536. where 40. Veneficæ or witches being of one confederacie, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, besmeering with an ointment and a powder, the posts and doores of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stufte they had prepared about 40. crocks for that purpose. Herewith all they conueied inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onelie sonne of one Neius (as lightlie none died in the house but the maisters and their children) which was much noted; and therewithall that one Androgina haunted the houses, speciallie of them that died: and she being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracie, and circumstance, as hath bene shewed. The like villanie was afterwards practised at Genua, and execution was done vpon the offenders. At Millen there was another like attempt that toke none effect. This art consisteth as well in poisoning of cattell as of men: and that which is done by poisons vnto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonlie attributed to witches charms as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to do miracles, haue experience in this behalf. For it is written by diuers authoys, that if wolues dong be hidden in the mangers, racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattell go (through the antipathie of the nature of the wolfe and other cattell) all the beaſts that ſauiour the same do not onlie forbear to eate, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

Veneficæ
in Italie.

Veneficæ
in Genua
& Millen.

But Wierus telleth a notable storie of a Veneficus, or deſtroier
B.iii. of

Of a butcher a right veneficall which

of cattell, which I thought meete here to repeat. There was (saith he) in the dukedome of Wirtingberge, not farre from Tubing, a butcher, anno 1564. that bargained with the towne for all their hides which were of steruen cattell, called in these parts Morts. He with poison priuile killed in great numbers, their bullocks, sheepe, swine, &c: and by his bargaine of the hides and tallowe he grew infinitlie rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and maner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his flesh was pulled from his bones. We for our parts would haue killed fine poore women, before we would suspect one rich butcher.

A great obiection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Veneficium.

The fift Chapter.

It is objected, that if Veneficium were comprehended vnder the title of manslaughter, it had bene a vaine repetition, and a disordered course undertaken by Moses, to set forth a lawe against Veneficas seuerallie. But it might suffice to answer any reasonable christian, that such was the pleasure of the Holie-ghost, to institute a particuler article herof, as of a thing more odious, wicked and dangerous, than any other kind of murder. But he that shall read the lawe of Moses, or the testament of Christ himselfe, shall find this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. For as it is written Exod. 22, 21. Thou shalt not greue nor afflict a stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Aegypt: so are the same words found repeated in Leuit. 19, 33. Polling and shauing of heads and beards is forbidden in Deut. 27. which was before prohibited in 22. It is written in Exodus the 20. Thou shalt not steale: and it is repeated in Leuiticus 19. and in Deut. 5. Further is generallie forbidden in Exod. 20. and likewise in 22. and repeated in Num. 35. But the aptest example is, that magicke is forbidden in thre seuerall places, to wit, once in

Leuit. 19, 33

In what kind of confectiōns that witchcraft, which is
called Venificium, consisteth: of loue cups, and the same
confuted by poets.

The sixt Chapter.



As touching this kind of witch-
craft, the principall part thereof consisteth
in certeine confectiōns prepared by lewd
people to procure loue; which indeed are
mere poisons, bereauing some of the be-
nefit of the braine, and so of the sense and
vnderstanding of the mind. And from
some it taketh a waie life, & that is more
common than the other. These be called *Philtrea*, or *Pocula amatoria*,
or *Venenosa pocula*, or *Hippomanes*, which bad and blind physicians ra-
ther practise, than witches or confurers, &c. But of what value
these bables are, towards the end why they are provided, may ap-
peare by the opinions of poets themselves, from whence was de-
riued the estimation of that stuffe. And first you shall heare what
Ouid saith, who wrote of the vertie art of loue, and that so cun-
ninglie and feelinglie, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that
science:

*Fallitur Æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,
Dátq; quod à teneri fronte reuellit equi.
Non facient vt viuat amor Medeides herbæ,
Mistâq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.
Phasias Æsonidem, Circe tenuisset Vlysssem,
Si modo seruari carmine posset amor:
Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vimq; furoris habent.*

Ouid. lib. 2.
de arte a-
mandi.

Who

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Who so dooth run to Hæmon arts,
I dub him for a dolt,
And giueth that which he dooth plucke
from forehead of a colt:
Medeas herbs will not procure
that loue shall lasting liue,
Nor steeped poison mixt with ma-
gicke charmes the same can giue.
The witch Medea had full fast
held Iason for hir owne,
So had the grand witch Circe too
Vlysses, if alone
With charms mainteind & kept might be
the loue of twaine in one.
No slibbersawces giuen to maids,
to make them pale and wan,
Will helpe: such slibbersawces marre
the minds of maid and man,
And haue in them a furious force
of phrensie now and than.

Philtrea,
slibbersaw-
ces to pro-
cure loue.

Ouid. lib. de
remedio a-
moris. I.

*Viderit Aemonia si quis mala pabula terre,
Et magicas artes posse iuuare putat.*

Ab. Fleming.

If any thinke that euill herbs
in Hæmon land which be,
Or witchcraft able is to helpe,
let him make prooffe and see.

These verses preccident doe shew, that Ouid knew that those
beggerlic

beggerlie sozceries might rather kill one, or make him starke mad, than doo him good towards the attainment of his pleasure or loue; and therefore he giueth this counsell to them that are amorous in such hot manner, that either they must enioy their loue, or else needs die; saieing:

Sit procul omne nefas, vt ameris amabilis esto :

Farre off be all vnlawfull meanes,
thou amiable bee,
Louing I meane, that she with loue
may quite the loue of thee.

Englised by
Abraham
Fleming.

It is proued by more credible writers, that loue cups rather ingender death through venome, than loue by art: and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure loue.

The seuenth Chapter.

BUt bicause there is no hold nor trust to these poets, who saie and vnsaie, dallieng with these causes; so as indeed the wise may perceiue they haue them in derision: let vs see what other grauer authorz speake hereof. Eusebius Casariensis writeth, that the poet Lucretius was killed with one of those louers poisoned cups. Hierome reporteth that one Liua herewith killed hir husband, whome she too much hated; and Lucilla killed hers, whome she too much loued. Calisthenes killed Lucius Lucullus the emperor with a loue pot, as Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos saie. Plinie & Iosephus report, that Calpurnia killed hir husband Caligula *Amatorio poculo* with a louers cup, which was indeed starke poison. Aristotle saith, that all which is belaeued touching the efficacie of these matters, is lies and old wiuens tales. He that will read more arguments and histozies concerning these poisons, let him looke in I. Wier *De Veneficijs*.

*Hieronym.
in Russ.
Plin. lib. 25.
cap. 3. Ioseph
lib. 11. de In-
deorum anti-
quit.
Aristot. lib.
8. de natura
an. nat.
cap. 24.
Iu. Wier.
de venef.
cap. 40.*

The

Toies to
mocke
apes.

The toies, which are said to procure loue, and are exhibited in their poison loking cups, are these: the haire growling in the nerthermost part of a wolues taile, a wolues yard, a little fish called Remora, the braine of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a græne frog, the flesh thereof being consumed with pismers or ants; the left bone whereof ingendereth (as they saie) loue; the bone on the right side, hate. Also it is said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with ants, thereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, being hanged vp in a white linnen cloth, ingender loue, but if a man be touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is thereof, with yong swallows, thereof one bred or nest being taken and buried in a crocke vnder the ground till they be starued vp; they that be found open mouthed, serue to engender loue; they whose mouthes are shut, serue to procure hate. Besides these, manie other follies there be to this purpose proposed to the simple; as namelie, the garments of the dead, candels that burne before a dead corps, and needels therewith dead bodies are solue or sockt into their shætes: and diuerse other things, which for the reuerence of the reader, and in respect of the vncleane speech to be vsed in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read Dioscorides, or diuerse other learned physicians) you maie see at large. In the meane while, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read Leonardus Vairus de fascino,

*Dioscorid. de
materia me-
dicin.*

*L. Vairus de
fasci. lib. 2.
cap. 11. prope
finem.*

now this present yeare 1583. newlie published; wherein (with an incessuous mouth) he affirmeth directlie, that Christ and his apostles were *Venefici*; beie sonde lie prosecuting that argument, and with as much popish follie as may be; labouring to proue it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c.

Iohn Bodin triumphing against Iohn Wier is overtaken with false Greeke & false interpretation thereof.

The eight Chapter.

Monsieur Bodin triumpheth over I. Bodin.
docto^r Wier herein, pronouncing a heauie sentence vpon him; bicause he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth ouer him, much more for speaking false Greeke; affirming that he calleth Veneficos $\varphi\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles contained in his booke of diuelish deuises. For in truth he hath no such word, but saith they are called $\varphi\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, whereas he should haue said $\varphi\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, the true accent being omitted, and υ being interposed, which should haue bene left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must needs be the Printers fault.

But Bodin reasoneth in this wise, $\varphi\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is sometimes put for Magos or Præstigiatores: Ergo in the translation of the Septuaginta, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad Logicke, more than the others ill Greeke. For it is well knowne to the learned in this tongue, that the vsuall and proper signification of this word, with all his deriuations and compounds doe signifie Veneficos, Poisoners by medicine. Which when it is most vsuall and proper, why should the translators take it in a signification lesse vsuall, and nothing proper. Thus therefore he reasoneth and concludeth with his new found Logicke, and old fond Greeke; Sometimes it signifieth so, though vnproperlie, or rather metaphoricallie; Ergo in that place it is so to be taken, when another fitter word might haue bene vsed. Which argument being vaine, agreeth well with his other vaine actions. The Septuaginta had bene verie destitute of words, if no proper word could haue bene found for this purpose. But where they haue occasion to speake of witchcraft in their translations, they vse Magian, Maggagian, &c: and therefore belike they see some difference betwixt them and the other, and knew some cause that moued them to vse the word $\varphi\alpha\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Veneficium.

¶ *The ſeuenth Booke.*

Of the Hebrue word Ob, what it ſignifieth where it is found, of Pythoniſſes called *Ventriloquæ*, who they be, and what their practiſes are, experience and examples thereof ſhewed.

The firſt Chapter.



The holie
maid of
Kent a ven-
triloqua.

This word Ob, is translated *Pytho*, or *Pythonicus spiritus*: Deut. 18. Iſaie. 19. 1. Sam. 28. 2. Reg. 23. &c. ſometime, though vnproperlie, *Magnas* as 2. Sam. 33. But Ob ſignifieth moſt properlie a bottle, and is vſed in this place, becauſe the Pythoniſts ſpake hollowe; as in the bottome of their bellies, whereby they are aptlie in Latine called *Ventriloqui*: of which ſort was Elizabeth Barton, the holie maid of Kent, &c. Theſe are ſuch as take vpon them to giue oracles, to tell where things loſt are become, and ſhallie to appeach others of miſcheifs, which they themſelues moſt commonlie haue brought to paſſe: whereby many times they ouerthrowe the good ſame of honeſt women, and of ſuch others of their neighbors, with whom they are diſpleaſed. For triall hereof, letting paſſe a hundred couſenages that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true ſtoie of a wench, practiſing hir diabolicall witchcraft, and ventriloquie An. 1574. at Weſtwell in Kent, within ſix miles where I dwell, taken and noted by two miniſters and preachers of Gods word, foure ſubſtantiall peo- men, and three women of god ſame & reputation, whoſe names are after written.

Mildred

Ob expounded. of Witchcraft. Cap. I. 127

Mildred, the base daughter of Alice Norrington, and now seruant to William Sponer of Westwell in the countie of Kent, being of the age of seuentene yeares, was possessed with sathan in the night and daie aforesaid. About two of the clocke in the afternone of the same day, there came to the same Sponers house Roger Newman minister of Westwell, Iohn Brainford minister of Kenington, with others, whose names are vnderwritten, who made their praiers vnto God, to assist them in that needfull case; and then commanded sathan in the name of the eternall God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, to speake with such a voice as they might vnderstand, and to declare from whence he came. But he would not speake, but rored and cried mightilie. And though we did commaund him manie times, in the name of God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, and in his mightie power to speake; yet he would not: vntill he had gon through all his delaies, as roring, crieng, struiuing, and gnashing of teeth; and otherwhile with motuing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid, that foure men could scarce hold hir downe. And this continued by the space almost of two houres. So sometimes we charged him earnestlie to speake; and againe praieng vnto GOD that he would assist vs, at the last he spake, but verie strangelie; and that was thus; *He comes, he comes*: and that oftentimes he repeated; and *He goes, he goes*. And then we charged him to tell vs who sent him. And he said; *I laie in hir waie like a log, and I made hir runne like fier, but I could not hurt hir*. And whie so, said we: *Because God kept hir*, said he. *When comest thou to hir*, said we: *To night in hir bed*, said he. Then we charged him as befoze, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, *The diuell, the diuell*. Then we charged him as befoze. Then he rored and cried as befoze, and spake terrible words; *I will kill hir, I will kill hir; I will teare hir in peces, I will teare hir in peces*. We said, *Thou shalt not hurt hir*. He said, *I will kill you all*. We said, *Thou shalt hurt none of vs all*. Then we charged him as befoze. Then he said, *You will giue me no rest*. We said, *Thou shalt haue none here, for thou must haue no rest within the seruants of God: but tell vs in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thee*. Then he said he would teare hir in peces. We said, *Thou shalt not hurt hir*. Then

An. Domi.
1574.

Octob. 13.

Confer
this storie
with the
woman of
Endor,
1. Sam. 28.
and see
whether
the same
might not
be accom-
plished by
this deuile.

be

he said againe he would kill vs all. We said againe, Thou shalt hurt none of vs all, for we are the seruants of God. And we charged him as before. And he said againe, Will you giue me no rest? We said, Thou shalt haue none here, neither shalt thou rest in hir, for thou hast no right in hir, sith Iesus Christ hath redeemed hir with his blood, and she belongeth to him; and therefore tell vs thy name, and who sent thee? He said his name was sathan. We said, Who sent thee? He said, Old Alice, old Alice. Which old Alice, said we? Old Alice, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we? In Westwell streete, said he. We said, How long hast thou bene with hir? These twentie yeares, said he. We asked him where she did keepe him? In two bottels, said he. Where be they, said we? In the backside of hir house, said he. In what place, said we? Under the wall, said he. Where is the other? In Kennington. In what place, said we? In the ground, said he. Then we asked him, what she did giue him. He said, hir will, hir will. What did she bid thee do, said we? He said, Kill hir maid. Wherefore did she bid thee kill hir, said we? Because she did not loue hir, said he. We said; How long is it ago, since she sent thee to hir? More than a yeare, said he. Where was that, said we? At hir masters, said he. Which masters, said we? At hir master Brainfords at Kennington, said he. How oft wert thou there, said we? Many times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden, said he: Where the second time? In the hall: Where the third time? In hir bed: Where the fourth time? In the field: Where the fifth time? In the court: Where the sixth time? In the water, where I cast hir into the mote: Where the seventh time? In hir bed. We asked him againe, where else? He said, in Westwell. Where there, said we? In the vicarage, said he. Where there? In the loft. How camest thou to hir, said we? In the likenesse of two birds, said he. Who sent thee to that place, said we? Old Alice, said he. What other spirits were with thee there, said we? My seruant, said he. What is his name said we? He said, little diuell. What is thy name, said we? Sathan, said he. What dooth old Alice call thee, said we? Partener, said he. What dooth she giue thee, said we? Hir will, said he. How manie hast thou killed for hir, said we? Thre, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said he. What were their names, said we? The childes name was

Edward

Edward, said he: what more than Edward, said we: Edward Ager, said he. What was the mans name, said we: Richard said he. What more, said we: Richard Ager, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we: At Dig at Dig, said he. This Richard Ager of Dig, was a Gentleman of xl. pounds land by the yeare, a verie honest man, but would often saie he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else hast thou killed for hir, said we: Woltons wife said he. Where did she dwell: In Westwell said he. What else hast thou done for hir said we: What she would haue me, said he. What is that said we: To fetch hir meat, drinke, and come, said he. Where hadst thou it, said we: In euerie house, said he. Name the houses, said we: At Petmans, at Farnes, at Millens, at Fullers, and in euerie house. After this we commanded sathan in the name of Iesus Christ to depart from hir, and neuer to trouble hir anie more, nor anie man else. Then he said he would go, he would go: but he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid, He is gone, Lord haue mercie vpon me, for he would haue killed me. And then we kneeled downe and gaue God thanks with the maiden; praiesing that God would keepe hir from sathans power, and assist hir with his grace. And noting this in a peece of paper, we departed. Sathans voice did differ much from the maids voice, and all that he spake, was in his owne name. Subscribed thus:

Witnesses to this, that heard and

sawe this whole matter, as followeth:

{ Roger Newman, vicar of Westwell.
John Brainford, vicar of Kennington.
Thomas Tailor.
Henric Tailors wife. }

{ Iohn Tailor.
Thomas Frenchborns wife.
William Spooner.
Iohn Frenchborne, and his wife. }

How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined; and that all hir diabolicall speech was but ventriloquie and plaine coufenance, which is proued by hir owne confession.

The second Chapter.

Matt. 24. 44.

2. Thef. 2. 9.

It is written, that in the latter daies there shalbe shewed strange illusions, &c: in so much as (if it were possible) the verie elect shalbe deceived: howbeit, S. Paule saith, they shalbe lieng and false wonders. Neuerthelesse, this sentence, and such like, haue bene often laid in my dish, and are vged by diuerse writers, to approue the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat moze largelie in another place. Howbeit, by the waie I must confesse, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit: the pope, who miraculouly, contrarie to nature, philosophie, and all diuinitie, being of birth and calling base, in learning grosse; in valure, beautie, or actiuitie most commonlie a verie lubber, hath placed himselfe in the most loftie and delicate seate, putting almost all christian princes heads, not onelie vnder his girdle, but vnder his fote, &c.

Surelie, the tragedie of this Pythonist is not inferior to a thousand stozies, which will hardlie be blotted out of the memorie and credit either of the common people, or else of the learned. How hardlie will this stozie suffer discredit, hauing testimonie of such authoritie: How could mother Alice escape condemnation and hanging, being arraigned vpon this euidence; when a poore woman hath bene cast away, vpon a coufening oracle, or rather a false lie, deuised by Feats the juggler, through the malicious instigation of some of his aduersaries?

The ventriloqua of Westwell discovered.

But how cunninglie soeuer this last cited certificat be penned, or what shew soeuer it carrieth of truth and plaine dealing, there may be found contained therein matter enough to detect the coufening knauerie therof. And yet diuerse haue bene deepe-
lie deceived therewith, and can hardlie be remoued from the cre-
dit

dit thereof, and without great disdain cannot endure to heare the reproofe thereof. And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin goodfellow, and Hob goblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided and contemned, and as plainlie perceiued, as the illusion and knauerie of Robin goodfellow. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transfozmation, &c: haue no reason to denie Robin goodfellow, vpon whom there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as vpon witches; sauing that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits by the name of Robin goodfellow, as they haue termed diuinozs, soothsaiers, poisoners, and coueners by the name of witches.

But to make short worke with the confutation of this basfardlie queanes enterprize, & couenage; you shall vnderstand, that vpon the harte of hir diuinitie and miraculous tranfes, she was conuicted before *M.* Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, a man of great worship and wisdom, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexteritie; through whose discret handling of the matter, with the assistance & aid of *M.* George Darrell esquire, being also a right good and discret Justice of the same limit, the fraud was found, the couenage confessed, and she receiued condigne punishment. Neither was hir confession wone, according to the forme of the Spanish inquisition; to wit, through extremitie of tortures, nor yet by guile or flatterie, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of euerie circumstance the illusion was manifestlie disclosed: not so (I say) as witches are commonlie conuined and condemned; to wit, through malicious accusations, by ghesse, presumptions, and extorted confessions, contrarie to sense and possibilitie, and for such actions as they can shew no triall nor example before the wise, either by direct or indirect meanes; but after due triall she shewed hir feats, illusions, and tranfes, with the residue of all hir miraculous worke, in the presence of diuers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worship and credit, at Bocton Malherbe, in the house of the aforesaid *M.* Wotton. Now compare this witch with the witch of Endor, & you shall see that both the couenages may be done by one art.

The Pytho-
nist of west-
well con-
uicted by
hir owne
confession.

Bodins stuffe concerning the Pythonist of Endor,
with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman.

The third Chapter.

*1. Bodin. lib.
de demon. 3.
cap. 2.*



UPon the like tales dooth Bodin build his doctrine, calling them Atheists that will not beleue him, adding to this kind of witchcraft, the miraculous woorks of diuerse maidens, that would spee pins, clotots, &c: as one Agnes Briggs, and Rachell Pinder of London did, till the miracles were detected, and they set to open penance. Others he citeth of that sort, the which were bound by diuels with garters, or some such like stuffe to posts, &c: with knots that could not be vndone, which is an Aegyptians iuggling or coufening feat. And of such foolish lies ioined with batwodie tales, his whole booke consisteth: wherein I warrant you there are no fewer than two hundred fables, and as manie impossibilities. And as these two wenches, with the maiden of Westwell, were detected of coufenance; so likewise a Dutchman at Maidstone long after he had accomplished such knaueries, to the astonishment of a great number of good men, was reuealed to be a coufening knaue; although his miracles were imprinted and published at London; anno 1572. with this title before the booke, as followeth.

¶ A verie wonderfull and strange miracle of God, shewed vpon a Dutchman of the age of 23. yeares, which was possessed of ten diuels, and was by Gods mightie prouidence dispossessed of them againe, the 27.

of Ianuarie last past, 1572.

Vnto this the Maior of Maidstone, with diuerse of his brethren subscribed, chrestie by the perswasion of

of Nicasius Vander Schuere, the minister of the Dutch church there, John Stikelbow, whome (as it is there said) God made the instrument to cast out the diuels, and foure other credible persons of the Dutch church. The historie is so strange, & so cunninglie performed, that had not his knauerie afterwards brought him into suspicion, he should haue gone awaie vn suspected of this fraud. A great manie other such miracles haue bene latelie printed, whereof diuerse haue bene betraied: all the residue doubtles, if triall had bene made, would haue bene found like vnto these. But some are more finelie handled than other some. Some haue moze aduantage by the simplicitie of the audience, some by the maistie and countenance of the confederates; as namelie, that couening of the holie maid of Kent. Some escape vtterlie vn suspected, some are preuented by death; so as that waie their examination is vtaken. Some are weakelie examined: but the most part are so reuerenced, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts haue been deceiued, and that euen the apostles haue mistaken the nature of spirits, with an vnanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.

The fourth Chapter.



Vith this kind of witchcraft, Apollo and his oracles abused and couened the whole world: which idoll was so famous, that I need not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the priests, which liued therevpon, were so cunning, as they also ouertooke almost all the goolie and learned men of that age, partly with their doubtfull answers; as that which was made vnto Pyrrhus, in these words, *Nō te Acacida Romanos vincere posse*, and to Cressus his ambassadours in these words, *Si Cressus arma Persu inferat, magnam imperium eruat*; and otherwise thus, *Crassus Halis*
 penetran;

The amphibologies of oracles.

The subtil-
tie of ora-
cles.

penetrans, magnam subuertet opum vim : or thus, Cræsus perdet Halin, transgressus plurima regna, &c : partlie through confederacie, where by they knew mens errands yet they came, and partlie by cunning, as promising victorie vpon the sacrificing of some person of such account, as victorie should rather be neglected, than the murthre accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such conditions annexed thereto, as alwaies remained vnto them a starting hole, and matter enough to cauill vpon ; as that the partie sacrificed must be a virgin, no bastard, &c. Furthermore, of two things onelie proposed, and where yea or naie onelie dooth answer the question, it is an euen laie, that an idiot shall coniecture right. So as, if things fell out contrarie, the fault was alwaies in the interpreter, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But what meruell (I saie) though the multitude and common people haue bene abused herein ; since lawiers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers, diuines, generall counsels, and princes haue with great negligence and ignorance ben deceived and seduced hereby, as swallowing vp and deuouring an inueterate opinion, receiued of their elders, without due examination of the circumstances :

Howbeit, the goodlie and learned fathers (as it appereth) haue alwaies had a speciall care and respect, that they attributed not vnto God such diuelish deuises ; but referred them to him, who indeed is the inuenter and authoꝝ thereof, though not the personall executioner, in maner and forme as they supposed : so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. But who can assure himselfe not to be deceived in matters concerning spirits, when the apostles themselves were so far from knowing them, as euen after the resurrection of Christ, hauing heard him preach and expound the scriptures, all his life time, they shewed themselves not onelie ignorant therein, but also to haue misconceiued thereof : Did not the apostle Thomas thinke that Christ himselfe had bene a spirit ; vntill Christ told him plainelie, that a spirit was no such creature, as had flesh and bones, the which (he said) Thomas might see to be in him : And for the further certifying and satisfieng of his mind, he commended vnto him his hands to be seene, and his sides to be felt. Thomas, if the answer be true that some make herevnto, to wit : that spirits take formes and shapcs

Shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might haue answered Christ, and remaining vnſatisfied might haue ſaid; Oh ſir, what do you tell me that ſpirits haue no fleſh and bones? Why they can take ſhapes and formes, and ſo perchance haue you done. Which argument all the witchmongers in the world ſhall neuer be able to anſwere.

Some of them that mainteine the creation, the transformation, the transportation, and tranſubſtantiation of witches, obiect that ſpirits are not palpable, though viſible, and anſwer the place by me before cited: ſo as the ſeeing and not the feeling ſhould ſatisfie Thomas. But he that ſhall well weigh the fert and the circumſtances thereof, ſhall perceiue, that the fault of Thomas his incredulitie was ſecondlie betwained, and condemned, in that he would not truſt his owne eies, nor the view taken by his fellow apoſtles, who might haue bene thought too credulous in this caſe, if ſpirits could take ſhapes at their pleaſure. Jeſus ſaith Iohn. 10, 29 to him; Bicauſe thou haſt ſene (and not, bicauſe thou haſt felt) thou beleeueſt. Item he ſaith; Bleſſed are they that beleeue and ſee not (and not, they that beleeue and ſeele not.) Whereby he ſheweth that our corporall eies may diſcerne betwixt a ſpirit and a naturall bodie; reprouing him, bicauſe he ſo much relied vpon his externall ſenſes, in caſes where faith ſhould haue preuailed; & here, in a matter of faith reuealed in the word, would not credit the miracle which was exhibited vnto him in moſt naturall and ſenſible ſort.

Holweitt, Eraſtus ſaith, and ſo dooth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danaus, M. Mal. Bodin, &c. that euill ſpirits eate, drinke, and keepe companie with men, and that they can take palpable formes of bodies, producing examles thereof, to wit: *Spectrum Germanicum ſeu Auguſtanum*, and the angell whoſe ſet Lot waſhed; as though bicauſe God can indue his meſſengers with bodies at his pleaſure, therefore the diuell and euerie ſpirit can doe the like. How the eleuen apoſtles were in this caſe deceiued, appeareth in Luke. 24. and in Mark. 16. as alſo in Matth. 14. where the apoſtles and diſciples were all deceiued, taking Chriſt to be a ſpirit, when he walked on the ſea. And why might they not be deceiued herein, as well as in that they thought Chriſt had ſpoken of a temporall kingdome, when he preached of the kingdome of hea- I. iij.

I. iij. Matth. 30.

men: Which thing they also much misconceiued; as likewise
 Mat. 16, 11. when he did bid them beware of the leuen of the Pharisees, they
 vnderstood that he spake of materiall bread.

Why Apollo was called Pytho whereof those wic-
 ches were called Pythonists: Gregorie his letter to the
 diuell.

The fift Chapter.



Euseb. lib. 7.
 cap. 25.

But to returne to our oracle of
 Apollo at Delphos, who was called Py-
 tho, for that Apollo slue a serpent so cal-
 led, whereof the Pythonists take their
 name: I praise you consider well of this
 tale, which I will trulie rehearse out of
 the ecclesiasticall historie, written by Eu-
 sebius, wherein you shall see the absurdi-
 tie of the opinion, the couenage of these oracles, and the decei-
 ued mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctoꝝ betwained and de-
 ciphered altogether as folloiweth.

Gregorie Neocæsariensis in his toynie and waie to passe ouer
 the Alpes, came to the temple of Apollo: where Apollos priest li-
 uing richlie vpon the reuenues and benefit proceeding from that
 idoll, did giue great intertainement vnto Gregorie, and made
 him good cheare. But after Gregorie was gone, Apollo wared
 dumbe, so as the priests gaines decayed: for the idoll growing
 into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit taking com-
 passion vpon the priests case, and vpon his greefe of mind in this
 behalfe, appeared vnto him, and told him flatlie, that his late
 ghest Gregorie was the cause of all his miserie. For (saith the di-
 uell) he hath banished me, so that I cannot returne without a spe-
 ciall licence or passport from him. It was no need to bid the priest
 make hast, for immediatlie he took post horses, and galloped
 after Gregorie, till at length he ouertoke him, and then erposu-
 lated with him for this discourtesie profered in recompense of his
 good cheare; and said, that if he would not be so good vnto him, as
 to write his letter to the diuell in his behalfe, he should be vtterlie
 vndone.

undone. To be short, his importunitie was such, that he obtained Gregorie his letter to the diuell, who wrote vnto him in manner and forme following, word for word: *Permitto tibi redire in locum tuum, & agere quæ consueuisti*; which is in English; I am content thou returne into thy place, and do as thou wast wont. Immediately vpon the receipt of this letter, the idoll spake as before. And here is to be noted, that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other oracles and couenages, the answers were neuer giuen *Ex tempore*, or in that date wherein the question was demanded, because sooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be giuen the night following, whereby the couenage might the more easilie be wrought.

Note the
couenage
of oracles

Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the
Rood of grace: Gregories letter to the diuell confuted.

The sixth Chapter.



What need manie words to confute this fable? For if Gregorie had bene an honest man, he would neuer haue willingly permitted, that the people should haue bene further consened with such a lieng spirit: or if he had bene halfe so holie as Eusebius maketh him, he would not haue consented or yeldd to so lewd a request of the priest, nor haue written such an implous letter, no not though god might haue come thereof. And therefore as well by the impossibilitie and follie contained therein, as of the impietie (whereof I dare excuse Gregorie) you maie perceiue it to be a lie. He thinks they which still mainteine that the diuell made answer in the idoll of Apollo, &c: maie haue sufficient persuation to reuoke their erroneous opinions: in that it appeareth in record, that such men as were skilfull in augurie, did take vpon them to giue oracles at Delphos, in the place of Apollo: of which number Tisanius the sonne of Antiochus was one. But vaine is the answer of idols. Our Rood of grace, with the helpe of little S. Rumball, was not inferiour to the idoll of Apollo: for these could not

Zach. 10.

W. Lamberts
in his Booke.

not onlie worke eternall miracles, but manifest the internall thoughts of the art, I beleue with more liuelie shew, both of humanitie and also of diuinitie, than the other. As if you read W. Lamberts booke of the perambulation of Kent, it shall partlie appeare. But if you talke with them that haue bene beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein. And yet in the blind time of poperie, no man might (vnder paine of damnation) no without danger of death, suspect the fraud. State, what papists will yet confesse they were idols, though the wires that made their eyes gogle, the pins that fastened them to the postes to make them seeme heauie, were scene and burnt together with the images themselves, the knauerie of the priests betwaxed, and euerie circumstance thereof detected and manifested?

How diuerse great clarkes and good authors haue bene abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by meanes of their credulitie haue published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and the scriptures.

The seuenth Chapter.

PLutarch, Liuius, and Valerius Maximus, with manie other graue authors, being abused with false reports, write that in times past beasts spake, and that images could haue spoken and wept, and did let fall drops of blood, yea and could walk from place to place: which they saie was done by procuration of spirits. But I rather thinke with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe *Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus*, to wit: by the coufening art of craftie knaues and priests. And therefore let vs followe Esaies aduise, who saith; When they shall saie vnto you, Enquire of them that haue a spirit of diuination, and at the soothsayers, which whisper and mumble in your eares to deceiue you, &c: enquire at your owne God, &c. And so let vs doe. And here you see they are such as runne into corners, and coufen the people with lies, &c. For if they could doe as they saie, they could not aptlie be called liars, neither

Esa. 8, 19.

Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truelie, or by deceipt: the opinion of some diuines herevpon.

The eight Chapter.

THe woman of Endor is comprised vnder this word Ob: for she is called Pythionissa. It is written in 2. Sam. cap. 28. 2. Sam. 28. that she raised vp Samuel from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to inforce his verie resurrection. The mind and opinion of Iesus Sirach euidentlie appeareth to be, that Samuel in person was raised out from his graue, as if you read Eccl. 46. 19, 20. you shall plainlie perceiue. Howbeit he disputeth not there, whether the storie be true or false, but onlie citeth certaine verses of the 1. booke of Samuel cap. 18. simplie, according to the letter, perswading maners and the imitation of our vertuous predecessors, and repeating the examples of diuerse excellent men; namelie of Samuel: euen as the text it selfe bygeth the matter, according to the deceiued mind and imagination of Saule, and his seruants. And therefore in truth, Sirach spake there according to the opinion of Saule, which so supposed, otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to saie he was deceiued.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it aduisedlie, shall see that Samuel was not raised from the dead: but that it was an illusion or couzenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Soules are in a certaine place expecting iudgement, and cannot remoue from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the liuing should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approued by the example of Lazarus and Diues: where it appeareth according to Deut. 18. that he will not haue the liuing taught by the dead, but will haue vs sticke to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. In deed

Sap. 3.
Pl. 92. & 97.
Chrysost. homilia. 21. in
Matth.

Luke. 16.

Lyra

August. lib.
que. vet. et
nomi testam.
questi. 27.
Item, part. 2.
cap. 26.
Item, que. 5.
nec mirum
ad Simpli-
cian. lib. 2. 93
ad Dulcissi-
um. que. 6.
Item. lib. 2.
de doct. chri.
Deut. 18,
Exodus. 20.

Lyra and Dionysius incline greatlie to the letter. And Lyra saith, that as when Balaam would haue raised a diuell, God interposed himselfe: so did he in this case bying vp Samuell, when the witch would haue raised hir diuell. Which is a probable interpretation. But yet they dare not stand to that opinion, least they should impeach S. Augustines credit, who (they confesse) remained in iudgement and opinion (without contradiction of the church) that Samuell was not raised. For he saith directlie, that Samuell himselfe was not called vp. And indeed, if he were raised, it was either willingly, or perforce: if it were willingly, his sinne had bene equall with the witches.

And Peter Martyr (me thinks) saith moze to the purpose, in these words, to wit: This must haue bene done by Gods good will, or perforce of art magicke: it could not be done by his good will, because he forbade it; nor by art, because witches haue no power ouer the godlie. Where it is answered by some, that the commandment was onlie to prohibit the Iewes to aske counsell of the dead, and so no fault in Samuell to giue counsell. We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthie desires, because it is onlie written in the decalog; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indeed Samuell was directlie forbidden to answer Saule before he died: and therefore it was not likelie that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to doe it.

That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herein, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft.

The ninth Chapter.

Furthermoze, it is not likelie that God would answer Saule by dead Samuell, when he would not answer him by liuing Samuell: and most vnlikelie of all, that God would answer him by a diuell, that denied to doe it by a prophet. That he was not brought vp perforce, the whole course of the scripture witneseth, and proueth;

proueth; as also our owne reason may giue vs to vnderstand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect enioy or possesse in Abrahams bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a twitches call and commandement? But so should the diuell haue power in heauen, where he is vntwozthie to haue anie place himselfe, and therefore vnniete to command others.

Manie other of the fathers are flatlie against the raising vp of Samuell: namelie, Tertullian in his booke *De anima*, Iustine Martyr *In explicatione, qua.* 25. Rabanus *In epistolis ad Bonif. Abar*, Origen *In historia de Bileamo*, &c. Some other dote exceddinglie herein, as namelie Bodin, and all the papists in generall: also Rabbi Seditas Haias, & also all the Hebrewes, sauing R. David Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though neuer a god of them all.

But Bodin, in maintenance therof, falleth into manie absurdities, prouing by the small faults that Saule had committed, that he was an elect: for the greatest matter (saith he) laid vnto his charge, is the reseruing of the Amalekites cattell, &c. He was an elect, &c: confirming his opinion with manie ridiculous fables,

I. Bod. lib. de decem. 2. cap. 3.

& with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserue damnation; for Paule would not haue the incestuous man punished to sore, that his soule might be saved.

1. Samu. 28.

Iustine Martyr in another place was not onlie deceiued in the actuall raising vp of Samuels soule, but affirmed that all the soules of the prophets and iust men are subiect to the power of witches. And yet were the

1. Cor. 5.

Heathen much more fond herein, who (as Lactantius affirmeth) boasted that they could call vp the soules of the dead, and yet did thinke that their soules died with their bodies.

I. Martyr in colloquio cum Tripho- ne Iudaeo.

Lact. lib. 7. cap. 13.

Whereby is to be seene, how alwaies the world hath bene abused in the matters of witchcraft & coniuration. The Necromancers affirme, that the spirit of anie man may be called vp, or recalled (as they terme it) before one yeare be past after their departure from the bodie. Which C. Agrippa in his booke *De occulta philosophia* saith, may be done by certeine naturall forces and bonds. And therefore corpses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holie water, perfumed with incense, and purged with praier all the while they were aboue ground: otherwise the serpent (as the Paissers of the Hebrewes saie) would deuoure them, as the fodd appointed to him by God: Gen. 3. alleging

Iud, verſ. 9.

ging alſo this place; We ſhall not all ſleepe, but we ſhall be changed, becauſe manie ſhall remaine for perpetuall meate to the ſerpent: whereupon riſeth the contention betwene him and Michaell, concerning the bodie of Moſes; wherein ſcripture is alledged. I confeſſe that Auguſtine, and the reſidue of the doctors, that denie the raiſing of Samuell, conclude, that the diuell was fetcht vp in his likenesse: from whoſe opinions (with reuerence) I hope I may diſſent.

That neither the diuell nor Samuell was raiſed, but that it was a meere couſenage, according to the guiſe of our Pythoniſts.

The tenth Chapter.



Aſaine, if the diuell appeared, and not Samuell; whic is it ſaid in Eccle. that he ſlept: for the diuell neither ſleepeth nor dieth. But in truth we may gather, that it was neither the diuell in perſon, nor Samuell: but a circumſtance is here deſcribed, according to the deceiued opinion and imagination of Saul. Notwithſtanding Auguſtine ſaith, that both theſe ſides may eaſilie be defended. But we ſhall not need to fetch an expoſition ſo farre off: for indeed (me thinkes) it is *Longè petita*; nor to deſcend ſo lowe as hell, to fetch vp a diuell to expound this place. For it is ridiculous (as Pompanacius ſaith) to leaue manifeſt things, and ſuch as by naturall reaſon may be proued, to ſeeke vnknoſome things, which by no likelihoode can be conceiued, nor tried by anie rule of reaſon. But in ſo much as we haue libertie by S. Auguſtines rule, in ſuch places of ſcripture as ſeeme to containe either contrarie:tie or abſurditie, to varie from the letter, and to make a godlie conſtruction agreeable to the word; let vs confeſſe that Samuell was not raiſed (for that were repugnant to the word) and ſee whether this illuſion may not be contriued by the art and cunning of the woman, without anie of theſe ſupernaturall deuſes: for I could cite a hundred papifticall and couſening practiſes, as difficult

Pompanacius
lib. de in-
carn. cap. 3.

difficult as this, and as cleanly handled. And it is to be surelie thought, if it had bene a diuell, the text would haue noted it in some place of the storie: as it doth not. But Bodin helpeth me exceedinglie in this point, wherein he fo:saith (he saith) Augustine, Tertullian, and D. Kimhi himselfe, who saie it was the diuell that was raised by: which (saith Bodin) could not be; fo: that in the same communication betwene Saule and Samuell, the name of Iehouah is fve times repeated, of which name the diuell cannot abide the hearing.

*1. Bod. lib. de
dem. 2. cap. 3.*

The obiection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the vnderstanding of this storie, which is plainelie opened from the beginning of the 28. chap. of the 1. Samuel, to the 12. verse.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Where such a supernaturall miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a testimonie of truth; as Peter Martyr affirmeth. And in this case it should haue bene a witnesse of lies: fo: (saith he) a matter of such weight cannot be attributed vnto the diuell, but it is the mightie power of God that doth accomplish it. And if it laie in a witches power to call vp a diuell, yet it lieth not in a witches power to worke such miracles: fo: God will not giue his power and glorie to anie creature. To vnderstand this place, we must diligently examine the circumstance thereof. It was well knowne that Saule, before he resorted to the witch, was in despaire of the mercies and goodnes of God; partlie fo: that Samuell told him long before, that he should be ouerthrowne, and Dauid should haue his place; and partlie because God before had refused to answer him, either by Samuell when he liued, or by anie other prophet, or by Vrim or Thumim, &c. And if you desire to see this matter discussed, turne to the first of Samuell, the 28. chapter, and conferre my words therewith.

*P. Martyr
in comment.
in Sam. 18.
verse 9.*

*Isai 42.
1. Sam. 18.*

Saule

1. Sam. 28, 7.

S. Cicilies
familiar.D. Burcot.
Feats.

Saule seeing the host of the Philistines come vpon him (which thing could not be vnknown to all the people) fainted, because he sawe their strength, and his owne weaknesse, and speciallie that he was forsaken: so as being now straught of mind, desperate, and a verie sole, he goeth to certeine of his seruants, that sawe in that taking he was, and asked them for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at Endor. By the waie you shall vnderstand, that both Saule and his seruants ment such a one as could by hir spirit raise vp Samuell, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they were deceiued, though it were true, that she toke vpon hir so to do. To what vse then serued hir familiar spirit, which you conceiue she had, because Saules seruants said so: Surelie, as they were deceiued and abused in part, so doubtlesse were they in the rest. If so to what purpose (I saie) should hir familiar serue, if not for such intents as they reported, and she vnderooke? I thinke you will grant that Saules men neuer sawe hir familiar: for I neuer heard any yet of credit saie, that he was so much in the witches fauour, as to see hir diuell; although indeed we read among the popish trumperie, that S. Cicilie had an angell to hir familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might aske and haue what she or hir friend list: as appeareth in the lesson read in the popish church on saint Cicilies daie. Tell, I perceiue the woman of Endors spirit was a counterfeite, and kept belike in hir studie at Endor, in the bottle, with mother Alices diuell at Westwell, and are now betwixted and fled together to *Limbo patrum*, &c. And though Saule were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doubtlesse a wise man wold haue perchance espied hir knauerie. He thinks Saule was brought to this witch, much after the maner that doctor Burcot was brought to Feats, who sold maister Doctor a familiar, whereby he thought to haue wrought miracles, or rather to haue gained god some of monie. This fellowe by the name of Feats was a iugler, by the name of Hilles a witch or coniurer, euerie waie a counsener: his qualities and feats were to me and manie other well knowne and detected. And yet the opinion conceiued of him was most strange and wonderfull; euen with such and in such cases, as it graeueth me to thinke of, speciallie because his knauerie and consenage

seruice reached to the shedding of innocent blood. But now for
 sooth Saule couereth himselfe with a net : and bicause he would
 not be knowne, he put on other garments. But to bring that
 matter to passe, he must haue bene cut shorter by the head and
 shoulders, for by so much he was higher than any of the people.
 And therfore whatsoeuer face the craftie quene did set vpon it, she
 knew him well enough. And for further prooue thereof, you may
 vnderstand, that the princes of the Iewes were much conuer-
 sant with the people. And it appereth manifestlie, that Saule
 dwelt verie nere to Endor, so as she should the rather knowe
 him; for in the euening he went from his lodging vnto hir house:
 neither should it seeme that she was gone to bed when he came.
 But bicause that may be vncertaine, you may see in the proceesse
 of the text, that in a peece of the night he went from his house to
 hers, and with much adoe intreated hir to consent to his request.
 She finished hir coniuration, so as both Saules part, the witches
 part, and also Samuels part was plaied: and after the solemniza-
 tion therof, a calfe was killed, a batch of bread baked, and a supper
 made readie and eaten vp; and after all this, he went home the
 same night: and had need so to do, for he had some businesse the
 next daie. By these and manie other circumstances it may be
 gathered, that she dissembled, in saieing she knew him not, and
 consequentlie counterfained, and made a fool of him in all the
 rest.

It appereth there, that he, with a couple of his men, went to hir
 by night, and said; Coniecture vnto me by thy familiar spirit,
 and bring me by whom I shall name vnto thee. The godlie lear-
 ned knowe that this was not in the power of the witch of Endor,
 but in the God of heauen onelie to accomplish. Notobest, Saule
 was bewitched so to suppose: and yet is he more simple that will
 be ouertaken with the deuises of our old witches, which are pro-
 duced to resemble hir. And why should we thinke, that GOD
 would rather permit the witch to raise Samuel, than that Diues
 could obtaine Lazarus to come out of Abrahams bosome, vpon
 more likelie and more reasonable conditions? Well now doth
 this Trumpet (according to the guise of our censuring witches
 and coniurers) make the matter strange vnto Saule, saieing that
 he came to take hir in a snare, &c. But witches seldome make

¶ i.

this

this obiection, saying when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their iugling: for otherwise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be as easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of hir cunning; as you see this witch was soone perswaded (notwithstanding that obiection) because she perceiued and sawe that Saule was affraid and out of his wits. And therefore she said vnto him; Whom shall I raise vp? As though she could haue brought vnto him Abraham, Isaac, or Iacob; who cannot heare vs, therefore cannot rise at our call. For it is written; Loke thou downe from heauen and behold vs, &c: as for Abraham he is ignorant of vs, and Israel knoweth vs not.

1. Sa. 28. 12.

Isa. 63. 15. 16

The 12. 13. & 14. verses of 1. Samuel 28. expounded: wherein is shewed that Saule was coufened and abused by the witch, and that Samuel was not raised, is proued by the witches owne talke.

The twelſe Chapter.



The manner and circumstance of their communication, or of hir coniuration, is not verbatim set downe and expressed in the text; but the effect thereof brieflie touched: yet will I shew you the common order of their coniuration, and speciallie of hers at this time vsed. When Saule had told hir, that he would haue

The maner
of the witch
of Endors
coufening
of Saule.

Samuel brought vp to him, she departed from his presence into hir closet, where doubtles she had hir familiar; to wit, some lewd craftie priest, and made Saule stand at the doore like a soole (as it were with his finger in a hole) to heare the coufening answers, but not to see the coufening handling thereof, and the counterfetting of the matter. And so goeth she to worke, vsing ordinarie words of coniuration, of which there are sundrie varieties and formes (whereof I shall haue occasion to repeat some in another place) as you see the iuglers (which be inferiour coniurors) speake certaine strange words of course to lead awaie the eie from espi-
eng

eng the maner of their conuiance, whilst they may induce the mind to conceiue and suppose that he dealeth with spirits; saing, Hay, fortune furie, nunq; credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra. So belike after many such words spoken, she saith to hir selfe; No now the matter is brought to passe, for I see wonderfull things. So as Saule hearing these words, longed to knowe all, and asked hir what she sawe. Whereby you may knowe that Saule sawe nothing, but stood without like a moine, whilst she plaid hir part in hir closet: as may most euidentlie appere by the verse of this chapter where it is said; Then the woman came out vnto Saule. Howbeit, a little before she cunninglie counterfaited that she sawe Samuel, and thereby knewe it was Saule that was come vnto hir. Whereby all the world may perceiue the couensing, and hir dissimulation. For by that which hath bene before said, it must needs be that she knew him. And (I praise you) why should he not haue suspected aswell him to be Saule before, when in expresse words he required hir to bring vnto him Samuel, as now, when Samuel appeared vnto hir?

Well, to the question before proposed by Saule, she answereth and lieth, that she sawe angels or gods ascending by out of the earth. Then proceedeth she with hir enchanting phrases and words of course: so as thereby Saule gathereth and supposeth that she hath raised a man. For otherwise his question dependeth not vpon any thing before spoken. For when she hath said; I sawe angels ascending, &c: the next word he saith is; What fashion is he of? Which (I saie) hangeth not vpon hir last expresse words. And to this she answered not directlie, that it was Samuel; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantell: as though she knew not him that was the most notorious man in Israell, that had bene hir neighbour by the space of manie yeres, and vpon whom (while he liued) euerie eie was fixed, and whom also she knewe within lesse than a quarter of an houre before, as by whose meanes also she came acquainted with Saule. Read the text and see.

But she describeth his personage, and the apparell which he did vsuallie weare when he liued: which if they were both buried together, were consumed and rotten, or deuoured with wormes before that time. Belike he had a new mantell made him in hea-

Ap. ij.

uen:

nen : and yet they saie Tailors are skantie there, for that their consciences are so large here . In this countrie, men giue a waie their garments when they die : if Samuel had so done , hee could not haue borrowed it againe; for of likliehood it would haue bene toozne out in that space, except the donee had bene a better husband than I : for the testator was dead (as it is supposed) two yeares before.

The residue of 1. Sam. 28. expounded : wherein is declared how cunninglie this witch brought Saule resolute to beleue that she raised Samuel, what words are vsed to colour the coufenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.

The xiiij. Chapter.

1. Sa. 28, 15.

Ibidem.

1. Sam. 13, 5.

1. Sa. 13, 15.

NOW commeth in Samuel to plaie his part : but I am perswaded it was performed in the person of the witch hir selfe, or of hir confederate . He saith to Saule ; Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me vp : As though without guile or packing it had bene Sainuel himselfe . Saule answered that he was in great distresse : for the Philistines made warre vpon him. Whereby the witch, or hir confederate priest might easilie coniecture that his heart failed, and direct the oracle or prophesie accordingly : especiallie vnderstanding by his present talke, and also by former prophesies and doings that were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his people were declining from him. If or when Ionathan (a little before) ouerthrew the Philistines, being thirtie thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen ; Saule could not assemble aboue six hundred souldiers.

Then said Samuel (which some suppose was sathan, and as I thinke was the witch, with a confederate ; for what need so farre fetches, as to fetch a diuell supernaturallie out of hell, when the illusion may be here by naturall meanes deciphered : And if you note the words well, you shall perceiue the phrase not to come out

of

of a spirituall mouth of a diuell, but from a lying corporall tongue of a cousener, that careth neither for God nor the diuell, it is thence issued such aduise and communication, as greatly disagreeth from sathans nature and purpose. For thus (I saie) the said Samuel speaketh: Wherefore dost thou aske me, seeing the Lord is gone from thee, and is thine enemy? Euen the Lord hath done vnto him as he spake by mine hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbour Dauid, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a diuell, but of a cousener, which knew before what Samuel had prophesied concerning Saules destruction. For it is the diuels condition, to allure the people vnto wickednes, and not in this sort to admonish, warne, and rebuke them for euill. And the popish writers confesse, that the diuell would haue bene gone at the first naming of God. If it be said, that it was at Gods spectall commandement and will, that Samuel or the diuell should be raised, to propound this admonition, to the profit of all posteritie: I answer, that then he would rather haue done it by some of his lining prophets, and that sathan had not bene so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the witch (I would saie Samuel) into the veine of prophesying, and speaketh to Saule on this wise; The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbour Dauid, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierse wrath vpon the Amalekites: therefore hath the Lord done this vnto thee this daie. Moreover, the Lord will deliuer thee into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall giue the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel haue said more?

We thinke the diuell would haue used another order, encouraging Saule rather than rebuking him for his euill. The diuell is craftier than to leaue such an admonition to all posterities, as should be preiudiciall vnto his kingdome, and also be void of all impietie. But to diuine a sentence maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the aduancement of his gaines. Howbeit, concerning the veritie of this prophesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the battell were fought the next daie; secondlie, whether all his sonnes were kil-

1. Sam. 28.

16. 17.

1. Sa. 15, 28.

1. Sa. 28, 17.

18.

19.

2. Reg. 4.

Canon. 26.
quest. cap. 5.
nec mirum.Right Ven-
triloquie.

led with him; item, whether they went to heauen or hell together, as being with Samuel; they must be in heauen, and being with sathan, they must be in hell. But although euerie part of this prophesie were false, as that all his sonnes were not slaine (Ishbo- sheb lining and reigning in Israel two yeares after Saules death) and that the battell was not on the morow, and that wic- ked Saule, after that he had killed himselfe, was not with god Samuel; yet this witch did giue a shewd gesse to the sequele. Which whether it were true or false, pertaines not to my purpose; and therefore I will omit it. But as touching the opinion of them that saie it was the diuell, because that such things came to passe; I would faine knowe of them where they learne that diuels fore- know things to come. If they saie he getteth onelie vpon proba- bilities, the witch may also doe the like. But here I may not for- get the decrees, which conclude, that Samuel appeared not vnto Saule; but that the historiographer set forth Saules mind and Sa- muels estate, and certeine things which were said & scene, omit- ting whether they were true or false: and further, that it were a great offense for a man to beleue the bare words of the storie. And if this exposition like you not, I can easilie frame my selfe to the opinion of some of great learning, expounding this place, and that with great probabilitie, in this sort; to wit, that this Py-

thonist being Ventriloqua; that is, Speaking as it were from the bot tome of hir bellie, did cast hir selfe into a trance, and so abused Saule, answering to Saule in Samuels name, in hir counterfeite hollow voice: as the wench of Westwell spake, whose historie I haue rehearsed be- fore at large, in pag. 127 and this is right Venti- loquie.

(.)

Opinions

Opinions of some learned men, that Samuel was indeed raised, not by the witches art or power, but by the speciall miracle of God, that there are no such visions in these our daies, & that our witches cannot doo the like.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Alas and Sadaias write, that when the woman sawe the miracle indeed, and more than she looked for, or was wont to doo; she began to crie out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not done by hir art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is far more probable than our late writers iudgements heretupon, and agreeth with the exposition of diuerse good diuines. Gelasius saith, it was the verie spirit of Samuel: and where he suffered himselfe to be witchipped, it was but in ciuill salutation and courteisie; and that God did interpose Samuel, as he did Elias to the messenger of Ocholias, when he sent to Belzebub the god of Acharon. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set vp in this point: for the papists saie, that it cannot be a diuell, because Jehonah is thise or five times named in the storie. Upon this peece of scripture arguments are daiele devised, to proue and mainteine the miraculois actions of witchcraft, and the raising of the dead by confutations. And yet if it were true, that Samuel himselfe were raised, or the diuell in his likeness; and that the witch of Endor by hir art and cunning did it, as it maketh rather to the disprove than to the prove of our witches, which can neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any such place or companie, where their iugling and consenage may be seen and laid open. And I challenge them all (even vpon the aduenture of my life) to shew one peece of a miracle, such as Christ did trulie, or such as they suppose this witch did diabolicallie, be it not with art nor confederacie, whereby some colour thereof may be made; neither are there any such visions in these daies the word.

Heretofore God did send his visible angels to men: but now

Ap. liij.

we

I. Bodin &
L. vairs
differ here.
in.

A bold, discrete, and
faithfull
challenge.

we heare not of such apparitions, neither are they necessarie. Indeed it pleased God heretofore, by the hand of Moses and his prophets, and speciallie by his sonne Christ and his apostles, to worke great miracles, for the establisshing of the faith: but now whatsoeuer is necessarie for our saluation, is contained in the word of God: our faith is alreadie confirmed, and our church established by miracles; so as now to seeke for them, is a point of infidelitie. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatlie touched withall, as in their lieng legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knaueries most commonlie, and speciallie of priests, whereof I could cite a thousand. If you read the storie of Bell and the dragon, you shall find a censuring miracle of some antiquitie. If you will see newer deuises, read Wierus, Cardanus, Baleus, and speciall the Lauaterns, &c. There haue bene some * walking spirits in these parts so contured not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make anie more apparitions.

* At Canturburie by Rich. Lee esquire, & others, anno. 1573.
At Ric by maister Gaymor & others, anno. 1577.

Of vaine apparitions, how people haue bene brought to feare bugges, which is partlie reformed by preaching of the gospell, the true effect of Christes miracles.

The xv. Chapter.

Ut certeinlie, some one knaue in a white sheete hath coulered and abused manie thousands that waie; speciallie when Robin god-fellow kept such a coile in the countrie. But you shall understand, that these bugs speciallie are spied and feared of sicke folke, children, women, and cowards, which through weaknesse of mind and bodie, are shaken with vaine dreames and continuall feare. The Scythians, being a stout and a warlike nation (as diuers writers report) neuer see anie vaine sights, or spirits. It is a common saieing; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids haue so terrified vs with an ouglie diuell hauing hoynes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his

*Wier. lib. 3
cap. 8.
Theodor.
Bizantium.
Lauat. de
spect. & la-
morib.*

his breath, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clauies like a beare, a skin like a spider, and a voice rozing like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crye Wough: and they haue so fraied vs with bull beggers, spirits, witches, bichens, elues, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the caru sticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conu rozs, nymphes, changelings, Incubus, Robin god-fellove, the sporne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob goblin, Tom tumbler, boneless, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes: in so much as some neuer feare the diuell, but in a darke night; and then a polled sheepe is a perillous beaſt, and manie times is taken for our fathers soule, speciallie in a churchyard, where a right hardie man heretofore scant durſt paſſe by night, but his haire would ſtand vp: right. For right graue writers report, that spirits moſt often and speciallie take the ſhape of women appearing to monks, &c: and of beaſts, dogs, ſwine, horſes, gotes, cats, haires; of ſowles, as crowles, night owles, and ſhrike owles; but they delight moſt in the likenes of ſnakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardlie infidelitie, ſince the preaching of the goſpell, is in part forgotten: and doubtles, the reſt of thoſe illuſions will in ſhort time (by Gods grace) be detected and baniſh awaie.

Diuers writers report, that in Germanie, ſince Luthers time, ſpirits and diuels haue not perſonallie appeared, as in times paſt they were wont to do. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to proue the determination and ceaſing of oracles. For in times paſt (ſaith Athanaſius) diuels in vaine ſhapes did intricate men with their illuſions, hiding themſelues in waters, ſtones, woods, &c. But now that the word of GOD hath appeared, thoſe ſights, ſpirits, and mockeries of images are ceaſed. Truelie, if all ſuch oracles, as that of Apollo, &c (before the coming of Chriſt) had bene true, and done according to the report, which hath bene brought through diuers ages, and from ſarre countries vnto vs, without preſſlie fraud or guile, ſo as the ſpirits of prophete, and working of miracles, had bene inſerted into an idoll, as hath bene ſuppoſed: yet we chriſtians may conceiue, that Chriſts coming was not ſo ſtuteles and preiudiciall

*Cardan. de
var. rerum
Pencer. &c.*

*Lauat. de
ſpect.*

*Car. de var.
rerum.
I. Vier. de
preſt. demon.
&c.*

*Athanaſ. de
humanitate
verbi.*

The true
end of mi-
racles.

Iohn. 1.

Act. 2. 22.
Iohn. 5.

iudiciall in this point vnto vs, as to take awaie his spirit of prophecie and diuination from out of the mouth of his elect people, and good prophets, giuing no answers of anie thing to come by them, no; by Vrim no; Thumim, as he was wont, &c. And yet to leaue the diuell in the mouth of a witch, or an idoll to prophecie or worke miracles, &c: to the hinderance of his glorious gospel, to the discountenance of his church, and to the furtherance of infidelitie and false religion, whereas the working of miracles was the onelie, or at least the most speciall meanes that moued men to beleue in Christ: as appeareth in sundrie places of the gospel, and speciallie in Iohn, where it is written, that a great multitude followed him, because they sawe his miracles which he did, &c. I praye, is it not written, that Iesus was approued by God among the Iewes, with miracles, wonders and signes, &c: And yet, if we conferre the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches; witches miracles shall appeare more common, and nothing inferiour vnto his.

Witches miracles compared to Christs, that God is the creator of all things, of Apollo, and of his names and portraiture.

The xvj. Chapter.

An ironi-
call colla-
tion.



If this witch of Endor had performed that, which manie conceiue of the matter, it might haue bene compared with the raising vp of Lazarus, I praye you, is not the conuerting of water into milke, as hard a matter as the turning of water into wine? And yet, as you may read in the gospel, that Christ did the one, as his first miracle; so may you read in M. Mal. and in Bodin, that witches can easilie do the other: yea, and that which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But to auoid all cauals, and least there should appeare more matter in Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in M. Mal. that they can change water into wine: and what is it to attribute to

M. Mal. i. f.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 14.

a creature, the power and worke of the creator, if this be not? Christ saith, *Opera quæ ego facio nemo potest facere*. Creation of substance was neuer granted to man nor angel; Ergo neither to witch nor diuell: for God is the onlie giuer of life and being, and by him all things are made, visible and inuisible.

Acts. 17.
Tim. 6, 13.
Col. 1, 16.
Athanas.
Symbol.

Finallie, this woman of Endor is in the scripture called Pythoniſſa: whereby it may appeare that ſhe was but a verie counterfet. For Pytho himſelfe, whereof Pythoniſſa is deriued, was a counterfet. And the originall ſtoie of Apollo, who was called Pytho, becauſe he killed a ſerpent of that name, is but a poetiſſall fable. For the poets ſaie he was the god of muſicke, phyſicke, poe-
trie, and ſhooting. In heauen he is called Sol, in earth Liber pater, in hell Apollo. He ſtoleth alwaies with perpetuall youth, and therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an oracle-giuer: and the prieſts that attended thereon at Delphos were counſeners, and called Pythoniſts of Pytho, as prieſts of Papa; and afterwards all women that uſed that trade, were named Pythoniſſæ, as was this woman of Endor. But

Apollo Py-
tho vnca-
ſed.

becauſe it concerneth this matter, I will briefly note
the opinions of diuers learned men, and cer-
taine other profeſſes, which I find in the
ſcripture touching the ceaſing of
miracles, prophecies and
oracles.



¶ *The eight booke.*

That miracles are
ceased.

The first Chapter.

Psal. 136. 4.
Psal. 72. 18.
Psal. 88. 10.



Isai. 42.
Iohn. 3. 2.
Ibid. 7. 16.
In amos. 2.
in Iohan. 3.

Isai. 45.

August. de
verbo Dom.
secundum
Matth. ser-
monem. 18.

Although in times past,
it pleased God, extraordinary
miracles to shew miracles a-
mongest his people, for the
strengthening of their faith
in the Messias; and againe
at his coming to confirme
their faith by his wonderfull
doings, and his speciall gra-
ces and gifts bestowed by
him vpon the apostles, &c: yet
we ordinarily read in the
scriptures, that it is the Lord
that worketh great wonders.

Yea Dauid saith, that among the dead (as in this case of Samuel)
God himselfe sheweth no wonders. I find also that God will not
giue his glorie and power to a creature. Nidodemus being a
Pharisee could saie, that no man could do such miracles as Christ
did, except God were with him, according to the saying of the pro-
phet to those gods and idols, which toke on them the power of
God: Do either good or ill if you can, &c. So as the prophet knew
and taught thereby, that none but God could worke miracles.
Infinite places for this purpose might be brought out of the scrip-
ture, which for breuitie I omit and ouerslip.

S. Augustine, among other reasons, whereby he proueth the
ceasing of miracles, saith; Now blind flesh doth not open the eyes
of the blind by the miracle of God, but the eyes of our hart are o-
pened by the word of God. Now is not our dead carcase raised
any more by by miracle, but our dead bodies be still in the graue,
and

and our soules are raised to life by Christ. Now the eares of the deafe are not opened by miracle, but they which had their eares shut before, haue them now opened to their saluation. The miraculous healing of the sicke by anointing, spoken of by S. James, is objected by manie, speciallie by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreame unction: which is apishlie and banelie vned in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this daie: wherein you shall see what Caluine speaketh in his institutions. The grace of healing (saith he) spoken of by S. James, is vanished awaie, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would haue shewed onelie for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the gospell meruellous for euer. Why (saith he) doe not these (meaning miracle-mongers) appoint some Siloah to swim in, where into at certaine ordinarie recourses of times sicke folke maie plunge themselves: Why doe they not lie a long vpon the dead, bicause Paule raised by a dead child by that meanes: Where (saith he) James in the miracle to annoint, spake for that time, whiles the church still enioied such blessings of God. Item, he saith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need is, he helpeth their sicknesses, no lesse than in old time. But he dooth not so vtter his manifest powers, no: distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the apostles, bicause the gift was but for a time. Caluine euen there concludeth thus; They saie such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saith naie. And see how they agree among themselves. Danus saith, that neither witch no: diuell can worke miracles. Giles Alley saith directlie, that witches worke miracles. Caluine saith they are all ceased. All witchmongers saie they continue. But some affirme, that popish miracles are vanished and gone awaie: howbeit witches miracles remaine in full force. So as S. Loy is out of credit for a host-leach, Maister T. and mother Bungie remaine in estimation for prophets: naie Hobgoblin and Robin godfellowe are contemned among yong children; and mother Alice and mother Bungie are feared among old soles. The estimation of these continue, bicause the matter hath not bene called in question: the credit of the other decayeth, bicause the matter hath bene looked into. Wherof I saie no more, but that S. Anthonies blisse will helpe your

James. 5, 14.

I. Caluin. Institutions. lib. 4. cap. 19. sect. 18.

Idem. ibid.

sect. 19.

Mat. 9, 7.

Acts. 20, 10.

Idem. ibid.

nempe I. Caluine.

Prou. 51.

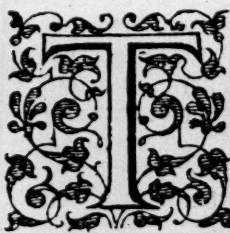
your pig, whenſoener mother Bungie doth hurt it with hir curſe. And therefore we are warned by the word of God, in anie wiſe not to feare their curſes. But let all the witchmongers, and ſpeciallie the miracle mongers in the world answer me to this ſuppoſition; But caſe that a woman of credit, or elſe a woman-witch ſhould ſaie vnto them, that ſhe is a true prophet of the Lord, and that he reuealeth thoſe ſecret myſteries vnto hir, whereby ſhe detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that by him ſhe woꝝketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c: I thinke they muſt either yeeld, or confeſſe that miracles are ceaſed. But ſuch things (ſaith Cardane) as ſeeme miraculous, are theſe done by deceit, legierdemaine, or confederacie; or elſe they maie be done, and yet ſeeme vnpoſſible, or elſe things are ſaid to be done, and neuer were noꝝ can be done.

H. Card. de
miracul.

That the gift of propheſie is ceaſed.

The ſecond Chapter.

Iſai. 41.



That witches, noꝝ the woman of Endor, noꝝ yet hir familiar or diuell can tell what is to come, may plainelie appeare by the words of the prophet, who ſaith, He to what things are to come, and we will ſaie you are gods indeed. According to that which Salomon ſaith; Who can tell a man what ſhall happen him vnder the ſunne?

1. Sam. 28.

Rom. 12.

1. Cor. 12.

1. Pet. 1.

Warrre that can I (ſaith the witch of Endor to Saule.) But I will rather beleue Paule and Peter, which ſaie, that propheſie is the gift of God, and no worldlie thing. Then a couſeining queane, that taketh vpon hir to do all things, and can do nothing but beguile men: by ſteppeth alſo mother Bungie, and ſhe can tell you where your horſe or your aſſe is beſtowed, or anie thing that you haue loſt is become, as Samuell could; and what you haue done in all your age paſt, as Chriſt did to the woman of Sidar at Iacobs well; yea and what your errand is, beſore you ſpeake, as Elizaſus did.

Iohn. 4.

Peter Martyr ſaith, that onelie God and man knoweth the heart.

heart of man, and therefore, that the diuell must be secluded, ab-
 ledging these places; *Solus Deus est scrutator cordium*. Onelie
 God is the searcher of hearts. And, *Nemo scit quæ sunt hominis, nisi*
spiritus hominis qui est in eo, None knoweth the things of man, but
 the spirit of man which is within him. And Salomon saith, *Tu so-*
lus nosti cogitationes hominum, Thou onelie knowest the thoughts of
 men. And Ieremie saith in the person of God, *Ego Deus scrutans*
corda & renes, I am God searching hearts and reines. Also Mat-
 thew saith of Christ, *Iesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*, And Iesus
 seeing their thoughts, who in scripture is called the searcher and
 knower of the thoughts in the heart: as appeareth in Acts, 1. & 15.
 Rom. 8. Matth. 9. 12. & 22. Marke. 2. Luke. 6. & 7. & 11. Iohn. 1.
 2. 6. & 13. Apoc. 2. & 3. and in other places infinite.

The same Peter Martyr also saith, that the diuell maie suspect,
 but not know our thoughts: for if he should know our thoughts,
 he should vnderstand our faith; which if he did, he would neuer al-
 saile vs with one temptation. Indeed we read that Samuel could
 tell where things lost were strayed, &c. but we see that gift also cea-
 sed by the comming of Christ, according to the saying of Paule;
 At sundrie times, and in diuerse maners God spake in the old
 times by our fathers the prophets, in these last daies he hath spo-
 ken vnto vs by his sonne, &c. And therefore I saie that gift of pro-
 phesie, wherewith God in times past endued his people, is also
 ceased, and counterfeits and cōfessors are come in their places,
 according to this saying of Peter: There were false prophets a-
 mong the people, euen as there shalbe false teachers among
 you, &c. And thinke not that so notable a gift should be taken
 from the beloued and elect people of God, and committed to mo-
 ther Bungle, and such like of hir profession.

The words of the prophet Zacharie are plaine, touching the
 ceasing both of the good and bad prophet, to wit: I will cause the
 prophets and vncleane spirits to depart out of the land, and when
 anie shall yet prophesie, his parents shall saie to him; Thou shalt
 not liue, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord: and his
 parents shall thrust him through when he prophesieth, &c. So, no-
 the foretelling of things to come, is the onelie worke of God,
 who disposeth all things secretly, of whose counsell there hath ne-
 uer yet bene anie man. And to know our labours, the times
 and

P. Martyr.

loc. com. 9.

sect. 17.

P. Martyr.

in loc. comm.

Hebr. 1. 8.

& 2.

2. Pet. 2. 1.

Zach. 13.

Chrysost.

in euang. Io-

han. hom. 18.

Per. Bless.

epist. 49.

and moments God hath placed in his owne power. Also Phauorinus saith, that if these cold prophets or oracles tell thee prosperitie, and deceiue thee, thou art made a miser through vaine expectation: if they tell thee of aduersitie, &c: and lie, thou art made a miser through vaine feare. And therefore I saie, we maie as well looke to heare propheties at the tabernacle, in the bush, of the cherubin, among the clouds, from the angels, within the arke, or out of the flame, &c: as to expect an oracle of a prophet in these daies.

*Canon. de
malef. &
mathemas.*

But put the case, that one in our common wealth should step vp and saie he were a prophet (as manie frenlike persons do) who would beleue him, or not thinke rather that he were a lewd person? See the statutes Elizab. 5. whether there be not lawes made against them, condemning their arrogancie and conuenage: see also the canon lawes to the same effect.

That Oracles are ceased.

The third Chapter.

*Thucidid.
lib. 2.
Cicer. de di-
uin. lib. 2.*



Touching oracles, which for the most part were idols of silver, gold, wood, stones, &c: within whose bodies some saie vncleane spirites hid themselues, and gaue answers: as some others saie, that exhalations rising out of the ground, inspire their minds, whereby their priests gaue out oracles; so as spirits and winds rose vp out of that soile, and indued those men with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all deuises to couzen the people, and for the profit of priests, who receiued the idols answers ouer night, and deliuered them backe to the idolaters the next morning: you shall vnderstand, that although it had bene so as it is supposed; yet by the reasons and proofes before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoeuer hath affinity with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, coniuration, &c: is knocked on the head, and nailed on the crosse with Christ, who hath broken the power of diuels, and satisfied Gods iustice,

who

who also hath troden them vnder his fete, & subdued them, &c. At whose comming the prophet Zacharie saith, that the Lord will cut the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no moze remembered; and he will then cause the prophets and vnclane spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine inchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt haue no moze soothsayers. And indeed the gospell of Christ hath so laid open their knauerie, &c: that since the preaching thereof, their combs are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if euer these prophetes came to take effect, it must be vpon the coming of Christ, whereat you see the diuels were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saieing, or rather exclaiming vpon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* & thou sonne of God, whie comest thou to molest vs (or confound vs) before our time appointed: Which he indeed p̄uented, and now remaineth he our defender and keeper from his clauwes. So as now you see here is no roome left for such ghests.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that haue bene as much deceiued as your selues in this matter: and yet are diuinen to confesse, that God hath constituted his sonne to beat downe the power of diuels, and to satisfie Gods iustice; and to heale our wound received by the fall of Adam, according to Gods promise in Genesis. 3. The seed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the diuell. Eusebius (in his fift booke *De praedicatione Euangelij*, the title whereof is this, that the power of diuels is taken awaie by the coming of Christ) saith; All answers made by diuels, all soothsayings and diuinations of men are gon and banished awaie. Item he citeth Porphyrie in his booke against christian religion, wherein these words are rehearsed; It is no mernell, though the plague be so hot in this citie: for euer since Iesus hath bene worshipped, we can obtaine nothing that god is at the hands of our gods. And of this defection and ceasing of oracles writeth Cicero long before, and that to haue happened also before his time. Howbeit, Chrysostome living long since Cicero, saith, that Apollo was forced to grant, that so long as anie relike of a martye was held to his nose, he could not make anie answer or oracle. So as one may perceiue, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than manie christians, who in

Zach. 13. 2.

Mich. 5. 12.

Gen. 3.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Idem. Ibid.

Porphyr. in lib. contra christ. relig.

Cic. de diuin. lib. 2.

I. Chrysost. de laud. Paul. Rom. 4.

times past were called *Oppugnatores incantamentorum*, as the English princes are called *Defensores fidei*. Plutarch calleth Boeotia (as we call bablers) by the name of manie words, bicause of the multitude of oracles there, which now (saith he) are like to a spring or fountaine which is dried vp. If anie one remained, I would ride five hundred miles to see it: but in the whole world there is not one to be seene at this houre; popish couenages excepted.

Porphyry.
writeth
verses in A-
pollon name,
of the death
of Apollo:
cited by
1. Bod. fol. 6.

But Plutarch saith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the diuels death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortall, saieing they died for verie age; and that the diuining priests were blowne vp with a whirlewind, and sonke with an earthquake. Others imputed it to the site or the place of the planets, which when they passed ouer them, carried awaie that art with them, and by reuolution may returne, &c. Eusebius also citeth out of him the storie of Pan, which bicause it is to this purpose, I will insert the same; and since it mentioneth the diuels death, you may beleue it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserued alieue to punish the wicked, and such as impute vnto those idols the power of almighty God.

A tale written by manie graue authors, and beleueed by manie wise men of the diuels death. An other storie written by papists, and beleueed of all catholikes, approving the diuels honestie, conscience, and courtesie.

The fourth Chapter.

Plutarch saith, that his countryman Epotheries told him, that as he passed by sea into Italie, manie passengers being in his bote, in an euening, when they were about the lands Echinadæ, the wind quite ceased: and the ship drying with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And whilst some slept, and others quaff, and other some were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddenlie a voice was heard calling, Thamus; in such sort as euerie man marvelled. This Thamus was a pilot,
boone

bozne in Aegypt, vnknotune to manie that were in the ship. *Thamus* Wherefoze being twice called, he answered nothing; but the third time he answered: and the other with a lowder voice commanded him, that when he came to Palodes, he should tell them that the great God Pan was departed. *Thamus* Whereat euerie one was astonished (as Epithes affirmed.) And being in consultation what were best to doo, Thamus concluded, that if the wind were hie, they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must vtter that which he had heard. But when they came to Palodes, and the weather calme, Thamus looking out toward the land, cried aloud, that the great god Pan was deceased: and immediatlie there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people, as it were with great wonder and admiration. And because there were manie in the ship, they said the same thereof was speedilie brought to Rome, and Thamus sent for by Tiberius the Emperour, who gaue such credit thereto, that he diligentlie inquired and asked, who that Pan was. The learned men about him supposed, that Pan was he who was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope, &c. Eusebius saith, that this chanced in the time of Tiberius the Emperour, when Christ expelled all diuels, &c.

Paulus Marfus, in his notes vpon Ouids Fasti, saith, that this voice was heard out of Paxe, that verie night that Christ suffered, in the yeare of Tiberius the nineteenth. Surelie, this was a merrie test deuised by Thamus, who with some confederate thought to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleepe, and some dronke, and some other at plaie, &c: whiles the first voice was vsed. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deliver his message, he being an old pilot, knew where some noise was vsuall, by meanes of some echo in the sea, and thought he would, (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his deuise, if the weather proued calme. Whereby may appeare, that he would in other cases of tempests, &c: rather attend to moze serious busines, than to that ridiculous matter. For whie else should he not doo his errand in rough weather, as well as in calme? Or what need he tell the diuell thereof, when the diuell told it him before, and with much moze expedition could haue done the errand himselfe?

A detection
of Thamus
his
knauerie.

* But you shall read in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would
saie,

*Legend. au.
in vita sanc-
ti Andree.
fol. 39.*

Agente
and a god-
lie diuell.

saie, more authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane storie, and not so canonicall as those which are brested by the popes authoritie: and thus it is written. A woman in hir trauell sent hir sister to Diana, which was the diuell in an idoll (as all those oracles are said to be) and willed hir to make hir prayers, or rather a request, to knowe of hir safe deliuerie: which thing she did. But the diuell answered; Why praieest thou to me? I cannot helpe thee, but go praie to Andrew the apostle, and he may helpe thy sister, &c. Lo, this was not onelie a gentle, but a godlie diuell, pittieng the womans case, who reuealing his owne disability, enabled S. Andrew more. I knowe some protestants will saie, that the diuell, to mainteine idolatrie, &c: referred the maid to S. Andrew. But what answer will the papists make, who thinke it great pietie to praie vnto saints, and so by consequence honest courtesie in the diuell, to send hir to S. Andrew, who wold not faile to serue hir turne, &c.

The iudgments of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their abolishment, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.

The fift Chapter.

Athanasius de
human ver-
bi sol. 55. &
64.



The opinions of the fathers, that oracles are ceased by the coming of Christ, you shall find in these places following to wit: Iustinus *In dialogis aduersus Iudeos*, Athanasius *De humanitate verbi*, Augustine *De ciuitate Dei*, Eusebius *Lib. 7. cap. 6.* Item *lib. 5. cap. 1. 8.* Rupertus *In Ioan. lib. 10. 12.* Plutarch *De abolitione oraculorum*, Plinie *lib. 30. natural. historie*. Finallie, Athanasius concludes, that in times past there were oracles in Delphos, Bœotia, Lycia, and other places: but now since Christ is preached to all men, this madnesse is ceased. So as you see, that whatsoeuer estimation in times past, the ancient fathers conceiued (by heresie) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c: they themselves refuse now, not onelie to beare witnesse of; but also affirme, that euer since

since Christs comming their mouthes haue bene stopped.

For the ceasing of the knaueries and coufening deuises of p̄ests, I see no authozitie of scripture or ancient father, but rather the contrarie; to wit, that there shall be strange illusions shewed by them, euen till the end. And truelie, whosoever knoweth and noteth the order and deuises of and in popish pilgrimages, shall see both the oracles & their conclusions remaining, and as it were transferred from Delphos to Rome, where that adulterous generation continuallie seeketh a signe, though they haue Moses & the prophets, yea euen Christ & his apostles also, &c.

Where and wherein coufeners, witches, and p̄ests were wont to giue oracles, and to worke their feats.

The sixt Chapter.



These coufening oracles, or rather oracles bled (I saie) to exercise their feats and to do their miracles most commonly in maids, in beasts, in images, in dens, in cloisters, in darke holes, in trees, in churches or churchyards, &c: where p̄ests, monks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies aforesaid, to beguile the world, to gaine monie, and to adde credit to their profession. This practise began in the oaks of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they saie) could speake. And this was done by a knaue in a hollowe tree, that seemed sound vnto the simple people. This wood was in Molossus a part of Greece, called Epyrus, and it was named Dodonas oracles. There were manie oracles in Aegypt; namely, of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minnerua, of Diana, of Mars, of Iupiter, and of the ore Apys, who was the sonne of Iupiter, but his image was worshipped in the likeness of an ore. Latona, who was the mother of Apollo, was an oracle in the citie of Bute. The p̄ests of Apollo, who alwaies counterfacted furie and madnesse, gaue oracles in the temple called Clarius, within the citie of Colophon in Greece. At Thebes in Boeotia, and also in Laebadia, Trophonius was the chiefe oracle. At Memphis a colw, at Corinth an ore called Mineus, in Arsinoc a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiaraus, who

Strabo Geog.

lib. 16.

I. Hier. li. 1.

de prest. dem.

cap. 12.

indeed died at Thebes, where they saie the earth opened, & swallowed him by quicke. At Delphos was the great temple of Apollo, where diuels gaue oracles by maides (as some saie) though indeed it was done by priests. It was built vpon Parnassus hill in Greece. And the defenders of oracles saie, that euen as riuers oftentimes are diuerted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the these prophets, may for a time be silent, and reuiue againe by reuolution.

*H. Haw. in
his defence
of the
prophesies.

Demetrius saith, that the spirits, which attended on oracles, waxed wearie of the peoples curiositie and importunitie, and so: thame forsooke the temple. But as * one that of late hath writ-
ten against prophesies saith; It is no maruell, that when the fa-
miliars that speake in trunks were repelled from their harbour
for feare of discouerie, the blocks almightie lost their senses. For
these are all gone now, and their knauerie is espied; so as they
can no longer abuse the world with such bables. But whereas
these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was
the comming of Christ; if they meane that the diuell died, so sone
as he was borne, or that then he gaue ouer his occupation: they
are deceiued. For the popish church hath made a continuall pra-
ctise hereof, partlie for their owne priuate profit, lucre, and
gaine; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in ad-
miration among the simple. But indeed, men that haue learned
Christ, and bene conuersant in his word, haue discovered and
shaken off the vanitie and abomination hereof. But if those
doctors had liued till this daie, they would haue said and written,
that oracles had ceased, or rather bene driuen out of England in
the time of R. Henrie the eight, and of Queene Elizabeth his
daughter; who haue done so much in that behalfe, as at this
houre they are not onlie all gone, but forgotten here in this Eng-
lish nation, where they swarmed as thicke as they did in Bceotia,
or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, de-
pended not vpon their desert, but vpon the credulitie of others.
Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this mat-
ter, with the opinion and saying of the prophet; Vaine is the an-
swer of idols. For they haue eyes and see not, cares and heare
not, mouthes and speake not, &c: and let them shew what is to
come, and I will saie they are gods indeed.

In whose
daies ora-
cles ceased
in England

Zach. 10.
Isai. 44.

¶ *The ninth Booke.*

The Hebrue word Kasam expounded, and
how farre a Christian may coniecture of things
to come.

¶ The first Chapter.



Kasam (as Iohn Wierus ^{*I. Wier. lib. de prest. demon.*} upon his owne knowledge as-
firmeth, and vpon the word of
Andreas Masius reporteth) dis-
fereth little in signification
from the former word *ob*; beto-
kening *Vaticinari*, which is, To
prophesie, and is most com-
monlie taken in euill part; as
in Deut. 18. Ierem. 27. &c: how-
beit, sometime in god part, as
in Esaie 3. verse. 2. To foretell
things to come vpon probable

coniectures, so as therein we reach no further than becommeth
humane capacitie, is not (in mine opinion) vnlawfull, but ra-
ther a commendable manifestation of wisdome and iudgment,
the good gifts and notable blessings of G D D, for the which we
ought to be thankfull; as also to yeeld due honour and praise vn-
to him, for the noble order which he hath appointed in nature: prai-
eng him to lighten our hearts with the beames of his wisdome,
that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the
workmanship of his hands. But some are so wise, that they con-
demne generallie all sorts of diuinations, denieng those things
that in nature haue manifest causes, and are so framed, as they
foreshew things to come, and in that shew admonish vs of things
after to insue, exhibiting signes of vnknowne and future mat-
ters to be iudged vpon, by the order, lawe, and course of nature

All diuina-
tions are
not con-
demnable.

P. iiii.

proposed

proposed vnto vs by God.

Colebrasus
erronious
& impious
opinion.

And some on the other side are so bewitched with follie, as they attribute to creatures that estimation, which rightlie and true-
lie apperteineth to God the creator of all things; affirming that
the publike and private destinies of all humane matters, and
whatsoever a man would knowe of things come or gone, is ma-
nifested to vs in the heauens: so as by the starres and planets all
things might be knowne. These would also, that nothing should
be taken in hand or gone about, without the fauourable aspect of
the planets. By which, and other the like deuises they depraue and
prophane the ancient and commendable obseruations of our for-
fathers: as did Colebrasus, who taught, that all mans life was
gouerned by the seuen planets; and yet a christian, and condem-
ned for heresie. But let vs so farre forth embrace and allow this
philosophie and prophesieng, as the word of God giueth vs leaue,
and commendeth the same vnto vs.

Proofes by the old and new testament, that certaine
obseruations of the weather are lawfull.

The second Chapter.

Psal. 13.
Ierem. 54.
Gen. 1.
Ezech. 1.
Gen. 9.



Eccles. 43.
Ps. 19. & 50.

Eccles. 1.
Baruch. 3.

Luk. 12. 24.

When God by his word and wise-
dome had made the heauens, and placed
the starres in the firmament, he said; Let
them be for signes, and for seasons, and
for daies, and yeares. When he created
the rainebowe in the clouds, he said it
should be for a signe and token vnto vs.
Which we find true, not onelie of the floud
past, but also of shewers to come. And therefore according to Je-
sus Sirachs aduise, let vs behold it, and praise him that made it.
The prophet Dauid saith; The heauens declare the glorie of God,
and the earth sheweth his handie worke: daie vnto daie vttereth
the same, and night vnto night teacheth knowledge. It is also
written that by the commandement of the holie one the starres
are placed, and continue in their order, & faile not in their watch.
It should appeare, that Christ himselfe did not altogether neglect
the course & order of the heauens, in that he said; When you see a
cloud

cloud rise out of the west, streight waie you saie a shewer cometh; and so it is. And when you see the southwind blowe; you saie it will be hot, and so it cometh to passe. Again, when it is euening, you saie faire weather, for the skie is red: and in the morning you saie, to daie shalbe a tempest, for the skie is red and lowring. Wherein as he noteth that these things doe trulie come to passe, according to ancient obseruation, and to the rule astronomicall: so doth he also by other words following admonish vs, that in attending too much to those obseruations, we neglect not spectallie to follow our christian vocation.

The physician is commended vnto vs, and allowed in the scriptures: but so to put trust in him, as to neglect & distrust God, is seuerelie forbidden and reprobued. Surelie it is most necessarie for vs to know and obserue diuerse rules astrologicall; otherwise we could not with oportunitie dispatch our ordinarie affaires. And yet Lactantius condemneth and recounteth it among the number of witchcrafts: from whose censure Caluine doth not much varie. The poore husbandman perceiueeth that the increase of the mone maketh plants and liuing creatures frutesfull: so as in the full mone they are in best strength, decayeng in the wane, and in the coniunction doe utterlie wither and bade. Which when by obseruation, vse and practise they haue once learned, they distribute their businesse accordingle; as their times and seasons to sow, to plant, to proine, to let their cattell blood, to cut, &c.

That certeine obseruations are indifferent, certeine ridiculous, and certeine impious, whence that cunning is deriued of Apollo, and of Aruspices.

The third Chapter.



Know not whether to disallow or discommend the curious obseruation vsed by our elders, who consecrated vpon natiuities: so as, if Saturne and Mercurie were opposite in anie brute signe, a man then borne should be dumbe or stammer much; whereas it is daillie seene, that children naturallie imitate their parents conditions

Signes of Wither
Hollie

Matt. 16. 2,
3.

Lactant. con-
tra astrolo-
gor.

Pencer. de
astrol. pag.
383.

The ridicu-
lous art of
natiuitie-
casting.

conditions in that behalfe. Also they haue noted, that one borne in the spring of the moone, shalbe healthie; in that time of the wane, when the moone is vterlie decayed, the child then borne cannot liue; and in the coniunction, it cannot long continue.

Julius Maternus his most impious opinion.

But I am sure the opinion of Julius Maternus is most impious, who writeth, that he which is borne when Saturne is in Leone, shall liue long, and after his death shall go to heauen presentlie. And so is this of Albumazar, who saith, that whosoever praieth to God, when the moone is in Capite draconis, shalbe heard, and obtaine his praier. Furthermore, to plaie the cold prophet, as to recount it good or bad lucke, when salt or wine falleth on the table, or is shed, &c. or to prognosticate that ghests approach to your house, vpon the chattering of pies or haggisters, whereof there can be yelded no probable reason, is altogether vanitie and superstition: as hereafter shalbe more largelie shewed. But to make simple people beleue, that a man or woman can foretell good or euill fortune, is more witchcraft or couzenage. For God is the onlie searcher of the heart, and deliuereth not his counsell to so lewd reprobates. I know diuerse writers affirme, that witches foretell things, as prompted by a reall diuell; and that he againe learneth it out of the propheties written in the scriptures, and by other numble sleights, wherein he passeth anie other creature earthlie; and that the same diuell, or some of his fellows runnes or flies as farre as Rochester, to mother Bungie; or to Canturburie to S. T.; or to Delphos, to Apollo; or to Aesculapius, in Pargamo; or to some other idoll or witch, and there by waie of oracle answers all questions, through his vnderstanding of the propheties contained in the old testament, especiallie in Daniel and Esaie: whereby the diuell knew of the translation of the monarchie from Babylon to Græcia, &c. But either they haue learned this of some oracle or witch; or else I know not where the diuell they find it. Marrie certeine it is, that herein they shew themselves to be witches and fond diuinoers: so they find no such thing written in Gods word.

Bedinus.
Daneus.
Erasius.
Hemingius.
Mal. malef.
Thom. Aquinas, &c.

Of the idoll called Apollo, I haue somewhat already spoken in the former title of Ob or Pytho; and some occasion I shall haue to speake thereof hereafter: and therefore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, that the credit gained therevnto, was by the craft
and

and cunning of the priests, which tended thereupon; who with their counterfeited miracles so bewitched the people, as they thought such vertue to haue bene contained in the bodies of those idols, as God hath not promised to anie of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if Apollo were in a chafe, he would sweat: if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed teares, which I beleue might haue bene wiped awaie with that handkerchiefe, that wiped and dried the Rod of graces face, being in like perplexities. Euen as another sort of witching priests called Aruspices, prophesied victorie to Alexander, bicause an eagle lighted on his head: which eagle might (I beleue) be cowed or caged with Mahomets done, that picked preason out of his eare.

Apollos
passions.

The predictions of soothsaiers and lewd priests, the prognostications of astronomers and physicians allowable, diuine prophesies holie and good.

The fourth Chapter.



The coufening tricks of oracling priests and monkes, are and haue bene speciallie most abhominable. The superstitious obseruations of sensles augurs and soothsaiers (contrarie to philosophie, and without authoritie of scripture) are verie vngodlie and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reiect not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the coniectures or forewarnings of physicians, nor yet the interpretations of philosophers; although in respect of the diuine prophesies contained in holie scriptures, they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not onlie farre differing; but whereas these containe onlie the word and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and coufengages. For though there be many of them learned and goodlie, yet lurke there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfets and coufeners. I Bodin putteth this difference betwene diuine prophets and inchantors;

What prophesies allowable.

I. Bod. lib. de
dama. lib. 1.
cap. 4.

to wit,

to with, the one saith alwaies true, the others words (proceeding from the diuell) are alwaies false; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then why maie not euerie witch be thought as cunning as Apollo? And why not euerie counterfet coustener as good a witch as mother Bungie? For it is ods, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred diuinations as well as the best.

The diuersitie of true prophets, of Vrim, and of the propheticall vse of the twelue precious stones contained therein, of the diuine voice called Echo.

The fift Chapter.

Diuerse degrees of prophesie.

IT should appeare, that euen of holie prophets there were diuerse sorts. For Dauid and Salomon, although in their psalmes and parables are contained most excellent mysteries, and notable allegozies: yet they were not indued with that degree of prophesie, that Elie and Elisha were, &c. For as often as it is said, that God spake to Dauid or Salomon, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For Nathan or Gad were the messengers and prophets to reueale Gods will to Dauid. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to Salomon. Item, the spirit of prophesie, which Elias had, was doubled vpon Elisha. Also some prophets prophesied all their liues, some had but one vision, and some had more, according to Gods pleasure; yea some prophesied vnto the people of such things as came not to passe, and that was where Gods wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were alwaies reputed among the people to be wise and godlike; whereas the heathen prophets were euermore knowne and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of Sibylla, and also of Apollo; and at this daie also in the Indies, &c.

2. Reg. 2.

1. Bodin.

But that anie of these extraoꝝdinarie gifts remaine at this daie, Bodin, no; anie witchmonger in the world shall neuer be able to proue: though he in his booke of diuelish madnesse would make men beleue it. For these were miraculously maintained by

by God among the Iewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to passe; or else informed by Vrim: so as the priests by the brightnes of the twelue pretious stones contained therein, could prognosticate or expound anie thing. Which brightnes and vertue ceased (as Iosephus reporteth) two hundred yeares before he was bozne. So as since that time, no answers were yelded thereby of Gods will and pleasure. Nevertheless, the Iebzues write, that there hath bene ever since that time, a diuine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called *Filia vocis*, in Græke *ἡ φωνή*, in English The daughter of speech.

Ioseph. de antiquit.

*Iosephus
Lami. lib.
Pirkeaboth.*

Of propheties conditionall: whereof the propheties in the old testament doo intreate, and by whom they were published; witchmongers answers to the obiections against witches supernaturall actions.

The sixt Chapter.



Christ and his apostles prophesied of the calamities and afflictions, which shall græue and disturbe the church of God in this hfe: also of the last daie, and of the signes and tokens that shall be shewed before that daie: and finallie of all things, which are requisite for vs to foreknowe. Wholoe it, such is the mercie of God, that all propheties, threatnings, plagues, and punishments are annexed to conditions of repentance: as on the other side, corporall blessings are tied vnder the condition of the crosse and castigation. So as by them the mysteries of our saluation being discovered vnto vs, we are not to seeke new signes and miracles; but to attend to the doctrine of the apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucified for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as manie as beleue, &c.

*Prophecies
conditio-
nall.*

The propheties in the old testament treat of the continuance, the gouernement, and the difference of estates: of the distinction of the foure monarchies, of their order, decaille, and insaturation;
of

The subject
of the pro-
phesies of
the old te-
stament.

of the changes and ruines of the kingdomes of Iuda, Israel, Aegypt, Persia, Græcia, &c : and speciallie of the comming of our Saviour Iesus Christ ; and how he should be borne of a virgine, and where, of his tribe, passion, resurrection, &c. These propheties were published by Gods speciall and peculiar prophets, endued with his particular and excellent gifts, according to his promise; I will raise them vp a prophet out of the midst of their brethren, I will put my words in his mouth, &c. Which though it were speciallie spoken of Christ, yet was it also spoken of those particular prophets, which were placed among them by God to declare his will; which were also figures of Christ the prophet himselfe. Now, if prophesie be an extraordinary gift of God, and a thing peculiar to himselfe, as without whose speciall assistance no creature can be a prophet, or shew what is to come; whie should we beleue, that those lewd persons can performe by diuinations and miracles that which is not in humane but in diuine power to accomplish?

Howbeit, when I denie that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is objected vnto me, that Enoch and Elie were rapt into heauen bodilie; and that Abacucke was carried in the aire, to feed Daniel: and so falselie oppose a diuels or a witches power against the vertue of the Holy-ghost. If I deride the poets opinions, saying, that witches cannot *Cælo deducere lunam*, fetch the moone from heauen, &c: they tell me that at Ioshuas battell the sunne staid, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknes. If I denie their cunning in the exposition of dreames, aduising them to remember Jeremies counsell, not to followe or credit the expositors of dreames; they hit me in the teeth with Daniel and Ioseph: for that the one of them expounded Pharaos the Persian kings, the other Nabuchadnezzar the Aegyptian kings dreame. If I saie with Salomon, that the dead knowe nothing, and that the dead knowe vs not, neither are remouable out of Abrahams bosome, &c: they produce the storie of Samuel: wherein, I saie, they set the power of a creature as high as the creator. If I saie, that these witches cannot transubstantiate themselves, nor others into brasse, &c. they cite the storie of Nabuchadnezzar; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witchcraft;

2.Reg.2.13.

Eccles.9.5.

1.Sam.28.

What were the miracles expressed in the old testa-
ment, and what are they in the new testament: and that
we are not now to looke for anie more miracles.

The seuenth Chapter.

THe miracles expressed in the old
testament were manie, but the end of
them all was one, though they were di-
uers and differing in thew: as were the
sacrifices of Moses, Elias, and Salomon,
being abundantlie twet were burnt with
fier from heauen, &c. The varietie of
songs at the building of Babylon, Isaacs
birth of Sarah being by nature past children, the passage through
the red sea, Daniels foretelling of the foure monarchies, in the
fourth whereof he apparantlie foresheweth the conning of the
L ord. All these, and manie other, which are expressed in the old te-
stament, were mercifull instructions and notable miracles to
strengthen the faith of Gods people in their Messias. If you had
gone to Delphos, Apollo would haue made you beleue with his
amphibologicall answers, that he could haue foretold you all
these things.

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising vp of the
dead (which manie would impute to the woman of Endor, and al-
so to our witches and coniuers) the restoring of the lame to lims,
the blind to sight, the dumbe to speach, and finallie the healing of
all diseases; which manie beleue our witches can do; yea, and as
they themselves will take it vpon them. As for casting out of di-
uels (which was another kind of miracles vsuall with Christ) wit-
ches and coniuers are said to be as good there at as euer he was:
and yet, if you will beleue Christs words, it cannot be so. For he
saith; Euerie kingdome diuided against it selfe, shall be brought
to naught, &c. If sathan cast out sathan, he is diuided, &c: and
his kingdome shall not endure, &c.

Gen. 17, 6.
Gen. 21.
Dan. 11.

A summe
of Christs
miracles.

Mat. 12. 25.

Peters chaines fell off in prison, so did Richard Gallifies fetters at Windsor: marrie the prison doores opened not to Richard, as they did to Peter. Helias by speciall grace obtained raine, our witches can make it raine, when they list, &c. But sithens Christ did these miracles, and manie more, and all to confirme his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finallie for the conversion of the people (as appeareth in Iohn. 6. 7. and 12: in so much as he vehementlie reproveth such, as upon the sight of them would not beleeue, saing; *Woe be to thee Chorazin, woe be to thee Bethsaida.* If the miracles had bene done in Tyre and Sidon, which haue bene done in you, they had a great while ago repented, &c. Let vs settle and acquiet our faith in Christ, and beleeuing all his wonderous works, let vs reiect these old wines fables, as lieng vanities: whereof you may find in the golden legend, M. Mal. and speciallie in Bodin miraculous stufte, enough to checke all the miracles exprest in the old and new testament; which are of more credit with manie bewitched people, than the true miracles of Christ himselfe. Insomuch as they stand in more awe of the manacles of a witch, than of all the threatnings and curses pronounced by God, and exprest in his word.

And thus much touching
the word *Ra-*
sion.



¶ *The tenth Booke.*

The interpretation of this Hebrue word
Onen, of the vanitie of dreames, and diuinati-
ons therevpon.

The first Chapter.



NEN differeth not
much from *Kasam*, but that
it is extended to the inter-
pretation of dreames. And
as for dreames, whatsoe-
uer credit is attributed
vnto them, procédeyth of
folle: and they are soles
that trust in them, for whie
they haue deceiued many.
In which respect the Pro-
phet giueth vs god war-
ning, not to followe nor
hearken to the expositors

Eccles. 24.

Jerem. 27.
Eccle. 5.

or dreames, for they come through the multitude of busines. And
therefore those witches, that make men beleue they can proph-
sie vpon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them,
and either for monie or glorie abuse men & women ther-
by, are mére couleners, and worthe of great pu-
nishment: as are such witchmongers, as be-
leuing them, attribute vnto them such
diuine potwer as onelie belon-
geth to God: as appea-
reth in Ieremie the
Prophet.

Jerem. 23.
25. 26. 7.
Read he
words.

Of diuine, naturall, and casuall dreames, with their
differing causes and effects.

The second Chapter.

MAcrobis recounteth five differences of images, or rather imaginati-
ons exhibited vnto them that sleepe, which
for the most part doe signifie somewhat in
admonition. There be also many subdi-
visions made hereof, which I thinke need-
lesse to rehearse. In Iasper Peucer they are
to be seene, with the causes and occasions
of dreames. There were wont to be deliuered from God himselte
or his angels, certeine dreames and visions vnto the prophets
and holie fathers: according to the saying of Ioel; I will powze
my spirit vpon all flesh, your yong men shall dreame dreames,
and your old men shall see visions. These kind of dreames (I say)
were the admonishments and forewarnings of God to his peo-
ple: as that of Ioseph, to abide with Marie his wife, after she was
conceiued by the Holie-ghost, as also to comeie our Sauour
Christ into Aegypt, &c: the interpretation whereof are the pecu-
liar gifts of God, which Ioseph the patriarch, and Daniel the pro-
phet had most speciallie.

Peucer in
diuinat. ex
somn. 1.

Ioel. 3.

Math. 1. 20.

Math. 2. 13.

Gen. 39. &
40. & 41.
Dani. 2.

As for physicall coniectures vpon dreames, the scriptures im-
proue them not: for by them the physicians manie times doe
vnderstand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them
come by meanes of choler, flegme, melancholie, or blond; and
some by loue, surfet, hunger, thirst, &c. Gallen and Boetius were
said to deale with diuels, because they told so iustlie their patients
dreames, or rather by their dreames their speciall diseases. Not-
withbeit, physicall dreames are naturall, and the cause of them dwel-
leth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions of
the mind in the spirits of the braine, whilst the bodie is occupied
with sleepe: for as touching the mind it selfe, it neuer sleepe-
th. These dreames varie, according to the difference of humors and
vapors. There are also casuall dreames, which (as Salomon saith)
come

Eccles. 7.

come through the multitude of businesse. For as a looking glasse sheweth the image or figure therevnto opposite : so in dreames, the phantasie : imagination infozmes the vnderstanding of such things as haunt the outward sense. Whereupon the poet saith :

*Somnia ne cures, nam mens humana quod optat,
Dum vigilat sperans, per somnum cernit id ipsum :*

Regard no dreames, for why the mind
Of that in sleepe a view dooth take,
Which it dooth wish and hope to find,
At such time as it is awake.

*Englised by
Abraham
Fleming.*

The opinion of diuers old writers touching dreames,
and how they varie in noting the causes thereof.

The third Chapter.



Ynesius, Themistius, Democritus, and others grounding themselves vpon examples that chance hath sometimes be-
rified, perswade men, that nothing is dreamed in vaine : affirming that the he-
uenlie influencies doe bring forth diuers formes in corporall matters ; and of the same influencies, visions and dreames are printed in the fantastick power, which is instrumentall, with a celestiaall disposition meete to bring forth some effect, especiallie in sleepe, when the mind (being free from bodilie cares) may more liberallie receiue the heauenlie influencies, wherby many things are knowne to them sleeping in dreames, which they that wake cannot see. Plato attributeth them to the formes and ingendred knowledges of the soule ; Auicen to the last intelligence that moueth the mone, through the light that lighteneth the fantasie in sleepe ; Aristotle to the phantastick sense ; Auerroes to the imaginative ; Albert to the influence of superioz bodies.

A dissonance in opinions about dreames.

Against interpretors of dreames, of the ordinarie
cause of dreames, Hemingius his opinion of diabolicall
dreames, the interpretation of dreames ceased.

The fourth Chapter.

THere are bookes carried about concerning this matter, vnder the name of Abraham, who (as Philo *In lib. gigantum* saith) was the first inuentor of the exposition of dreames: and so likewise of Salomon and Daniel. But Cicero *In lib. de diuinatione* confuteth the vanitie and follie of them that giue credit to dreames. And as for the interpretors of dreames, as they knowe not befoze the dreame, no: yet after, any certieintie; yet when any thing afterwards happeneth, then they applie the dreame to that which hath chanced.

Certieintie men neuer lightlie faile to dreame by night, of that which they meditate by daie: and by daie they see diuers and sundrie things, and conceiue them seuerallie in their minds. Then those mired conceits being laid vp in the closet of the memorie, striue together; which, bicause the phantasie cannot discerne nor discusse, some certeine thing gathered of manie conceits is bred and contriued in one together. And therefore in mine opinion, it is time vaineilie employed, to studie about the interpretation of dreames. He that list to see the follie and vanitie thereof, maie read a vaine treatise, set out by Thomas Hill Londoner, 1568.

Lastlie, there are diabolicall dreames, which Nicholaus Hemingius diuident into thre sortes. The first is, when the diuell immediatlie of himselfe (he meaneth corporallie) offereth anie matter of dreame. Secondlie, when the diuell sheweth reuelations to them that haue made request vnto him therefore. Thirdlie, when magicians by art bring to passe, that other men dreame what they will. Assuredlie these, and so all the rest (as they maie be vsed) are verie magicall and diuelish dreames. For although we maie receiue comfort of mind by those, which are called diuine dreames,

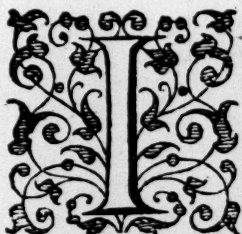
The pleasant art of the interpretation of dreames. *N. Hem. in admonitionib. de superstitionib. magicis vid. dis.*

dreames, and health of bodie through physcall dreames: yet if we take vpon vs to vse the office of God in the reuelation or rather the interpretation of them; or if we attribute vnto them miraculous effects (now when we see the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of dreames, and also the operation of miracles are ceased, which were speciall and peculiar gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establish his people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited vnto vs both in the testament, and also in the blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ) we are bewitched, and both abuse and offend the maiestie of God, and also seduce, delude and couen all such as by our persuasion, and their owne light beleefe, giue vs credit.

The end & vse of prophesie, interpretation of dreames, operation of miracles, &c.

That neither witches, nor anie other, can either by words or hearbs, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreames they list; and whence magicall dreames come.

The fift Chapter.



LGrant there maie be hearbs and stones found and knowne to the physicans, which maie procure dreames; and other hearbs and stones, &c: to make one betwixte all the secrets of his mind, when his bodie slepeth, or at least wise to procure speech in sleepe. But that witches or magicians haue power by wo:ds, herbs, or imprecations to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by vertue of their charmes, hearbs, stones, or familiars, &c: according to the opinion of Hemingius, I denie: though therewithall I confesse, that the diuell both by daye and also by night, trauelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea and that no waie more than this, where he placeth himselfe as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute vnto him, or vnto witches, that which is onlie in the of his nature, and power of God to accomplish.

Seeke for such stuffe in my booke of Hartumim.

Doth not Daniel the prophet saie, euen in this case; It is the Dan. 2.

Di.ij.

L.c.ij.

Gen. 11. 8.
Gen. 37. &
11.
Mai. 11.
Dan. 2.

*Aristot. de
somnis.*

Lord onelic that knoweth such secrets, as in the expolition of dreames is required: And doth not Ioseph repeat those verie words to Pharaos officers, who consulted with him therein: Examples of diuine dreames you maie find a great number in the scripture, such (I meane) as it pleased God to reueale his pleasure by. Of physicall dreames we maie both read in authoꝝ, and see in our owne experieñce dailie, oꝝ rather nightly. Such dreames also as are casuall, they are likewise vsuall, and come (as hath bene said) through the multitude of affaires and businesse. Those which in these daies are called magicall oꝝ diabolicall dreames, maie rather be called melancholicall. For out of that blacke vapoz in sleepe, through dreames, appeareth (as Aristotle saith) some horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ouglie diuell: sometimes also other terrible visions, imaginations, counsels, and practises. As where we read of a certeine man, that dreamed there appeared one vnto him that required him to thꝛowe himselfe into a deepe pit, and that he should reape great benefit thereby at Gods hands. So as the miserable wretch giuing credit thereto, performed the matter, and killed himselfe. Now I confesse, that the interpretation oꝝ execution of that dream was indeed diabolicall: but the dreame was casuall, deriued from the heauie and blacke humoꝝ of melancholie.

How men haue bene bewitched, coufened or abused by dreames to dig and search for monie.

The sixt Chapter.

Such would
be imbar-
ked in the
ship of
fooles.



How manie haue bene bewitched with dreames, and thereby made to consume themselves with digging and searching for monie, &c: whereof they, oꝝ some other haue dreamt: I my selfe could manifest, as hauing knowne how wise men haue bene that waie abused by verie simple persons, euen where no dreame hath bene met withall but waking dreames. And this hath bene used heretofore, as one of the finest coufening feates: in so much

as

as there is a berie formall art thereof deuised, with manie excellent superstitions and ceremonies therevnto belonging, which I will set downe as breuie as maie be. Albeit that here in England, this prouerbe hath bene current; to wit, *Dreames proue contrarie*: according to the answer of the priests boy to his master, who told his said boy that he dreamt he kisse his taile: *Prea maister* (saith he) but *dreames proue contrarie*, you must kisse mine.

An english prouerbe.

The art and order to be vsed in digging for monie, reuealed by dreames, how to procure pleasant dreames, of morning and midnight dreames.

The seuenth Chapter.



Here must be made bypon a hazell wand three crosses, and certeine words both blasphemous and impious must be said ouer it, and herevnto must be added certeine characters, & barbarous names. And whilst the treasure is a digging, there must be read the psalmes, *De profundis*, *Missæ*, *Misereatur nostri*, *Requiem*, *Pater noster*, *Aue Maria*, *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos à malo, Amen.* *A porta inferi credo videre bona, &c.* *Expectate Dominum, Requiem æternam.* And then a certeine praier. And if the time of digging be neglected, the diuell will carie all the treasure awaie. See other moze absolute coniurations for this purpose, in the word *Idoni* following.

Note this superstitious doctrine.

Pen shall find in Iohannes Baptista Neapolitanus, diuerse receipts by hearbes and potions, to procure pleasant or fearefull dreames; and perfumes also to that effect: who affirmeth, that dreames in the dead of the night are commonlie preposse- rous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen moze pleasant and certeine dreames, the blood being moze pure than at other times: the reason whereof is there exprest.

I. Bap. Neap. in natural. mag. lib. 2. cap. 26. fol. 83. & 84.

Dilig.

Sundrie

Sundrie receipts and ointments, made and vsed for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance therof reported and credited by some that are learned.

The eight Chapter.

IT shall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an ointment greatlie to this purpose, rehearsed by the foresaid Iohn Bapt. Neap. wherein although he maie be ouertaken and censured by an old witch, and made not onelie to beleue, but also to report a false tale; yet bicause it greatlie ouerthroweth the opinion of M. Mal. Bodin, and such other, as writte so absolutelie in maintenance of witches transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

Confessions or receipts for the miraculous transportation of witches.

R. The fat of young children, and seeth it with water in a brazen vessell, reseruing the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie vp and keepe, vntill occasion serueth to vse it. They put herewithinto *Eleoselinum, Aconitum, Frondes populeus,* and *Sote.*

Another receipt to the same purpose.

R. *Sium, acurum vulgare, pentaphyllon,* the blood of a flitter-mouse, *solanum somniferum,* & *oleum.* They stampe all these together, and then they rubbe all parts of their bodies exceedinglie, till they looke red, and be verie hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh soluble and loose. They ioine herewithall either fat, or oile in steed thereof, that the force of the ointment maie the rather pearse inwardly, and so be moze effectuall. By this means (saith he) in a moone light night they seeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dancing, kissing, culling, and other acts of venerie, with such youtthes as they loue and desire most: for the force (saith he) of their imagination is so vehement, that almost all that part of the braine, wherein the memorie consisteth, is full of such conceits. And whereas they are naturallie prone
to

to beleue anie thing; so doe they receiue such impressions and steadfast imaginations into their minds, as euen their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking vpon anie thing else, either by daye or by night. And this helpeth them forward in their imaginations, that their vsuall food is none other commonlie but berets, rootes, nuts, beanes, peaze, &c.

Now (saith he) when I considered throughlie hereof, remaining doubtfull of the matter, there fell into my hands a witch, who of hir owne accord did promise me to fetch me an errand out of hand from farre countries, and willed all them, whome I had brought to witnesse the matter, to depart out of the chamber. And when she had vnderessed hir selfe, and frosted hir bodie with certaine ointments (which action we beheld through a chinke or little hole of the doze) she fell downe thorough the force of those soporiferous or sleepe ointments into a most sound and heauie sleepe: so as we did breake open the doze, and did beate hir exceedingly; but the force of hir sleepe was such, as it tooke awaye from hir the sense of feeling: and we departed for a time. Now when hir strength and powerts were wearie and decayed, she awoke of hir owne accord, and began to speake manie vaine and doting words, affirming that she had passed ouer both seas and mountaines; deliuering to vs manie vnttrue and false reports: we earnestlie denied them, she impudentlie affirmed them. This (saith he) will not so come to passe with euerie one, but onlie with old women that are melancholike, whose nature is extreame cold, and their euaporization small; and they both perceiue and remember what they see in that case and taking of theirs.

*Versule, quas
à frigoris simi-
litudine, stri-
ges vocant,
quæ q. noctu
puerulorum
sanguinem in
cantis cuban-
tium exor-
bens.*

A confutation of the former follies, as well concerning ointments, dreames, &c. as also of the assemblie of witches, and of their consultations and bankets at sundrie places, and all in dreames.

The ninth Chapter.



Ut if it be true that S. Augustine saith, and manie other writers, that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reportes of their bargaine, transporting, and mix-
tings.

things with Diana, Minerua, &c: are but fables; and then do they lie that mainteine those actions to be done in deed and veritie, which in truth are done no waie. It were maruell on the one side (if those things happened in dreames, which neuertheless the witches affirme to be otherwise) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dreame. It were maruell that their ointments, by the physicians opinions having no force at all to that effect, as they confesse which are inquisitors, should haue such operation. It were maruell that their ointments cannot be found anie where, saving onelie in the inquisitors bookes. It were maruell, that when a stranger is annointed therewith, they haue sometimes, and yet not alwaies, the like operation as with witches; which all the inquisitors confesse.

*Barthol. Spi-
neus, 7. de
frigib. c. 31.*

*Bar. Spin. qu.
de frigib. c.
30.*

New mat-
ter & wor-
thie to be
maruelled
at.

But to this last, frer Bartholomæus saith, that the witches themselves, before they annoint themselves, do heare in the night time a great noise of minstrels, which flie ouer them, with the la- die of the faires, and then they addresse themselves to their iour- nie. But then I maruell againe, that no bodie else heareth nor seeth this trope of minstrels, especiallie riding in a mone light night. It is maruell, that they that thinke this to be but in a dreame, can be perswaded that all the rest is anie other than dreames. It is maruell that in dreames, witches of old acquaint- tance meet so iust together, and conclude vpon murders, and re- ceiue ointments, roots, powders, &c: (as witchmongers report they do, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet lie at home fast asleepe. It is maruell that such preparation is made for them (as Sprenger, Bartholomew, and Bodin report) as well in noble mens houses, as in alehouses; and that they come in dreames, and eate by their meate: and the alewise speciallie is not wearied with them for non payment of their score, or false pay- ment; to wit, with imaginarie monie, which they saie is not sub- stantiall, and that they talke not afterwards about the recko- ning, and so discover the matter. And it is most maruell of all, that the hostesse, &c: doth not sit among them, and take part of their good chere. For so it is, that if any part of these their mee- tings and league be true, it is as true and as certeinlie proued and confessed, that at some alehouse, or sometime at some Gen- tlemans

the mans house, there is continuall preparation made monethlie for this assemble: as appeareth in S. Germans storie.

*Legend. arr.
in vita S.
Germani.*

That most part of prophesies in the old testament were reuealed in dreames; that we are not now to looke for such reuelations, of some who haue drempt of that which hath come to passe, that dreames proue contrarie, Nabuchadnezzars rule to knowe a true expositor of dreames:

The tenth Chapter.

IT is held and mainteined by diuers, and gathered out of the 12. of Numbers, that all which was written or spoken by the prophets, among the children of Israel (Moses excepted) was propounded to them by dreames. And indeed it is manifest, that manie things, which are thought by the vnlearned to haue bene perfectly finished, haue bene onlie performed by dreames and visions. As where Salomon required of God the gift of wisdom: that was (I say) in a dreame; and also where he receiued promise of the continuance of the kingdome of Israel in his line. So was Elais vision in the 6. of his prophesie: as also that of Ezechiel the 12. finally, where Ieremie was commanded to hide his girdle in the cleft of a rocke at the riuer Euphrates in Babylon; and that after certeine daies, it did there putrifie, it must needs be in a dreame; for Ieremie was neuer (or at leastwise not then) at Babylon. We that are christians must not now slumber and dreame, but watch and praye, and meditate vpon our saluation in Christ both daie and night. And if we expect reuelations in our dreames, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceiue our selues: for in him are fulfilled all dreames and prophesies. Whotobit, Bodin holdeth that dreames and visions continue till this daie, in as miraculous maner as euer they did.

*1. Re. 3, 5, 15.
1. Reg. 9.
1. Mai. 6.
Ezech. 12.
Ierem. 13.*

*1. Bodin.
lib. de de-
mo. 1. cap. 3.*

If you read Artemidorus, you shall read manie stories of such as drempt of things that afterwards came to passe. But he might haue cited a thousand for one that fell out contrarie: for as for such.

Zach. 10. 2.

Eccles. 5. 6.
Jerem. 23.

Daniel. 2.

such dreamers among the Iewes themselves, as had not extraordinary visions miraculously exhibited unto them by God, they were counted censurers, as may appere by these words of the prophet Zacharie; Surely the idols haue spoken vanitie, and the soothsayers haue saide a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine thing. According to Salomons saying; In the multitude of dreames and vanities are many words. It appeareth in Jeremie 23. that the false prophets, whilist they illuded the people with lies, counterfetting the true prophets, vsed to cry out; Dreames, dreames; We haue dreamed a dreame, &c. Finally, Nabuchadnezzar teacheth all men to knowe a true expósito of dreames; to wit, such a one as hath his reuelation from

GOD. For he can (as Daniel did) repeate your dreame before you discover it: which thing if any expounder of dreames can doe at this daie, I will belene him.



¶ *The eleuenth booke.*

The Hebrue word Nahas expounded, of the art of augurie, who inuented it, how slouenlie a science it is: the multitude of sacrifices and sacrificers of the heathen, and the causes therof.

The first Chapter.



Nahas, is To obserue the flieing of birds, & comprehendeth all such other obseruations, where men do ghesse vpon vncerteine toies. It is found in Deut. 18. and in 2. Chron. 33. and else-where. Of this art of augurie Tyresias the king of the Thebans is said to be the first inuentor: but Tages first published the discipline thereof, being but a little boie; as Cicero repor-

teth out of the booke of the Hetruscans themselves. Some points of this art are more high and profound than some others, and yet are they more homelie and slouenlie than the rest; as namelie, the diuination vpon the entrailes of beasts, which the Gentiles in their sacrifices speciallie obserued. Insomuch as Marcus Varro, seeing the absurditie thereof, said that these gods were not onlie idle, but verie slouens, that vsed so to hide their secrets and counsels in the guts and bowels of beasts.

The slouenlie art of augurie,

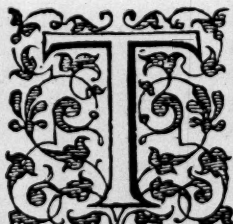
How vainlie, absurdlie, and superstitionlie the heathen vsed this kind of diuination in their sacrifices, is manifested by their actions & ceremonies in that behalfe practised, as well in times past, as at this houre. The Aegyptians had 666. seuerall sorts and kinds of sacrifices; the Romans had almost as manie; the Grecians.

cians had not so few as they; the Persians and the Medes were not behind them; the Indies and other nations haue at this instant their sacrifices full of varietie, and more full of barbarous impietie. For in sundrie places, these offer sacrifices to the diuell, hoping thereby to moue him to lenitie: yea, these commonlie sacrifice such of their enemies, as they haue taken in warre: as we read that the Gentiles in ancient time did offer sacrifice, to appease the wrath and indignation of their feigned gods.

Of the Iewes sacrifice to Moloch, a discourse there-
vpon, and of Purgatorie.

The second Chapter.

2. Re. 23, 10
2. Chr. 33.
Ierem. 7.



Deut. 18, 10
Leui. 18, 21.
Id. cap. 20, 2.

An inuincible argument against purgatorie.

The Iewes bled one kind of diabolical sacrifice, neuer taught them by Moses, namely, to offer their children to Moloch, making their sonnes and their daughters to runne through the fire; supposing such grace and efficacy to haue bene in that action, as other witches affirme to be in charms and words. And therefore among other points of witchcraft, this is speciallie and namely forbidden by Moses. We read of no more miracles wrought hereby, than by any other kind of witchcraft in the old or new testament expressed. It was no ceremonie appointed by God, no figure of Christ: perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of purgatorie, the which place was not remembred by Moses. Neither was there anie sacrifice appointed by the lawe for the release of the Israelites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should not haue bene omitted, if any such place of purgatorie had bene then, as the Pope hath lately deuised for his priuate and speciall lucre. This sacrificing to Moloch (as some affirme) was vsuall among the Gentiles, from whence the Iewes brought it into Israel: and there (of likelihood) the Eutidists learned the abomination in that behalfe.

The

The Canibals crueltie, of popish sacrifices exceeding
in tyrannie the Jewes or Gentiles.

The third Chapter.



The incivilitie and cruell sacrifices of popish priests do yet erre both the Jew and the Gentile: for these take vp on them to sacrifice Christ himselfe. And to make their tyrannie the more apparent, they are not contented to haue killed him once, but dailie and hourely torment him with new deaths; yea they are not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnall hands they teare his humane substance, breaking it into small gobbets; and with their externall teeth che to his flesh and bones, contrarie to diuine or humane nature; and contrarie to the prophesie, which saith; There shall not a bone of him be broken. Finallie, in the end of their sacrifice (as they say) they eate him vp rawe, and swallowe downe into their guts euery member and parcell of him: and last of all, that they conueie him into the place where they bestowe the residue of all that which they haue deuoured that daie. And this same barbarous impietie exceedeth the crueltie of all others: for all the Gentiles consumed their sacrifices with fier, which they thought to be holie.

Against the
papists ab-
hominable
and blas-
phemous
sacrifice of
the masse.

Psal. 34. 20.

The superstition of the heathen about the element of fier, and how it grew in such reuerence among them, of their corruptions, and that they had some inkling of the godlie fathers doings in that behalfe.

The fourth Chapter.



As touching the element of fier, & the superstition therof about those businesses, you shall vnderstand, that manie superstitious people and nations haue receiued, reuerenced, & reserued fier, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices: insomuch (I saie) as they haue woꝛshipped it among

*The Gym-
nosophists
of India
their apish
imitation
of Esau.

among their sacrifices : in so much (I saie) as they haue woorthyped it among their gods, calling it Orimalda (to wit) holie fier, and diuine light. The Grækes called it *ἑστειν*, the Romans *vestis*, which is, The fier of the Lord. Surelie they had heard of the fier that came downe from heauen, and consumed the oblations of the fathers ; and they vnderstood it to be God himselfe. For there came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine of the godlie fathers and patriarchs, and those so obscured with fables, and corrupted with lies, so ouerwhelmed with superstitions, and disguised with ceremonies, that it is hard to iudge from whence they came. Some cause thereof (I suppose) was partlie the translations of gouernements, whereby one nation learned folke of another ; and partlie blind deuotion, without knowledge of Gods word : but speciallie the want of grace, which they sought not for, according to Gods commandement and will. And that the Gentiles had some inkling of the godlie fathers doings, may diuerslie appeare. Do not the Muscouits and * Indian prophets at this daie, like apes, imitate Esau ? Because he went naked certeine yeares, they forsooth counterfet madnes, and drinke potions for that purpose ; thinking that whatsoeuer they saie in their madnes, will certeinlie come to passe. But hereof is more large lie discoursed before in the word *Kasam*.

Of the Romane sacrifices : of the estimation they had of augurie, of the lawe of the twelue tables.

The fift Chapter.

THe Romans, euen after they were growne to great ciuilitie, and enioied a most flourishing state and commonwealth, would sometimes sacrifice themselves, sometimes their children, sometimes their friends, &c : consuming the same with fier, which they thought holie. Such estimation (I saie) was attributed to this art of diuination vpon the entrails of beasts, &c : at Rome, as the chiefe princes themselves exercised the same ; namelie, Romulus,

Romulus, Fabius Maximus, &c : in so much as there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the these magistrates should from time to time be put forth, to learne the myserie of these arts of augurie and diuination, at Hettruria, where the cunning and knowledge thereof most abounded. When they came home well informed and instructed in this art, their estimation and dignitie was such, as they were accounted, reputed, and taken to be the interpreters of the gods, or rather betwene the gods and them. No high priest, nor anie other great officer was elected, but these did either absolutelie nominate them, or else did exhibit the names of two, whereof the senate must chose the one.

In their ancient lawes were written these words : *Prodigia & portenta ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus iusserit) deferunto; Hettruriaque principes disciplinam discunt. Quibus diuis decreuerunt, procuranto, isdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia seruant, auguri parento* : the effect of which words is this ; Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carried to the soothsayers of Hettruria, at the will and commandement of the senate ; and let the young princes be sent to Hettruria, there to learne that discipline, or to be instructed in that art and knowledge. Let there be alwaies some solicitor, to learne with what gods they haue decreed or determined their matters, and let sacrifices be made vnto them in times of lightening, or at anie strange or supernaturall shew. Let all such coniecturing tokens be obserued ; whatsoeuer the soothsayer commandeth, let it be religiouslie obied.

The lawe
of the
twelue
tables.

Colleges of augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augurie, that the practisers of that art were counsellers, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.

The sixth Chapter.



Romulus erected three colleges or centuries of those kinds of soothsayers, which onelie (and none other) should haue authoritie to expound the minds and admonishments of the gods. Afterwards that

P.I.

number

*Magna
charta. Hen.
3. 36. 7. Ed. 1.
15. R. 2. 5.*

number was augmented to five, and after that to nine: for they must needs be odd. In the end, they increased so fast, that they were seine to make a decreæ for staie from the further proceeding in those erections: like to our statute of *Mortmaine*. *Holowbeit*, *Silla* (contrarie to all orders and constitutions before made) increased that number to foure and twentie.

And though *Augurium* be most properlie that diuination, which is gathered by birds; yet bicause this word *Nabaz* comprehendeth all other kinds of diuination, as *Extispicium*, *auspicium*, &c: which is as well the ghesing vpon the entrailes of beastes, as diuers other waies: omitting physiognomie and palmestrie, and such like, for the tediousnes and follie thereof; I will speake a little of such arts, as were aboue measure regarded of our elders: neither mind I to discouer the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanitie thereof, and speciallie of the professors of them, which are and alwaies haue bene coufening arts, and in them contented both speciall and seuerall kinds of witchcrafts. For the masters of these faculties haue euer taken vpon them to occupie the place and name of God; blasphemouslie ascribing vnto themselves his omnipotent power, to foretell, &c: whereas, in truth, they could do nothing, but make a shew of that which is not.

A manifest
discouerie
of augurors
coufening.

One matter, to betwraie their coufening, is; that they could neuer woꝝke nor foreshew anie thing to the poore or inferior sort of people: for portentous shewes (saie they) alwaies concerned great estates. Such matters as touched the baser sort, were inferior causes; which the superstition of the people themselves would not neglect to learne. *Holowbeit*, the professors of this art descended not so lowe, as to communicate with them: for they were priests (which in all ages and nations haue bene iollie fellows) whose office was, to tell what should come to passe, either touching good lucke, or bad fortune; to expound the minds, admonitions, warnings and threatnings of the gods, to foreshew calamities, &c: which might be (by their sacrifices and common contrition) removed and qualified. And before their entrance into that action, they had manie obseruations, which they executed beerie superstitiouslie; pretending that euerie bird and beaste, &c, should be sent from the gods as foreshewes of somewhat. And there

therefore first they vsed to chosse a cleare daie, and faire wether to doo their busines in: for the which their place was certeinlie assigned, as well in Rome as in Hetruria, wherein they obserued euerie quarter of the element, which waite to looke, and which way to stand, &c. Their apparell was verie pæstlike, of fashion altered from all others, speciallie at the time of their praiers, wherein they might not omit a word nor a syllable: in respect whereof one read the seruice, and all the residue repeated it after him, in the manner of a proceSSION.

The times and seasons to exercise augurie, the manner and order thereof, of the ceremonies therevnto belonging.

The seventh Chapter.

No lesse regard was there had of the times of their practise in that ministration: for they must beginne at midnight, and end at noone, not traueiling therein in the decaie of the day, but in the increase of the same; neither in the sixt or seventh houre of the daie, nor yet after the moneth of August; bicause then yong birds flie about, and are diseased, and vnperfect, mounting their sethers, and flieng out of the countrie: so as no certaine ghesse is to be made of the gods purposes by them at those seasons. But in their due times they standing with a boiued wand in their hand, their face toward the east, &c: in the top of an high tower, the weathier being cleare, watch for birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they flie, and in what sort they wag their wings, &c.

Note the superstitious ceremonies of augurors.

Vpon what signes and tokens augurors did prognosticate, obseruations touching the inward and outward parts of beasts, with notes of beasts behauiour in the slaughterhouse.

The eight Chapter.



These kind of witches, whom we haue now in hand, did also prognosticate good or bad lucke, according to the soundnes or imperfection of the entrailes of beasts; or according to the superfluties or infirmities of nature; or according to the abundance of humors vnnecessarie, appearing in the inward parts and bowels of the beasts sacrificed. For as touching the outward parts, it was alwaies prouided and foresene, that they should be without blemish. And yet there were manie tokens and notes to be taken of the external actions of those beasts, at the time of sacrifice: as if they would not quietlie be brought to the place of execution, but must be forceable hailed; or if they brake loose; or if by hap, cunning, or strength they withstood the first blowe; or if after the butchers blowe, they leaped vp, roed, stood fast; or being fallen, kicked, or would not quietlie die, or bled not well; or if anie ill netwes had bene heard, or anie ill sight sene at the time of slaughter or sacrifice: which were all significations of ill lucke and unhappie successe. On the other side, if the slaughterman performed his office well, so as the beast had bene well chosen, not infected, but whole and sound, and in the end faire killed; all had bene safe: for then the gods smiled.

Obseruations in the art augurificall.

A confutation of augurie, Plato his reuerend opinion thereof, of contrarie euent, and false predictions.

The ninth Chapter.



What credit is to be attributed to such toies and chances, which grow not of nature, but are gathered by the superstition of the interpreters: As for birds, who is so ignorant that conceiue not, that one

one dieth one waie, another another waie, about their priuat necessities: And yet are the other diuinations more vaine and foolish. Holobreit, Plato thinketh a commonwealth cannot stand without this art, and numbereth it among the liberrall sciences. These fellows promised Pompeie, Cassius, and Caesar, that none of them should die before they were old, and that in their owne houses, and in great honor; and yet they all died cleane contrarie. Holobreit doubtles, the heathen in this point were not so much to be blamed, as the sacrificing papists: for they were directed herevnto without the knowledge of Gods promises; neither knew they the end why such ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted; but onelie vnderstood by an vncertaine and slender report, that God was wont to send good or ill successe to the children of Israell, and to the old patriarchs and fathers, vpon his acceptance or disallowance of their sacrifices and oblations. But men in all ages haue bene so desirous to know the effect of their purposes, the sequelle of things to come, and to see the end of their feare and hope; that a false witch, which hath learned anie thing in the art of couzenage, may make a great manie iollie folles.

*Plato in
Phedro, in
Times, in
lib. de Re-
publ.*

*Wherein
the papists
are more
blame wor-
thie than
the hea-
then.*

The couzening art of sortilege or lotarie, practised
especiallie by Aegyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots,
of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

The tenth Chapter.

THe counterfeit Aegyptians, which were indeed couzening vagabonds, practising the art called *Sortilegium*, had no small credit among the multitude: holobreit, their diuinations were as was their fast and loose, and as the witches cures and hurtes, & as the soothsayers answers, and as the coniuers raisings vp of spirits, and as Apollos or the Rod of graces oracles, and as the iugglers knacks of legierdmaine, and as the papists exorcismes, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeit visions, and as the couzeners knaueries. Herevpon it was said; *Non imue-*

*Sortilege
or lothare.*

P. liij.

natur

niatur inter vos menahas, that is, *Sortilegus*, which were like to these Egyptian couſeners. As for other lots, they were vſed, and that lawfullie; as appeareth by Ionas and others that were holie men, and as may be ſene among all commonwelths, for the deciding of diuerſe controuerſies, &c: wherein thy nieghbour is not miſvſed, nor God anie waie offended. But in truth I thinke, becauſe of the couſenage that ſo eaſilie may be vſed herein, God forbade it in the commonwealth of the Iewes, though in the good vſe thereof it was allowed in matters of great weight; as appeareth both in the old and new teſtament; and that as well in doubtfull caſes and diſtributions, as in elections and inheritances, and pacification of variāces. I omit to ſpeake anie thing of the lots compriſed in verſes, concerning the lucke enſuing, either of Virgil, Homer, or anie other, wherein fortune is gathered by the ſudden turning vnto them: becauſe it is a childiſh and ridiculous toie, and like vnto childrens plaie at *Primus ſecundus*, or the game called *The philoſophers table*: but herein I will referre you to the bable it ſelfe, or elſe to Bodin, or to ſome ſuch ſober writer therevpon; of whome there is no want.

Leuit 16.
Num. 33.
& 36.
Iolu. 14.
1. Chron. 24
& 26.
Prouer. 18.
Ionas. 1.
Acts. 1.

Of Pythagoras lot.

There is a lot alſo called Pythagoras lot, which ſome ſaie Aristotle beleued: and that is, where the characters of letters haue certeine proper numbers; whereby they diuine (through the proper names of men) ſo as the numbers of each letters being gathered in a ſumme, and put together, giue victorie to them whoſe ſumme is the greater; whether the queſtion be of warre, life, matrimonic, victorie, &c: euen as the vnequall number of ſotuels in proper names portendeth lacke of ſight, halting, &c: which the god-fathers and godmothers might eaſilie preuent, if the caſe ſtood ſo.

Of the Cabaliſticall art, conſiſting of traditions and vnwritten verities learned without booke, and of the diuiſion thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.



There is place alſo for the Cabaliſticall art, conſiſting of vnwritten verities, which the Iewes doe beleue and brag that God himſelfe gaue to Moſes in the mount Sinai; and afterwards was taught onelie

onelic with liukle voice, by degrees of succession, without twitting, untill the time of Eldras: euen as the scholars of Archippus did vse wit and memorie in stead of bookes. They diuise this in twaine; the one expoundeth with philosophicall reason the secrets of the laue and the bible, wherein (they saie) that Salomon was verie cunning; bicause it is written in the Hebrew stories, that he disputed it in the Cedar of Libanus, euen to the Visop, and also of birds, beastes, &c. The other is as it were a symbollicall diuinitie of the highest contemplation, of the diuine and angelike vertues, of holie names and signes; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the prickes ouer the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents doe all signifie verie profound things and great secrets. By these arts the Atheists suppose Moses wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they haue power ouer angels and diuels, as also to doe miracles: yea and that hereby all the miracles that either anie of the prophets, or Christ himselve wrought, were accomplished.

The art
Cabalisti-
call di-
uided.

But C. Agrippa hauing searched to the bottome of this art, saith it is nothing but superstition and follie. Otherwise you maie be sure Christ would not haue hidden it from his church. For this cause the Ietwes were so skilfull in the names of God. But there is none other name in heauen or earth, in which we might be saved, but Iesus: neither is that meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and goodnes towards vs. These Cabalists doe further brag, that they are able hereby, not onelic to find out and know the unspeakable mysteries of God; but also the secrets which are aboue scripture; whereby also they take vpon them to prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they list to be scripture; as Valeria Proba did picke certeine verses out of Virgil alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their reuolutions are nothing but allegoricall games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers (which the Hebrew tongue easilie suffereth) deuise, to delude and coulen the simple and ignorant. And this they call Alphabetarie or Arhythmantickall diuinitie, which Christ shewed to his apostles onelic, and which Paule saith he speaketh but among perfect men; and being high mysteries are not to be committed vnto twitting, and so made popular. There is no man that readeth anie thing of

C. Agrippa
lib. de uanis
scientiis.

The blas-
phemie of
the Caba-
lists.

*In concil.
Trident.*

this Cabalisticall art, but must needs think vpon the popes cunning practises in this behalfe, who hath *In scriptis pectoris*, not onelie the exposition of all lawes, both diuine and humane, but also authoritie to adde therevnto, or to dꝛawe backe therefrom at his pleasure: and this may be lawfullie doe euē with the scriptures, either by addition or subtraction, after his owne pontificall liking. As for example: he hath added the Apocrypha (wherevnto he might as well haue ioined S. Augustines woꝝks, or the course of the ciuill lawe, &c.) Againe, he hath diminished from the decalog or ten commandements, not one or two woꝝds, but a whole precept, namelie the second, which it hath pleased him to dash out with his pen: and trulie he might as well by the same authoritie haue rased out of the testament S. Markes gospel.

When, how, and in what sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the pope corrupteth the sacraments of Christ.

The twelſe Chapter.

Gen. 3. 17.



Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 15.

Leuit. I. 3.
&c.

And the first God manifested to our father Adam, by the prohibition of the apple, that he would haue man liue vnder a lawe, in obedience and submission; and not to wander like a beast without order or discipline. And after man had transgressed, and deserued thereby Gods heauie displeasure; yet his mercie preuailed; and taking compassion vpon man, he promised the Messias, who should be borne of a woman, and breake the serpens head: declaring by euident testimonies, that his pleasure was that man should be restored to fauour and grace, through Christ: and binding the minds of men to this promise, and to be fired vpon their Messias, established figures and ceremonies therewith to nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, prohibiting and excluding all mans deuises in that behalfe. And vpon his promise renewed, he inioined (I say) and erected a new forme of woꝝship, whereby he would haue his promises constantlie beheld, faithfullie beleued, and reuerentlie regarded. He ordeined

deined six sorts of diuine sacrifices; thre propitiatorie, not as meriting remission of sinnes, but as figures of Christs propitiation; the other thre were of thanksgiuing. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled with fier, which was preserved in the tabernacle of the Lord: which fier (some thinke) was sent downe from heauen. GOD himselſe commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, &c: promising therein both the amplification of their families, and also their wealth. But in tract of time (I saie) wantonnesse, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the diuell, abolished this institution of GOD: so as in the end, God himselſe was forgotten among them, and they became pagans & heathens, deuising their owne waies, vntill euerie countrie had deuised and erected both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular vnto themselves. Whose example the pope followeth, in prophaning of Christs sacraments, disguising them with his deuises and superstitious ceremonies; contriuing and comprehending therein the follie of all nations: the which because little children doe not perceiue and scorne, I will passe ouer; and returne to the Gentiles, whome I cannot excuse of couenage, superstition, nor yet of vanitie in this behalfe. For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israel, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrits in the church of Christ; no maruell if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither professed nor knew him.

A gird at
the pope
for his law-
ciness in
Gods mat-
ters.

Of the objects wherevpon the augurors vsed to prognosticate, with certeine cautions and notes.

The xiiij. Chapter.



The Gentiles, which treat of this matter, repeat an innumerable multitude of objects, wherevpon they prognosticate good or bad lucke. And a great matter is made of naming, wherein the number of namings & the time thereof is greatly noted; the tingling in the finger, the elbowe, the toe, the knee, &c: are singular

gular notes also to be obserued in this art; though speciallie here in are marked the sieng of fowles, and meeting of beasts; with this generall caution, that the object or matter whereon men diuine, must be sudden and vnlooked for: which regard, children and some old fowles haue to the gathering primrose, true loues, and foure leaved grasse; Item the person vnto whome such an object offereth it selfe vnawares; Item the intention of the diuinoz, whereby the object which is met, is referred to augurie; Item the houre in which the object is without foreknowledge vpon the sudden met withall: and so forth.

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 10. cap. 6.

Arist. in augury.

Plinie reporteth that griffes lie alwaies to the place of slaughter, two or three daies before the battell is fought; which was seene and tried at the battell of Troie: and in respect thereof, the griff was allowed to be the chiefe bird of augurie. But among the innumerable number of the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the tode is the most excellent object, whose ouglie deformitie signifieth swete and amiable fortune: in respect whereof some superstitious witches preserve todes for their familiars. And some one of good credit (whome I could name) hauing conuented the witches themselves, hath starued diuerse of their diuels, which they kept in bores in the likenesse of todes.

Plutarch doeth by his leaue, for all his learning.

Plutarch Chironæus saith, that the place and site of the signes that we receiue by augurie, are speciallie to be noted: for if we receiue them on the left side, good lucke; if on the right side, ill lucke insueth: because terrene and mortall things are opposite & contrarie to diuine and heauenlie things; for that which the gods deliuer with the right hand, falleth to our left side; and so contrariwise.

The diuision of augurie, persons admittable into the colleges of augurie, of their superstition.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Aug. Niphus de auguriis. lib. 1.



The latter diuinoz in these mysteries, haue diuided their soothsayings into twelue superstitions: as Augustinus Niphus termeth them. The first is prosperitie; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth out

out of his house, and seeth an unluckie beast lieng on the right side of his waie; the third is destinie; the fourth is fortune; the fift is ill hap, as when an infortunate beast feedeth on the right side of your waie; the sixt is utilitie; the seuenth is hurt; the eight is called a cautell, as when a beast followeth one, and stateth at any side, not passing beyond him, which is a signe of good lucke; the ninth is infelicitie, and that is contrarie to the eight, as when the beast passeth before one; the tenth is perfection; the eleuenth is imperfection; the twelue is conclusiun. Thus farre he.

Among the Romans none could be receiued into the college of augurons that had a bile, or had bene bitten with a dog, &c: and at the times of their exercise, even at home daies, they lighted candels. From whence the papists conueie unto their church, those points of infidelitie. Finallie, their obseruations were so infinite and ridiculous, that there flew not a sparkle out of the fire, but it betokened somewhat.

Who were not admit-
table into
the college
of augurons
among the
Romans.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious
collections and obseruations.

The xv. Chapter.



Amongst vs there be manie wo-
men, and effeminate men (marie papists
alwaies, as by their superstition may ap-
peare) that make great diuinations vpon
the shedding of salt, wine, &c: and for the
obseruation of daies, and houres vse as
great witchcraft as in anie thing. For if
one chance to take a fall from a horse,
either in a slipperie or stumbling waie, he will note the daie and
houre, and count that time unluckie for a iournie. Otherwise, he
that receiueth a mischance, will consider whether he met not a cat,
or a hare, when he went first out of his dores in the morning; or
stumbled not at the threshold at his going out; or put not on his
shirt the wrong side outwards; or his left shoe on his right foote,
which Augustus Cesar reputed for the worst lucke that might be-
fall. But about all other nations (as Martinus de Arles wit-
nesseth)

O vaine
follic and
foolish va-
niitie!

Martin. de
Aries in
tract. de su-
perst. contra
maleficia.
Appian. de
bello civili.

nesseth) the Spaniards. are most superstitious herein; & of Spaine, the people of the prouince of Lusitania is the most fond. For one will saie; I had a dreame to night, or a crowe croaked vpon my house, or an owle flew by me and screeched (which augurie Lucius Silla took of his death) or a cocke crew contrarie to his houre. Another saith; The mone is at the prime; another, that the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a starre shot and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

Augurifi-
call toies.

Many will go to bed againe, if they neeze before their shooes be on their feet; some will hold fast their left thombe in their right hand when they hickot; or else will hold their chinne with their right hand whiles a gospel is long. It is thought verie ill lucke of some, that a childe, or anie other liuing creature, should passe betwene two friends as they walke together; for they say it portendeth a diuision of friendship. Among the papists themselves, if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a frier or a priest; they thought it so ill lucke, as they would couple vp their hounds, and go home, being in despaire of any further sport that daie. Harrie if they had vsed venerie with a begger, they should win all the monie they played for that daie at dice. The like follie is to be imputed vnto them, that obserue (as true or probable) old verses, wherein can be no reasonable cause of such effects; which are brought to passe onlie by Gods power, and at his pleasure. Of this sort be these that follow:

Englisht by
Abraham
Fleming.

Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto,

Remember on S. Vincents daie,
If that the sunne his beames displaie.

Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni,

By Ab. Fleming.

If Paule th' apostles daie be cleare,
It dooth forehew a luckie yeare.

*Si sol splendet Maria purificante,
Maior erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante,*

If

If Maries purifieng daie,
Be cleare and bright with sunnie raie,
Then frost and cold shalbe much more,
After the feast than was before.

By Ab. Fleming.

*Serò rubens cœlum cras indicat esse serenum,
Si manè rubeſcit, ventus vel pluuia creſcit.*

The skie being red at euening,
Foreſhewes a faire and cleare morning;
But if the morning riſeth red,
Of wind or raine we ſhalbe ſped.

By Ab. Fleming.

Some ſticke a neede or a buckle into a certeine tree, nere to the cathedrall church of S. Chriſtopher, or of ſome other ſaint; hoping thereby to be deliuered that yeare from the headach. Item maids for ſooth hang ſome of their haire before the image of S. Vrbane, bicauſe they would haue the reſt of their haire grow long and be pellow. Item, women with child runne to church, and tie their girdles or ſho latches about a bell, and ſtrike vpon the ſame thiſe, thinking that the ſound thereof haſteth their good deliuerie. But ſithence theſe things beginne to touch the vanities and ſuperſtitious of incantations, I will referre you thither, where you ſhall ſee of that ſtuſſe abundance; beginning at the word Habar.

Secke more hereof in the word Habar.

How old writers varie about the matter, the manner, and the meanes, whereby things augurificall are moued.

The xvj. Chapter.



Heophrastus and Themistius affirme, that whatſoeuer happeneth vnto man ſuddenlie and by chance, commeth from the prouidence of God. So as Themistius gathereth, that men in that reſpect

prophes

*Auerroes. 12.
metaphysic.*

prophesie, when they speake what commeth in their braine, vpon the sudden; though not knowing or vnderstanding what they saie. And that seeing God hath a care for vs, it agreeth with reason (as Theophrastus saith) that he shew vs by some meane what soeuer shall happen. For with Pythagoras he concludeth, that all foreshewes and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foreshelleth man the good or euill that shall be tided.

Trimegillus affirmeth, that all augurificall things are moued by diuels; Porphyrie saith by gods, or rather god angels: according to the opinion of Plotinus and Iamblichus. Some other affirme they are moued by the moone wandering through the twelue signes of the Zodiacke: bicause the moone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The Aegyptian astronomers hold, that the moone ordereth not those portentous matters, but *stella errantes*, a wandering starre, &c.

How ridiculous an art augurie is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotles reason againtt it, fond collections of augurors, who allowed, and who disallowed it.

The xvij. Chapter.

The fond
art of augu-
rie conuin-
ced.

Acts. 1, 7.



Verelie all these obseruations being neither grounded on Gods word, nor physicall or philosophicall reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and mere witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time bene, and is still abused and conuincd. It is written; *Non est vstrum scire tempora & momenta, &c.* It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power. The most godlie men and the wisest philosophers haue giuen no credit herevnto. S. Augustine saith; *Qui his diuinationibus credit, fiat se fidem christianam & baptismum praeuicasse, & paganism Deiq. inimicum esse.* One told Cato, that a rat had carried awoaie and eaten his hose, which the partie said was a wonderfull signe. He saie (said Cato) I thinke not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had bene a wonderfull token indeed. *Nonius*

Nonius told Cicero that they should haue good successe in battell, because seuen eagles were taken in Pompeies campe, he answered thus; No doubt it will be euen so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered Labienus, who prophesied like successe by such diuinations, saieing, that through the hope of such toies, Pompeie lost all his pauillions not long before.

What wiseman would thinke, that God would commit his counsell to a dalwe, an otiole, a swine, or a tode; or that he would hide his secret purposes in the dong and bowels of beasts? Aristotle thus reasoneth; Augurie or diuinations are neither the causes nor effects of things to come; Ergo, they do not thereby foretell things trulie, but by chance. As if I dreame that my friend will come to my house, and he commeth indeed: yet neither dreame nor imagination is more the cause of my friends coming, than the chattering of a pie. Arist. de somno.

When Hanibal ouerthrew Marcus Marcellus, the beast sacrificed wanted a piece of his hart; therefore forsooth Marius, when he sacrificed at Vico, and the beast lacked his liuer, he must needs haue the like successe. These are their collections, and as baine, as if they said that the building of Tenderden steeple was the cause of Goodwine lands, or the decaye of Sandwich haueu. S. Augustine saith, that these obseruations are most superstitious. But we read in the fourth psalme, a sentence which might dissuade anie christian from this follie and impietie; O ye sonnes of men, how long will you turne my glorie into shame, louing vanitie, and seeking lies? The like is read in manie other places of scripture. August. lib. de doct. chri. 2. cap. 2. Psal. 4. 2.

Of such as allow this follie, I can commend Plinie best, who saith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in good part, they are signes of good lucke; if we take them in ill part, ill lucke followeth; if we neglect them, and wey them not, they do neither good nor harme. Thomas of Aquine reasoneth in this wise; The starres, whose course is certaine, haue greater affinitie and communitie with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our doings are neither directed nor proceed from the starres. Which thing also Ptolome witnesseth, saieing; Sapiens dominabitur astris, A wiseman ouerruleth the starres. Pūn. lib. natural. hist. 28. cap. 2. Tho. Aquin. lib. de fortib.

Fond distinctions of the heathen writers,
concerning augurie.

The 18. Chapter.

*C. Epidius.
Homer. lli.
ad. 19.*

The heathen made a distinction betwene diuine, naturall, and casuall auguries. Diuine auguries were such, as men were made beleue were done miraculouſlie, as when dogs ſpake; as at the expulſion of Tarquinius out of his kingdome; or when trees ſpake, as befoze the death of Cæſar; or when hoſſes ſpake, as did a hoſſe, whoſe name was Zanthus. Manie learned chriſtians confeſſe, that ſuch things as may indeed haue diuine cauſe, may be called diuine auguries; or rather forewarnings of God, and tokens either of his bleſſings or diſcontentation: as the ſtarre was a token of a ſafe paſſage to the magicians that ſought Chriſt; ſo was the cockerowing an augurie to Peter for his conuerſion. And manie ſuch other diuinations or auguries (if it be lawfull ſo to terme them) are in the ſcriptures to be found.

Of naturall and casuall augurie, the one allowed,
and the other diſallowed.

The 19. Chapter.

Naturall augurie is a phyſicall or philoſophicall obſeruation; bicauſe humane and naturall reaſon may be perſwaded ſo: ſuch euents: as if one heare the cockerow manie times together, a man may gheſſe that raine will followe ſhortlie; as by the crying of rooks, and by their extraordinary vſing of their wings in their flight, bicauſe through a naturall inſtinct, prouoked by the impreſſion of the heauenlie bodies, they are moued to know the times,

times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessarie for their natures. And therefore Ieremie saith; *Milvus in celo cognouit tempus suum*. The physician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him neeze twice, which is a naturall cause to iudge by, and coniecture vpon. But sure it is meere casuall, and also verie foolish and incredible, that by two neezings, a man should be sure of good lucke or successe in his business; or by meeting of a tode, a man should escape a danger, or atchieue an enterpryse, &c.

A confutation of casuall augurie which is meere witchcraft, and vpon what vncertaintie those diuinations are grounded.

The xx. Chapter.

What imagination woorketh in man or woman, many leaues would not comprehend; for as the qualities thereof are strange, and almost incredible, so would the discourse thereof be long and tedious, wherof I had occasion to speake elsewhere. But the power of our imagination extendeth not to beasts, nor reacheth to birds, and therefore pertaineth not herebinto. Neither can the chance for the right or left side be good or bad lucke in it selfe. Why should any occurrent or augurie be good? Bicause it cometh out of that part of the heauens, where the good or beneficiall stars are placed: By that reason, all things should be good and happie that liue on that side; but we see the contrarie experience, and as commonlie as that.

The like absurditie and error is in them that credit those diuinations; bicause the starres, ouer the ninth house haue dominion at the time of augurie. If it should betoken good lucke, for gladnesse, to heare a noise in the house, when the mone is in Aries: and contrariwise, if it be a signe of ill lucke, for sorowe, or griefe for a beast to come into the house, the mone being in the same signe: here might be found a fowle error and contrarietie.

D. J.

And

The vanti-
tie of casu-
all augurie.

Isai. 41, 25.

And forsomuch as both may happen at once, the rule must needs be false and ridiculous. And if there were any certaine rules or notes to be gathered in these diuinations; the abuse therein is such, as the word of God must needs be verified therein; to wit, I will destitute the tokens of soothsayers, and make them that coniecture, foales.

That figure-casters are witches, the vncerteintie of their art, and of their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippas sentence against iudiciall astrologie.

The xxj. Chapter.

These casters of figures may be numbred among the couensing witches, whose practise is about their reach, their purpose to gaine, their knowledge stolne from poets, their art vncertaine & full of vanitie, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other follic. And thereupon many other trifling vanities are rooted and grounded; as physiognomie, palmestrie, interpreting of dreames, monsters, auguries, &c: the professors whereof confesse this to be the necessarie key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellows erect a figure of the heauens, by the exposition whereof (together with the coniectures of similitudes and signes) they seeke to find out the meaning of the significators, attributing to them the ends of all things, contrarie to truth, reason, and diuinitie: their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agree in the verie principles thereof. For the Rabbins, the old and new writers, and the verie best philosophers dissent in the chiefe grounds thereof, differing in the proprietie of the houses, whereout they bring the foretelling of things to come, contending euen about the number of spheres, being not yet resolved how to erect the beginnings and endes of the houses; for Ptolomie maketh them after one sort, Campanus after another, &c.

The vaine
and trifling
trickes of
figure-ca-
sters.

And as Alpetragus thinketh, that there be in the heauens diuerse

diuerſe mouings as yet to men vnknowne, ſo doe others affirme (not without probability) that there maie be ſtarres and bodieſ, to whome theſe mouings maie accoꝝd, which cannot be ſeene, either through their exceeding highneſſe, or that hitherto are not tried with anie obſeruation of the art. The true motion of Mars is not yet perceiued, neither is it poſſible to find out the true entering of the ſunne into the equinoctiall points. It is not denied, that the aſtronomers themſelues haue receiued their light, and their verie art from poets, without whoſe fables the ſtwelue ſignes, and the noꝛtherlie and ſoutherlie figures had neuer aſcended into heauen. And yet (as C. Agrippa ſaith) aſtꝛologers doe liue, couſen men, and gaine by theſe fables; whiles the poets, which are the inuentoꝛs of them, doe liue in beggerie.

*Ighan. Mon-
trecius in
epiſtola ad
Blanchimē:
Guliel-
mus de ſan-
cto Clodoald.
Rabbi Leui.
C. Agrip. in
lib. de vanis.
ſciens.
Archelaus.
Caſſander.
Eudoxus,
&c.*

The verie ſkilfulleſt mathematicians confeſſe, that it is im- poſſible to find out anie certaine thing concerning the know- ledge of iudgements, as well foꝛ the innumerable cauſes which worke together with the heauens, being all together, and one with the other to be conſidered: as alſo becauſe influencies doe not conſtraine but incline. Foꝛ manie oꝛdinarie and extraoꝛdi- narie occaſions doe interrupt them; as education, cuſtome, place, honeſtie, birth, blood, ſickeſſe, health, ſtrength, weakeneſſe, meate, drinke, libertie of mind, learning, &c. And they that haue wꝛitten the rules of iudgement, and agree neereſt therein, being of equall authoritie and learning, publiſh ſo contrarie opi- nions vpon one thing, that it is im- poſſible foꝛ an aſtꝛologian to pronounce a certaintie vpon ſo variable opinions; & otherwiſe, vpon ſo vncertaine repoꝛts no man is able to iudge herein. So

as (according to Ptolomie) the foꝛeknowledge of things to come by the ſtarres, dependeth as well vpon the af- fections of the mind, as vpon the obſeruation of the planets, proceeding rather from chance than art, as whereby they deceiue others, and are deceiued them- ſelues alſo.

The subtiltie of astrologers to mainteine the credit of their art, why they remaine in credit, certeine impieties contained in astrologers assertions.

The xxij. Chapter.

Astrologers prognostications are like the answers of oracles.



If you marke the cunning ones, you shall see them speake darkelie of things to come, deuising by artificiall subtiltie, doubtfull prognostications, easilie to be applied to euerie thing, time, prince, and nation: and if anie thing come to passe according to their diuinations, they fortifie their old prognostications with new reasons. Neuertheles, in the multitude and varietie of starres, yea euen in the betrie midst of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion herebpon to saie what they list, promising vnto some men honoꝝ, long life, wealth, victorie, children, marriage, friends, offices; & finallie everlasting felicitie. But if with anie they be discontent, they saie the starres be not fauourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggerie, sickenes, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prognostications fall out right, then they triumph aboue measure. If the prognosticators be found to forge and lie alwaies, without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crow they will excuse the matter, saing, that *sapiens dominatur astris*, whereas (according to Agrippas words) neither the wiseman ruleth the starres, no: the starres the wiseman, but God ruleth them both. Corn. Tacitus saith, that they are a people disloyall to princes, deceiuing them that beleue them. And Varro saith, that the vanitie of all superstitions floweth out of the bosome of astrologie. And if our life & fortune depend not on the starres, then it is to be granted, that the astrologers seeke where nothing is to be found. But we are so fond, mistrustfull & credulous, that we feare more the fables of Robin god fellow; astrologers, & witches, & beleue more the things that are not, than the things that are. And the more impossible a thing is, the more we stand in feare thereof; and the lesse likelie to be true, the more we

we beleue it. And if we were not such, I thinke with Cornelius Agrippa, that these diuino:s, astrologers, coniuro:s, and coueno:s would die for hunger.

And our foolish light belefe, for getting things past, neglecting things present, and verie hastie to know things to come, doth so comfort and mainteine these coueno:s; that whereas in other men, for making one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the residue being true is not regarded. Contrariwise, in these couenages among our diuino:s, one truth spoken by hap giueth such credit to all their lies, that euer after we beleue whatsoeuer they saie; how incredible, impossible or false soeuer it be. Sir Thomas Moore saith, they know not who are in their owne chambers, neither who maketh themselves cuckoldes that take vpon them all this cunning, knowledge, and great foresight. But to enlarge their credit, or rather to manifest their impudencie, they saie the gift of prophesie, the force of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of diuels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacy of praiers, the state of the life to come, &c: doth onlie depend vpon the starres, and is giuen and knowne by them alone. For they saie, that when the signe of Gemini is ascended, and Saturne and Mercurie be ioined in Aquarie, in the ninth house of the heauens, there is a prophet borne; and therefore that Christ had so manie vertues, because he had in that place Saturne and Gemini. Yea these Astrologers doe not sticke to saie, that the starres distribute all sortes of religions: wherein Iupiter is the especiall patrone, who being ioined with Saturne, maketh the religion of the Iewes; with Mercurie, of the Christians; with the Moone, of Antichristianitie. Yea they asseme that the faith of euerie man maie be knowne to them as well

S. Thomas
Moore
frumpe at
iudiciall
astrologers.

Astrologi-
call blas-
phemies.

as to God. And that Christ himselfe did vse the election of houres in his miracles; so as the Iewes could not hurt him whilest he went to Ierusalem, and therefore that he said to his disciples that forbade him to go; Are there not twelue houres in the daie?

Ioh. 11. 8.
& 9.

2. iij.

Who

Who haue power to driue awaie diuels with their onelie presence, who shall receiue of God whatsoeuer they aske in praier, who shall obtaine euerlasting life by meanes of constellations, as natiuitie-casters affirme.

The xxij. Chapter.

They saie also, that he which hath Mars happilie placed in the ninth house of the heauens, shall haue power to driue awaie diuels with his onelie presence from them that be possessed. And he that shall praie to God, when he findeth the Moone and Iupiter ioined with the Dragons head in the midst of the heauens, shall obtaine whatsoeuer he asketh: and that Iupiter and Saturne doe giue blessednes of the life to come. But if anie in his natiuitie shall haue Saturne happilie placed in Leone, his soule shall haue euerlasting life. And herewith subscribe Peter de Apponna, Roger Bacon, Guido Bonatus, Arnold de villa noua, and the Cardinall of Alia. Furthermore, the prouidence of God is denied, and the miracles of Christ are diminished, when these powers of the heauens and their influencies are in such sort aduanced. Moses, Esaie, Iob and Ieremie seeme to dislike and reiect it: and at Rome in times past it was banished, and by Iustinian condemned vnder paine of death. Finally, Seneca denieth these soothsaieng witches in this sort; Amongst the Cleones (saith he) there was a custome, that the *χαλασφύλακες* (which were gazers in the aier, watching when a storme of haile should fall) when they saue by anie cloud that the shower was imminent and at hand; the vse was (I saie) bicause of the hurt which it might doe to their vines, &c: diligentlie to warne the people thereof; who vsed not to prouide clokes or anie such defense against it, but prouided sacrifices; the rich, cockes and white lambes; the poore would spoile themselves by cutting their thombes; as though (saith he) that little blood could ascend by to the cloudes, and doe anie good there for their reliefe in this matter.

The follie
of our ge-
nethliaks,
or natiuiti-
casters.

Senec. lib. de
quest. nat.
nat. al. q.

matter.

And here by the waie, I will impart vnto you a Venetian superstition, of great antiquitie, and at this daie (soz ought I can read to the contrarie) in vse. It is wrytten, that euerie yere oz diuinarilie vpon ascension daie, the Duke of Venice, accompanied with the States, goeth with great solemnitie vnto the sea, and after certeine ceremonies ended, casteth thereinto a gold ring of great value and estimation for a pacificatorie oblation: where withall their predecessors supposed that the wrath of the sea was asswaged. By this action, as a late writer saith, they doe *Desponsare sibi mare*, that is, espouse the sea vnto themselves, &c.

*Hilarius
Pirkmar in
arte apodemica.*

Let vs therefore, according to the prophets aduise, aske raine of the Lord in the houres of the latter time, and he shall send white cloudes, and giue vs raine &c: for surelie, the idols (as the same prophet saith) haue spoken vanitie, the soothsayers haue saene a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine thing.

*Ioannes Gar-
ropius in Ve-
net. & Hy-
perb.
Zach. 10. 1.
verse. 2.*

They comfort in vaine, and therefore they
went awaie like sheepe, &c. If anie
sheepebiter oz witchmonger will
follow them, they shall go
alone for me.



¶ The

¶ *The twelfe Booke.*

The Hebrue word Habar expounded, where also the supposed secrete force of charmes and inchantments is shewed, and the efficacie of words is diuerse waies declared.

The first Chapter.



This Hebrue word Habar, being in Greeke *Epathein*, and in Latine *Incantare*, is in English, *To inchant*, or (if you had rather haue it so) *to bewitch*. In these inchantments, certaine wordes, verses, or charmes, &c. are secretlie uttered, wherein there is thought to be miraculous efficacie. There is great varietie hereof: but whether it be by charmes, voices, i-

mages, characters, stones, plants, metals, herbes, &c. there must herewithall a speciall forme of words be alwaies vsed, either diuine, diabolicall, insensible, or papisticall, whereupon all the vertue of the worke is supposed to depend. This word is speciallie vsed in the 58. psalme, which place though it be taken vp for mine aduersaries strongest argument against me; yet me thinkes it maketh so with me, as they can neuer be able to answer it. For there it plainelie appeareth, that the adder heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie: contrarie to the poets fabling,

Psalm. 58.

Psalm. 58. 4. 5.

Virgil. in Damon.

Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

The

The coldish snake in medowes greene,
With charmes is burst in peeces cleene.

By Ab. Fleming.

But hereof moze shall be said hereafter in due place.

I grant that words sometimes haue singular vertue and efficacy, either in persuation or disuasion, as also diuerse other waies; so as thereby some are conuerted from the waie of perdition, to the estate of saluation: and so contrariwise, according to the saleng of Salomon; Death and life are in the instrument of the tong: but euen therein God worketh all in all, as well in framing the heart of the one, as in directing the tong of the other: as appeareth in manie places of the holie scriptures.

Prouer. 18.
Chron. 30.
Psal. 10.
Psal. 51.
Psal. 139.
Ierem. 32.
Isai. 6.
Isai. 50.
Exod. 7. 8. 9.
Prou. 16.

What is forbidden in scriptures concerning witchcraft, of the operation of words, the superstition of the Cabalists and papists, who createth substances, to imitate God in some cases is presumption, words of sanctification.

The second Chapter.

That which is forbidden in the scriptures touching enchantment or witchcraft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where words haue had miraculous operation, there hath bene alwaies the speciall prouidence, power and grace of God vttered to the strengthening of the faith of Gods people, and to the furtherance of the gospel: as when the apostle with a word slue Ananias and Saphira. But the profanation of Gods name, the seducing, abusing, and censuring of the people, and mans presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby manie take vpon them after the recitall of such names, as God in the scripture seemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to foretew things to come, to worke miracles, to detect felonies, &c: as the Cabalists in times past toke vpon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed in

Acts. 5.

in the scriptures, to worke wonders: and as the papists at this daie by the like names, by crosses, by gospels hanged about their necks, by masses, by exorcismes, by holie water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise vnto themselves and others, both health of bodie and soule.

Ionas. r.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take vpon vs to counterfet, or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the coniurors, Cabalists, papists, soothsaiers, inchanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither anie other humane or yet diabolicall cunning can adde anie such strength to Gods workmanship, as to make anie thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. Few qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herein, doubtles neither the illusions of diuels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing truelie to passe. For by the sound of the words nothing commeth, nothing goeth, other wise than God in nature hath ordeined to be done by ordinarie speech, or else by his speciall ordinance. Indeed words of sanctification are necessarie and commendable, according to S. Paules rule; Let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by prayer. But sanctification doth not here signifie either change of substance of the meate, or the adding of anie new strength therevnto: but it is sanctified, in that it is receiued with thanksgiving and prayer; that our bodies may be refreshed, and our soule thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

Words of sanctification, and wherein they consist.

What effect and offense witches charmes bring, how vnapt witches are, and how vnlikelie to worke those things which they are thought to doo, what would followe if those things were true which are laid to their charge.

The third Chapter.



He words and other the illusions of witches, charmers, and coniurors, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonlie taken to be: yet they are offensive to the maiestie and

and name of God, obscuring the truth of diuinitie, & also of philosophie. For if God only giue life & being to all creatures, who can put any such vertue or liuelie feeling into a body of gold, siluer, bread, or war, as is imagined: If either priests, diuels, or witches could so do, the diuine power should be checked & outfaced by magicall cunning, & Gods creatures made seruile to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches: & yet they are women that neuer went to schole in their liues, nor had any teachers: and therefore without art or learning; poore, and therefore not able to make any provision of metals or stones, &c: whereby to bring to passe strange matters, by naturall magicke; old and stiffe, and therefore not nimble handed to deceiue your eye with legierdemaine; heauie, and commonlie lame, and therefore vnapt to flie in the aire, or to danse with the faeries; sad, melancholike, sullen, and miserable, and therefore it should be vnto them (*Inuita Minerva*) to banket or danse with *Minerua*; or yet with *Herodias*, as the common opinion of all writers herein is. On the other side, we see they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselves, or by their diuels, could trouble the elements, we should neuer haue faire weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattell, they would spare none; but would destroy and kill whole countries and households. If they could transfer come (as is affirmed) from their neighbors field into their owne, none of them would be poore, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantlie affirmed) oh what a number of apes and otioles should there be of vs! If

Incubus could beget Merlins among
vs, we should haue a iollie
manie of cold prophets.

An ample
description
of women
commonlie
called witches.



Why God forbad the practise of witchcraft, the absurditie of the lawe of the twelue tables, wherevpon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their woonderous works.

The fourth Chapter.

A common
and vni-
uerfall er-
ror.

THough it be apparent, that the Holie-ghost forbiddeth this art, because of the abuse of the name of God, and the censurage comprehended therein: yet I confesse, the customes and lawes almost of all nations doe declare, that all these miraculous works before by me cited, and many other things more woonderfull, were attributed to the power of witches. The which lawes, with the executions and iudicials therevpon, and the witches confessions, haue beguiled almost the whole world. What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are written in the lawe of the twelue tables, which was the highest and most ancient lawe of the Romans? Wherevpon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wisdom of such lawgiuers could not be abused. Whereof (me thinks) might be made a more strong argument on our side; to wit, If the chiefe and principall lawes of the world be in this case ridiculous, vaine, false, incredible, yea and contrarie to Gods lawe; the residue of the lawes and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might proue all the popish lawes against protestants, & the heathenish princes lawes against christians, to be good and in force: for it is like they would not haue made them, except they had bene good. Were it not (thinke you) a strange proclamation, that no man (vpon paine of death) should pull the moone out of heauen? And yet verie many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments vpon weaker grounds; as namelie in this sounne and maner; We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; Ergo they can accomplish and doe this or that wonder. The wordes of the lawe are these;

*I. Bodinus.
Dancus.
Hyperius.
Fleming.
Bar. Spineus.
Mal. Malej.*

Qui

Qui fruges incantasset pœnas dato, Nēue alienam segetem pellexeris excantando, neq; incantando, Ne agrum defruganto: the sense wherof in English is this; Let him be executed that bewitcheth corne, Tranſſerre not other mens corne into thy ground by inchantment, Take hēde thou inchant not at all neither make thy neighbors field barren: he that doth these things shall die, &c.

An instance of one arreigned vpon the lawe of the twelue tables, whereby the said lawe is proued ridiculous, of two witches that could dō wonders.

The fift Chapter.



Although among vs, we thinke them bewitched that war suddenlie poze, and not them that growe hastilie rich; yet at Rome you shall vnderstand, that (as Plinie reporteth) vpon these articles one C. Furius Cressius was conuented before Spurius Albinus; for that he being but a little while free, and deliuered from bon-

A notable
purgation
of C. F. C.
conuented
for a witch.

dage, occupieng onelie tillage; grew rich on the sudden, as hauing good crops: so as it was suspected that he transferred his neighbors corne into his fields. None intercession, no delaie, none excuse, no demiall would serue, neither in iest nor derision, nor yet through sober or honest meanes: but he was assigned a peremptorie date, to answer for life. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be giuen there, by the voice and verdict of three men (as we here are tried by twelue) made his appearance at the date assigned, and brought with him his ploughs and harrowes, spades and shouels, and other instruments of husbandrie, his oren, horses, and working bullocks, his seruants, and also his daughter, which was a sturdie wench and a good huswife, and also (as Piso reporteth) well trimmed vp in apparell, and said to the whole bench in this wise; Lo here my lords I make mine appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting vnto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which haue so enriched me. As for the labour, sweat, wat-

ching,

ching, care, and diligence, which I haue vsed in this behalfe, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this meanes he was dismissed by the consent of that court, who otherwise (as it was thought) should hardly haue escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

*Malmales.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 5.*

It is constantlie affirmed in M. Mal. that Stafus vsed alwaies to hide himselfe in a monthoall, and had a disciple called Hoppo, who made Stadlin a maister witch, and could all when they list inuisible transference the third part of their neighbours dong, hay, corne, &c: into their owne ground, make haile, tempests, and fouds, with thunder and lightning; and kill children, cattell, &c: reueale things hidden, and many other tricks, when and where they list. But these two shifted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other witch the Romane and heathen iudges. Notwithstanding, Stafus was too hard for them all: for none of all the lawyers nor inquisitors could bring him to appeere before them, if it be true that witchmongers write in these matters.

Lawes prouided for the punishment of such witches as worke miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certeine popish lawes published against them.

The sixth Chapter.

Punishment
of impossibilities.



Here are other lawes of other nations made to this incredible effect: as *Lex Salicorum* prouideth punishment for them that flie in the aire from place to place, and meete at their nightlie assemblies, and braue bankets, carrieng with them plate, and such stuffe, &c: euen as we should make a lawe to hang him that should take a church in his hand at Douer, and throwe it to Callice. And because in this case also popish lawes shall be seene to be as foolish and lewd as any other whatsoeuer, and speciallie as tyrannous as that which is most cruell: you shall heare what trim new lawes the church of Rome hath lately deuised. These are therefore the wordes of pope Innocent the eight to the inquisitors

of Almanie, and of pope Iulius the second, sent to the inquisitors of Bergomen. It is come to our eares, that manie lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, vsing the companie of the diuels Incubus and Succubus, with incantations, charmes, conjurations, &c: doe destroye, &c: the births of women with child, the yong of all cattell, the corne of the feld, the grapes of the vines, the frute of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattell and beasts of the feld: and with their said inchantments, &c: doe vtterlie ertinguish, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, orchards, medowes, pastures, grasse, greene corne, and ripe corne, and all other poodware: yea men and women themselves are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot beget, nor women bring forth anie children, nor yet accomplish the dutie of wedlocke, denieng the faith which they in baptisme professed, to the destruction of their owne soules, &c. Our pleasure therefore is, that all impediments that maie hinder the inquisitors office, be vtterlie remoued from among the people, least this blot of heresie proceed to poison and defile them that be yet innocent. And therefore we doe ordeine, by vertue of the apostolicall authoritie, that our inquisitors of high Almanie, maie execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflictions, in all places, and vpon all persons, what and wheresoeuer, as well in euerie place and diocesse, as vpon anie person; and that as frelie, as though they were named, expressed, or cited in this our commission.

A wise lawe of pope Innocent and Iulie, were it not that they wanted wit when they made it.

Poetical authorities commonlie alleaged by witch-mongers, for the prooue of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power.

The seuenth Chapter.



Here haue I place and oportunitie, to discover the whole art of witchcraft; euen all their charmes, periapts, characters, amulets, prayers, blessings, cursings, hurtings, helpings, knaueries, conuenges, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and mainteine the same, and that in serious sort,
by

by Bodin, Spinæus, Hemingius, Vairus, Danæus, Hyperius: M.
Mal. and the rest.

Virg. eclog. 3.

*Carmina vel carlo possunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe socios mutauit Vlyssis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis:*

Inchantments plucke out of the skie,
The moone, though she be plaste on hie:
Dame Circes with hir charmes so fine,
Vlysses mates did turne to swine:
The snake with charmes is burst in twaine,
In medowes, where she dooth remaine.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

Virg. eclog. 3.

*Has herbas, atq; hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena,
Ipsa dedit Maris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.
His ego sæpe lupam fieri, & se condere syluis,
Merim sæpe animas imis exire sepulchris,
Atq; satas aliò vidi traducere messes.*

These herbs did Meris giue to me,
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,
For there they growe and multiplie,
And doo not so amongst vs.
With these she made hir selfe become,
A wolfe, and hid hir in the wood,
She fetcht vp foules out of their toome,
Remoouing corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ouid they alledge these folowing.

Ouid. fast. 6.

*Nocte volant, puerosq; petunt nutricis egentes,
Et vitiant cunis corpora capta suis:
Carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris,
Et plenum potu sanguine guttur habent:*

To children they doo flie by night,
And catch them while their nursses sleepe,

And

And spoile their little bodies quite,
And home they beare them in their beake.

Againe out of Virgill in forme following.

*Hinc mihi Massyla gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulâq; draconi
Qua dabat, & sacros seruabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens humida mella, soporiferumq; papauer.
Hæc se carminibus promittit soluere mentes,
Quas velit, atq; alijs duras immittere curas,
Sistere aquam fluuijs, & vertere sidera retrò,
Nocturnosq; ciet manes, mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus ornos:*

Virg. Aene. 4

From thence a virgine preest is come,
from out Massyla land,
Sometimes the temple there she kept,
and from hir heauenlie hand
The dragon meate did take: she kept
also the frute diuine,
With herbes and liquors sweete that still
to sleepe did men incline.
The minds of men (the faith) from loue
with charmes she can vnbind,
In whom she list: but others can
she cast to cares vnkind.
The running streames doo stand, and from
their course the starres doo wreath,
And foules she coniure can: thou shalt
see sister vnderneath
The ground with roing gape, and trees
and mountaines turne vp right, &c.

Tho. Phaers
translation of
the former
words of
Virg.

Moreouer out of Ouid they alledge as followeth.

*Cum volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes
Infantes rediere suos, concussaq; sisto,*

Ouid. meta-
mor. 7.

R.i.

Stantia

*Stantia concutio, cantu freta nubila pello,
Nubilâq, induco, ventos abigôq, vocôq,
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces,
Vinâque saxa, sua conuulsâque robora terra,
Et syluas moueo, iubeoq, tremescere montes,
Et mugire solum, manesque exire sepulchris,
Teque luna traho, &c:*

The riuers I can make retire,
Into the fountaines whence they flo,
(Whereat the banks themselues admire)
I can make standing waters go,
With charmes I driue both sea and clowd,
I make it calme and blowe alowd.
The vipers iawes, the rockie stone,
With words and charmes I breake in twaine
The force of earth congeald in one,
I mooue and shake both woods and plaine;
I make the soules of men arise,
I pull the moone out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

*Ouid. de
Medea.*

*Verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
Qua mare turbatum, qua flumina concita sistant:*
And thrise she spake the words that causd
Sweete sleepe and quiet rest,
She staid the raging of the sea,
And mightie floods supprest.

*Ouid. de
Medea,
epistola. 4.*

Et miserum tenues in iecur urget acus,
She sticketh also needels fine
In liuers, whereby men doo pine.

*3. Amor.
Eclog 6.*

Also out of other poets.

*Carmines lasa Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,
Deficiunt lasi carmine fontis aqua,
Illicibus glandes, cantataque vitibus uua*

Decidit,

Decidit, & nullo poma mouente flauit :

With charmes the corne is spoiled so,
As that it vades to barren gras,
With charmes the springs are dried lowe,
That none can see where water was,
The grapes from vines, the mast from okes,
And beats downe frute with charming strokes.

Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala

Lunamque cælo diripit :

Horac. spod. 5

She plucks downe moone and starres from skie,
With chaunting voice of Thessalie.

Hanc ego de cælo ducentem sidera vidi,

Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertit iter,

Hæc cantu finditque solum, manéque sepulchris

Elicit, & tepido deuorat ossa rogo :

Cùm lubet hæc tristi depellit lumina cælo,

Cùm lubet æstiuo conuocat orbe nines :

She plucks each star out of his throne,
And turneth backe the raging waues,
With charmes she makes the earth to cone,
And raifeth foules out of their graues :
She burnes mens bones as with a fire,
And pulleth downe the lights from heauen,
And makes it snowe at hir desire
Euen in the midst of summer season.

Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni,

Incantata perit :

Lucan. lib. de bello civil. 6

A man enchanted runneth mad,
That neuer anie poison had.

Cessauere vices rerum, dilatæque longa

Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit æther,

Torpuît & præceps audiroy carmine mundus :

The course of nature ceased quite,

R.ij.

Idem. lib. 2.

The.

The aire obeyed not his lawe,
 The daie delaid by length of night,
 Which made both daie and night to yawe;
 And all was through that charming geare,
 Which cauld the world to quake for feare.

Idem. Ibid.

*Carminē Theſſalidum dura in præcordia fluxit,
 Non fatiſ adductuſ amor, flammisq̃ ſeueri
 Illicitiſ arſere igneſ:*

With Theſſall charmeſ, and not by fate
 Hot loue iſ forced for to flowe,
 Euen where before hath beene debate,
 They cauſe affection for to growe.

Idem. Ibid.

*Genuiſa diſ maculandi callida cæli,
 Quoſ genuit terra, mali qui ſidera mundi
 Iuræque fixarum poſſunt peruertere rerum:
 Nam nunc ſtare polos, & flumina mittere norunt,
 Aethera ſub terras adigunt, montęque reuellunt:*

Theſe witches hatefull vnto God,
 And cunning to defile the aire,
 Which can diſorder with a nod
 The courſe of nature euerie where,
 Doo cauſe the wandring ſtarres to ſtaie,
 And driue the winds beelow the ground,
 They ſend the ſtreames another waie,
 And throwe downe hilles where they abound.

C. Manibꝯ
 aſſronom.
 ſue. lib. 1.

*linguiſ dixere volucrum,
 Conſultare fibræ, & rumpere vocibuſ angueſ,
 Sollicitare umbræ, ipſumque Acheronta mouere,
 In noctemque dieſ, in lucem vertere nocteſ,
 Omnia conando dociliſ ſolertia vincit:*

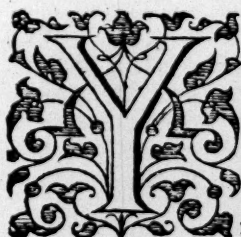
They talked with the tooꝑe of birdſ,
 Conſulting with the ſalt ſea coaſtſ,
 They burſt the ſnakeſ with witching wordſ,

Sollici-

Solliciting the spirituall ghosts,
They turne the night into the daie,
And also driue the light awaie:
And what ist that cannot be made
By them that doo applie this trade?

Poetrie and poperie compared in inchantments, popish witchmongers haue more aduantage herein than protestants.

The eight Chapter.



You see in these verses, the poets (whether in earnest or in iest I know not) ascribe unto witches & to their charmes, more than is to be found in humane or diabolical power. I doubt not but the most part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the most learned of mine aduersaries (for lacke of scripture) are faine to produce these poetries for proofes, and for lacke of iudgement I am sure doe thinke, that Actæons transformation was true. And why not? As well as the metamorphosis or transubstantiation of Vlysses his companions into swine: which S. Augustine, and so manie great clarkes credit and report.

Ouid. Metamorph. lib. 3. fab. 2.

Ouid. Metamorph. 14. fab. 516.

Neuerthelesse, popish writers (I confesse) haue aduantage herein of our protestants: for besides these poetical proofes they haue (for aduantage) the word and authoritie of the pope himselfe, and others of that holie crue; whose charmes, coniurations, blessings, cursings, &c: I meane in part (for a tast) to set downe; giuing you to vnderstand, that poets are not altogether so impudent as papists herein, neither same they so ignorant, prophane, or impious. And therefore I will shew you how lowd also they lie, and what they on the other side ascribe to their charmes and coniurations; and together will set downe with them all manner of witches charmes, as conuenientlie as I maie.

The authors transformation to his purposed scope.

King.

Popish

Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei, a waitcote of prooffe, a charme for the falling euill, a writing brought to S. Leo from heauen by an angell, the vertues of S. S. iuiors epistle, a charme against theeuces, a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c.

The ninth Chapter.

These vertues vnder these verses (written by pope Urbane the first to the emperour of the Gracians) are contained in a periapt or tablet, to be continuallie worn about one, called Agnus Dei, which is a little cake, hauing the picture of a lambe carrieng of a flag on the one side; and Christs head on the other side, and is hollow: so as the gospell of S. Iohn, written in fine paper, is placed in the concavittie thereof: and it is thus compounded or made, euen as they themselues report.

*Balsamus & munda cera, cum chris-matis vnda
Conficiunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum,
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum:
Fulgura de sursum depellit, & omne malignum,
Peccatum frangit, vt Christi sanguis, & angit,
Pregnans seruatur, simul & partus liberatur,
Dona refert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis,
Portatus munde de fluctibus eripit vnda:*

Balme, virgine wax, and holie water,
an Agnus Dei make:
A gift than which none can be greater,
I send thee for to take.
From founteine cleere the same hath issue,
in secret sanctifide:
Gainst lightning it hath soueraigne vertue,
and thunder crackes beside.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.
Looke in
the Bee-
hiue of the
Romish
church.
Lib. 4. cap. 1.
fol. 243.

Ech

Ech hainous sinne it weares and wasteth,
 euen as Christs precious blood,
 And women, whiles their trauell lasteth,
 it saues, it is so good.
 It doth bestow great gifts and graces,
 on such as well deserue:
 And borne about in noisome places,
 from perill doth preferue.
 The force of fire, whose heat destroieth,
 it breaks and bringeth downe:
 And he or she that this enioieth,
 no water shall them drowne.

¶ A charme against shot, or a wastcote
 of prooffe.

BEfore the comming by of these Agnus Deis, a holie garment
 called a wastcote so: necessitie was much vsed of our forefa-
 thers, as a holy relike, &c: as giuen by the pope, or some such archy-
 coniueroz, who promised thereby all manner of immunitie to the
 weater thereof; in so much as he could not be hurt with anie shot
 or other violence. And other wise, that woman that would weare
 it, should haue quicke deliuerance: the composition thereof was
 in this order following.

On Christmas daie at night, a threed must be sponne of flax, The maner
 of making
 a waste-
 cote of
 prooffe.
 by a little virgine girle, in the name of the diuell: and it must be
 by hir wouen, and also wrought with the needle. In the brest or
 forepart thereof must be made with needle worke two heads; on
 the head at the right side must be a hat, and a long beard; the left
 head must haue on a crowne, and it must be so horrible, that it
 maie resemble Belzebub, and on each side of the wastcote must
 be made a crosse.

¶ Against the falling euill.

Moreouer, this insuing is another counterfet charme of
 theirs, whereby the falling euill is presentlie remedied.

*Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,
 Hac tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,*

R. iij.

Solutur

Soluitur à morbo Christi pietate caduco.

Gasper with his myrh beganne
these presents to vnfold,
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,
and Balthasar brought in gold.
Now he that of these holie kings
the names about shall beare,
The falling yll by grace of Christ
shall neuer need to feare.

These effects are
too good to
be true in
such a patched
peece
of poperie.

This is as true a copie of the holie writting, that was brought
downe from heauen by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome;
¶ he did bid him take it to king Charles, when he went to the bat-
tell at Ronceuall. And the angell said, that what man or woman
beareth this writting about them with god deuotion, and faith
euerie daie three Pater nosters, three Aues, and one Creede, shall
not that daie be overcome of his enemies, either bodilie or ghost-
lie; neither shall be robbed or slaine of theues, pestilence, thun-
der, or lightening; neither shall be hurt with fier or water, nor
combed with spirits, neither shall haue displeasure of lords or
ladies: he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken
with fairies, or anie maner of ares, nor yet with the falling euill.
Also, if a woman be in trauell, laie this writting vpo her bellie, she
shall haue easie deliuerance, and the child right shape and chri-
stendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all
through vertue of these holie names of Iesus Christ following:

✠ Iesus ✠ Christus ✠ Messias ✠ Soter ✠ Emmanuel ✠
Sabbaoth ✠ Adonai ✠ Vnigenitus ✠ Maiestas ✠ Paracletus
✠ Saluator noster ✠ Agiros iskiros ✠ Agios ✠ Adanatos ✠
Gasper ✠ Meldior ✠ & Balthasar ✠ Marthaus ✠ Marcus ✠
Lucas ✠ Iohannes.

The epistle of S. Sauior, which pope Leo sent to king Charles,
saing, that whosoever carrieth the same about him, or in what
daie so euer he shall read it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed
with anie iron toole, nor be burned with fier, nor be drowned with
water, neither anie euill man or other creature maie hurt
him. The crosse of Christ is a wonderfull defense ✠ the crosse
of

of Christ be alwaies with me ✞ the crosse is it which I doe alwaies worship ✞ the crosse of Christ is true health ✞ the crosse of Christ doth lose the bands of death ✞ the crosse of Christ is the truth and the waie ✞ I take my iourne vpon the crosse of the Lord ✞ the crosse of Christ beateth downe euerie euill ✞ the crosse of Christ giueth all good things ✞ the crosse of Christ taketh awaie paines euerlasting ✞ the crosse of Christ saue me ✞ O crosse of Christ be vpon me, before me, and behind me ✞ because the ancient enimie cannot abide the sight of thee ✞ the crosse of Christ saue me, keepe me, gouerne me, and direct me ✞ Thomas bearing this note of thy diuine maiestie ✞ Alpha ✞ Omega ✞ first ✞ and last ✞ middest ✞ and end ✞ beginning ✞ and first begotten ✞ wisdom, ✞ vertue ✞.

¶ A popish periapt or charme, which must neuer be said, but carried about one, against thecues.

I Doe go, and I doe come vnto you with the loue of God, with the humilitie of Christ, with the holines of our blessed ladie, with the faith of Abraham, with the iustice of Isaac, with the vertue of Dauid, with the might of Peter, with the constancie of Paule, with the word of God, with the authoritie of Gregorie, with the praier of Clement, with the flood of Iordan, *pppcegeagqestpt*
1kabglk2axrgrbāmg2421qp xcgkq499p0qqr. Oh onelie Father ✞ oh onlie lord ✞ And Iesus ✞ passing through the middest of them ✞ went ✞ In the name of the Father ✞ and of the Sonne ✞ and of the holie-ghost ✞.

This were a good preleruatiue for a travelling papist.

¶ Another amulet.

Ioseph of Arimathea did find this writing vpon the wounds of the side of Iesus Christ, written with Gods finger, when the bodie was taken away fro the crosse. Whosoever shall carrie this writing about him, shall not die anie euill death, if he beleue in Christ, and in all perperities he shall sone be deliuered; neither let him feare any danger at all. Fons ✞ alpha & omega ✞ figalis ✞ Sabbaoth ✞ Emmanuel ✞ Adonai ✞ o ✞ Nerau ✞ Ely ✞ Ihe ✞ Rentone ✞ Neger ✞ Sahe ✞ Pangeton ✞ Commen ✞ a ✞ g ✞ l ✞ a ✞ Mattheus ✞ Marcus ✞ Lucas ✞ Iohannes ✞ ✞ ✞ ✞ *titulus triumphalis* ✞ Iesus Nasa-

renus

renus rex Iudeorum ✠ *ecce dominica crucis signum* ✠ *fugite partes aduersas, uicir les de tribu Iudz, radre, Dauid, deluyah, & yrie eleeson, Christe eleeson, pater noster, aue Maria, & ne nos, & ueniat super nos saluatum: Oremus, &c.*

I find in a Primer intituled *The houres of our Ladie*, after the use of the church of Yorke, printed anno 1516. a charme with this titling in red letters; To all them that afore this image of pitie deuoutlie shall saie * *five Pater nosters*, *five Aues*, and one *Credo*, pitiously beholding these armes of Christs passion, are granted thirtie two thousand seven hundred fiftie five yeares of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the time of pope Boniface the ninth; for Platina saith that the pardons were sold so cheape, that the apostolicall authoritie grew into contempt.

If the party faile in the number, he may go whistle for a pardon.

¶ A papisticall charme.

Signum sancte crucis defendat me a malis presentibus, præteritis, & futuris, interioribus & exterioribus: that is, The signe of the crosse defend me from euils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

¶ A charme found in the canon of the masse.

Also this charme is found in the canon of the masse, *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat mihi, omnibusque sumentibus, salus mentis & corporis, & ad uitam promouendam, & capeßendam, preparatio salutaris*: that is, Let this holie mixture of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto me, and vnto all receiuers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and to the deseruing and receiuing of life an healthfull preparation.

¶ Other papisticall charmes.

Aqua benedicta, sit mihi salus & vita:

Let holie water be, both health and life to me.

Adque nomen Martini omnis hæreticus fugiat pallidus,

When Martins name is soong or said,

Let heretikes flie as men disinaid.

But

By Ab. Flanung.

But the papists haue a harder charme than that; to wit, fier and fagot.

¶ A charme of the holie crosse.

Nulla salus est in domo,

Nisi cruce munit homo

Superliminaria.

Neque sentit gladium,

Nec amisit filium,

Quisquis egit talia.

No health within the house dooth dwell,
Except a man doo crosse him well,
at euerie doore or frame,
He neuer feeleth the swords point,
Nor of his sonne shall loose a ioint,
that dooth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

Ista suos fortiores

Semper facit, & victores,

Morbos sanat & languores,

Reprimit demonia.

Dat captiuis libertatem,

Vita confert nouitatem,

Ad antiquam dignitatem,

Crux reduxit omnia.

O Crux lignum triumphale,

Mundi vera salus vale,

Inter ligna nullum tale,

Fronde, flore, germine.

Medicina Christiana,

Salua sanos, egros sana,

Quod non valet vis humana,

Fis in tuo nomine, &c.

*Sancta crux
equiparatur
salusifero
Christo.*

*O blaspho-
miam in-
notabilem!*

Engiſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.
Looke in
the Bec-
hiue of the
Romish
church. lib.
4. cap. 3.
fol. 251, 252.

It makes hir ſouldiers excellent,
and crowneth them with victorie,
Reſtores the lame and impotent,
and healeth euerie maladic.
The diuels of hell it conquereth,
releaſeth from imprifonment,
Newneſſe of life it offereth,
it hath all at commandement.
O croſſe of wood incomparable,
to all the world moſt holſome:
No wood is halfe ſo honourable,
in branch, in bud, or bloſſome.
O medicine which Chriſt did ordaine,
the ſound ſaue euerie hower,
The ſicke and fore make whole againe,
by vertue of thy power.
And that which mans vnableneſſe,
hath neuer comprehended,
Grant by thy name of holineſſe,
it may be fullie ended, &c.

¶ A charme taken out of the Primer.

This charme following is taken out of the Primer aforeſaid.
*Omnipotens ✙ Dominus ✙ Chriſtus ✙ Meſſias ✙ with 34.
 names moze, & as many croſſes, & then proceeds in this wiſe; Iſta
 nomina me protegant ab omni aduerſitate, plaga, & infirmitate corporis &
 anime, plene liberent, & aſiſtent in auxilium iſta nomina regum, Gaſper,
 &c: & 12. apoſtoli (videlicet) Petrus, &c: & 4. euangeliftæ (vi-
 delicet) Mattheus, &c: mihi aſiſtent in omnibus neceſſita-
 tibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab
 omnibus periculis & corporis &
 anime, & omnibus malis
 præteritis, præſentibus,
 & futuris, &c.*

How

How to make holie water, and the vertues therof, S.

Rufins charme, of the wearing and bearing of the name of Iesus, that the sacrament of confession and the eucharist is of as much efficacie as other charmes, & magnified by L. Vairus.

The tenth Chapter.

If I did well, I should shew you the confectiō of all their stuffe, and how they prepare it; but it would be too long. And therefore you shall onlie haue in this place a few notes for the composition of certeine receipts, which in stead of an Apothecarie if you deliuer to any moztowmasse priest, he will make them as well as the pope himselſe. Marie now they war euerie parlement deerer and deerer; although therewithall, they dete many stale drugs of their owne.

If you looke in the popish pontificall, you shall see how they make their holie water; to wit, in this sort: I coniure thee thou creature of water, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, & of the Holie-ghost, that thou driue the diuell out of euerie corner and hole of this church, and altar; so as he remaine not with in our precincts that are iust and righteous. And water thus blessed (as Durandus saith) hath power of his owne nature to driue away diuels. If you will learne to make any more of this popish stuffe, you may go to the berie masse booke, and find manie good receipts: marrie if you search Durandus, &c; you shall find abundance.

I know that all these charmes, and all these palterie confectiōs (though they were farre more implous and foolish) will be mainteined and defended by massmongers, even as the residue will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place insert a charme, the authoritie wherof is equall with the rest, desiring to haue their opinions herein. I find in a booke called *Pomæ-
rum sermonum quadragesimalium*, that S. Francis seeing Rufinus *Pomæ-
mon. 32.* provoked

*In ecclesie
dedicatione.*

*In rationalis
disinorum
officiorum.*

*Pomæ-
mon. 32.*

prouoked of the diuell to thinke himselfe damned, charged Ruffinus to saie this charme, when he next met with the diuell; *Aperi os, & ibi imponam stercus*, which is as much to saie in English as, Open thy mouth and I will put in a plunne: a verie ruffinlie charme.

*L. Vairus, lib.
de fascin. 3.
cap. 10.
Idem, ibid.*

Leonard Vairus writeth, *De veris, pjs, ac sanctis amuleti, fascinum atq; omnia veneficia destruentibus*; wherein he speciallie commendeth the name of Iesus to be woꝛne. But the sacrament of confession he extolleth aboue all things, saieing, that whereas Christ with his power did but thꝛowe diuels out of mens bodies, the pꝛæst dꝛiue the diuell out of mans soule by confession. Foꝛ (saith he) these woꝛds of the pꝛæst, when he saith, *Ego te absoluo*, are as effectuall to dꝛiue awaie the pꝛinces of darknes, through the mightie power of that saieing, as was the voice of God to dꝛiue awaie the darknes of the woꝛld, when at the beginning he said, *Fiat lux*. He commendeth also, as holesome things to dꝛiue awaie diuels, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitarines, and silence. Finallie he saith, that if there be added herevnto an Agnus Dei, and the same be woꝛne about ones necke by one void of sinne, nothing is wanting that is good and holesome foꝛ this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must weare and make dints in your foꝛhead, with crossing your selfe when you put on your shoes, and at euerie other action, &c: and that is also a present remedie to dꝛiue awaie diuels, foꝛ they cannot abide it.

Idem, ibid.

Of the noble balme vsed by Moses, apishlie counterfeited in the church of Rome.

The eleuenth Chapter.



The noble balme that Moses made, hauing indeed manie excellent vertues, besides the pleasant and comfortable sauour thereof; wherewithall Moses in his politike lawes enioined kings, quenees, and princes to be annointed in their true and lawfull elections and coronations, vntill the euerlasting king had put on man

man vpon him, is apishlie counterfeited in the Romish church, with diuerse terrible coniurations, three breathings, crossewise, (able to make a quezie stomach spue) nine mumblings, and three curtseys, saicng therevnto, *Aue sanctum oleum, ter aue sanctum balsamum.* And so the diuell is thrust out, and the Holie-ghost let into his place. But as for Moses his balme, it is not now to be found either in Rome or elsewhere that I can learne. And according to this papisticall order, witches, and other superstitious people follow on, with charmes and coniurations made in forme; which manie bad physicians also practise, when their learning faileth, as maie appeare by example in the sequelle.

The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periapts, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homerickall medicines, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

The twelfth Chapter.



Rgerius Ferrarius, a physician in these daies of great account, doth saie, that for so much as by no diet nor physike anie disease can be so taken awaie or extinguished, but that certeine dregs and reliques will remaine: therefore physicians vse physickall alligations, appensions, periapts, amulets, charmes, characters, &c. which he supposeth maie doe good; but harme he is sure they can doe none: vrging that it is necessarie and expedient for a physician to leaue nothing vndone that may be deuised for his patients recouerie; and that by such meanes manie great cures are done. He citeth a great number of experiments out of Alexander Trallianus, Aetius, Octauianus, Marcellus, Philodotus, Archigines, Philostratus, Plinie, and Dioscorides; and would make men beleue that Galen (who in truth despised and derided all those vanities) recanted in his latter daies his former opinion, and all his inuectiues tending against these magicall cures: writing also a booke intituled *De Homerica medicatiōe*, which no man could euer see, but one Alexander Trallianus, who saith he saw it:

Arg. Fer. lib. de medendi metodo. 2. cap. 11. De Homerica medicatiōe.

and

This would
be exami-
ned, to ſee
if Galen be
nor ſtand-
ed.

and further affirmeth, that it is an honeſt mans part to cure the ſicke, by hoke or by crooke, or by anie meanes whatſoener. Yea he ſaith that Galen (who indeed wrote and taught that *Incantamenta ſunt myſticularum ſigmenta*, and be the onlie clokes of bad phyſicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (ſaith Trallian) Galen, being now reconciled to this opinion, holdeth and writeth, that the bones which ſticke in ones throte, are auoided and caſt out with the violence of charmes and inchanting words; yea and that thereby the ſtone, the chollicke, the falling ſickneſſe, and all feuers, gowts, ſures, fiſtulas, iſſues of blood, and ſinallie whatſoener cure (euen beyond the ſkill of himſelfe or ante other ſooliſh phyſician) is cured and perfectlie healed by words of inchantment. Marie M. Ferrarius (although he allowed and practiſed this kind of phyſicke) yet he profeſſeth that he thinketh it none otherwiſe effectuell, than by the waie of conſtant opinion: ſo as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the diuell accompliſh the cure; as (ſaith he) the experiment of the toothach will maniſeſtly declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence as well of the patient, as of the agent; accor- ding to the poets ſaieng :

*Nos habitat non tartara, ſed nec ſidera cali,
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facit.*

Engliſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.

Not helliſh furies dwell in vs,
Nor ſtarres with influence heauenlie;
The ſpirit that liues and rules in vs,
Doth euerie thing ingeniouſlie,

This (ſaith he) commeth to the vnlearned, through the opinion which they conceiue of the characters and holie words: but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, worke miracles by meanes thereof; ſo as the vnlearned muſt haue externall helps, to do that which the learned can do with a word onelie. He ſaith that this is called *Homericæ medicatio*, be- cauſe Homer diſcouered the bloud of the word ſuppreſſed, and the infections healed by or in myſteries.

Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c: foure sorts of Homericall medicines, & the choice thereof; of imagination.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Stouching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other baubles, I haue sufficientlie bittered it elsewhere: and I will bewraie the vanitie of these superstitious trifles more largelie hereafter. And therefore at this time I onelie saie, that those amulets, which are to be hanged oꝝ carried about one, if they consist of hearbs, rootes, stones, oꝝ some other metall, they maie haue diuerse medicinable operations; and by the vertue giuen to them by God in their creation, maie worke strange effects and cures: and to impute this vertue to anie other matter is witchcraft. And whereas A. Ferrarius commendeth certeine amulets, that haue no shew of physicall operation; as a naille taken from a crosse, holie water, and the verie signe of the crosse, with such like popish stufte: I thinke he labourerth thereby rather to draw men to poperie, than to teach oꝝ persuaade them in the truth of physicke oꝝ philosophie. And I thinke thus the rather, soꝝ that he himselfe seeth the fraud hereof; confessing that where these magicall physicians applie thre seedes of thre leaved grasse to a tertian ague, and foure to a quartane, that the number is not materiall.

But of these Homericall medicines he saith there are foure sorts, whereof amulets, characters, & charmes are thre: holvbr it he commendeth and preferreth the fourth aboue the rest; and that he saith consisteth in illusions, which he more properlie calleth stratagems. Of which sort of conclusions he alledgeth soꝝ example, how Philodorus did put a cap of lead vpon ones head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the partie was deliuered from his disease oꝝ conceipt. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent oꝝ snake did continuallie gnaw and

Foure sorts
of Homericall
medicines, and
which is
the principall.

The force
of fixed
fancie, opi-
nion, or
strong con-
script.

teare hir entrailles; and that was done onelie by giuing hir a vomit, and by fottling into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like unto that which she imagined was in hir bellie.

Item, another imagined that he alwaies burned in the fier, vnder whose bed a fier was priuile conueied, which being raked out before his face, his fancie was satisfied, and his heate allaid. Herevnto pertaineth, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange netwies: yea by that meanes agues and manie other strange and extreme diseases haue bene healed. And some that haue lien so sicke and soze of the gotot, that they could not remoue a ioint, through sudden feare of fier, or ruine of houses, haue forgotten their infirmities and græfes, and haue runne awaie. But in my tract vpon melancholie, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of naturall magicke, you shall see these matters largelie touched.

Choice of Charms against the falling euill, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a scorpion, the tooth-ach, for a woman in trauell, for the Kings euill, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charms to be said fasting, or at the gathering of hearbs, for sore eies, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horse, and speciallie for the Duke of Albas horse, for sowre wines, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.

There be innumerable charms of coniturers, bad physicians, lewd surgeons, melancholike witches, and counsellers, for all diseases and græfes; speciallie for such as bad physicians and surgeons knowe not how to cure, and in truth are good stufte to shadow their ignorance, whereof I will repeate some.

For the falling euill.

Take the sicke man by the hand, and whisper these wordes softly in his eare, I coniture thee by the sunne and mone,
and

and by the gospel of this date deliuered by God to Hubert, Giles, Cornelius, and Iohn, that thou rise and fall no more. ✱ Otherwise: Drink in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath bene slaine. ✱ Otherwise: Eate a pig killed with a knife that slew a man. ✱ Otherwise as followeth.

*Ananizapta ferit mortem, dum ledere querit,
Est mala mors capta, dum dicitur Ananizapta,
Ananizapta Dei nunc miserere mei.*

Ananizapta finiteth death,
whiles harme intendeth he,
This word Ananizapta say,
and death shall captiue be,
Ananizapta ô of God,
haue mercie now on me.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

¶ Against the biting of a mad dog.

Put a siluer ring on the finger, within the which these words 1. Bodinus. lib de demon 3. cap. 5.
are grauen ✱ Habay ✱ habar ✱ hebar ✱ a saie to the per-
son bitten with a mad dog, I am thy saujour, lose not thy life;
and then picke him in the nose thuse, that at each time he bleed.
✱ Otherwise: Take pilles made of the skull of one that is hanged.
✱ Otherwise: Write vpon a peece of bread, Irioni, khirio-
ra, esser, khuder, feres; and let it be eaten by the partie bitten.
✱ Otherwise: O rex gloria Iesu Christe, veni cum pace: In nomine patris
max, in nomine filij max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax: Gasper, Melchior,
Balthasar ✱ prax ✱ max ✱ Deus I max ✱

But in troth this is verie dangerous; insomuch as if it be not speedilie and cunninglie prevented, either death or frensie insueth, though infection of the humoz left in the wound bitten by a mad dog: which bicause bad surgions cannot cure, they haue therefore bled foolishly confensing charmes. But Dodonæus in his herball saith, that the hearbe Alysson cureth it: which experiment, I doubt not, will proue more true than all the charmes in the world. But where he saith, that the same hanged at a mans gate or entrie, preferueth him and his cattell from inchantment, or bewitching, he is ouertaken with follie.

¶ Against the biting of a scorpion.

Saie to an asse secretlie, and as it were whispering in his eare;
I am bitten with a Scorpion.

¶ Against the toothach.

Scarifie the gums in the græfe, with the tooth of one that hath
Shene laine. * Otherwise: *Galbes galbat, galdes galdat.* * O
therwise: *A ab huius, &c.* * Otherwise: At saccharing of masse
hold your teeth together, and say * *Os non comminuetur ex eo.* * Other
wise: *Strigiles falcisq, dentata, dentium dolorem persanate;* * D horse
combs and sickles that haue so many teeth, come heale me now
of my toothach.

* That is,
You shall
not breake
or diminish
a bone of
him.

¶ A charme to release a woman in trauell.

Throze ouer the top of the house, where a woman in trauell
lieth, a stone, or any other thing that hath killed thre living
creatures; namelie, a man, a wild boze, and a she beare.

¶ To heale the Kings or Queenes euill, or any other
forenesse in the throte.

Remedies to cure the Kings or Quenes euill, is first to
touch the place with the hand of one that died an vntimelie
death. * Otherwise: Let a virgine fasting laie hir hand on the
soze, and saie; Apollo denieth that the beate of the plague can in
crease, where a naked virgine quencheth it; and spet thre times
vpon it.

¶ A charme read in the Romish church, vpon saint
Blazes daie, that will fetch a thorne out of
anie place of ones bodie, a bone out
of the throte, &c: Lect. 3.

Fo: the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones bodie, or a
bone out of the throte, you shall read a charme in the Romish
church vpon S. Blazes daie; to wit, Call vpon God, and remem
ber S. Blaze. This S. Blaze could also heale all wild beastes that
were sicke or lame, with laieng on of his hands: as appeareth in
the lesson red on his daie, where you shall see the matter at large.

¶ A charme for the headach.

Tie a halter about your head, therewith one hath bene hang-
ged.

¶ A charme to be said each morning by a witch fa-
sting, or at least before she go abroad.

The fier bites, the fier bites, the fier bites; Hogs turd ouer it,
hogs turd ouer it, hogs turd ouer it; The father with the, the
sonne with me, the holie-ghost betwene vs both to be: ter. Then
spit ouer one shoulber, and then ouer the other, and then three
times right for ward.

¶ Another charme that witches vse at the gathering
of their medicinable hearbs.

Haile be thou holie hearbe
growing on the ground,
All in the mount * Caluarie
first wert thou found,
Thou art good for manie a sore,
and healest manie a wound,
In the name of sweete Iesus
I take thee from the ground.

* Though
neither the
hearbe nor
the witch
neuer came
there.

¶ An old womans charme, wherewith she did
much good in the countrie, and grew
famous thereby.

An old tooman that healed all diseases of cattell (for she which
she neuer toke any reward but a penie and a loafe) being
serioullie examined by what words she brought these things to
passe, confessed that after she had touched the sicke creature, she
althwaies departed immediatlie; saying:

My loafe in my lap,
my penie in my purse;
Thou art neuer the better,
and I am neuer the wurse.

S. iij.

Another

Another like charme.

Note the
force of
constant
opinion, or
fixed fancy.

A Gentlewoman hauing soze eies, made hir more to one, that promised hir helpe, if she would follow his aduise: which was onelie to weare about hir necke a scroll sealed vp, wherein to she might not loke. And she conceiuing hope of cure thereby, receiued it vnder the condition, and left hir weeping and teares, therewith she was wont to betwaille the miserable darkenesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short time hir eies were well amended. But alas! she lost sone after that pretious ietwell, and thereby returned to hir wonted weeping, and by consequence to hir soze eies. Holobreit, hir ietwell or scroll being found againe, was looked into by hir deere friends, and this onelie poe sie was contained therein:

The diuell pull out both thine eies,
And * etish in the holes likewise.

Whereby partlie you may see what constant opinion can doe, according to the saieing of Plato; If a mans fantasie or mind giue him assurance that a hurtfull thing shall doe him good, it may doe so, &c.

* Spell the
word back-
ward, and
you shall
sone see
this slouen-
lie charme
or appensi-
on.

A charme to open locks.

The euish
charmes.

As the hearbes called Aethiopides will open all locks (if all be true that inchanters saie) with the help of certeine words: so be there charmes also and periapts, which without any hearbs can doe as much: as for example. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and doe but print certeine floures therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would vndo the locke, blow thise therein, saieing; *Arato hoc pariko hoc maratarkin. I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake,* as thou bakest hell gates, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.*

¶ A charme to driue awaie spirits that
haunt anie house.

This is cal-
led and
counted
the Para-
cellian
charme.

Hang in euerie of the foure corners of your house this sentence written vpon virgine parchment; *Omnes spiritus laudet Dominum: Mosén habent & prophetas: Exurgat Deus & dissipentur*
* Psal. 150. * Luk. 16. * Psal. 64.

pentur inimici eius.

¶ A prettie charme or conclusion
for one possessed.

The possessed bodie must go vpon his o: hir knees to the church, how farre so euer it be off from their lodging; and so must craepe without going out of the waie, being the common high waie, in that sort, how slowe and durtie soeuer the same be; o: whatsoeuer lie in the waie, not shunning anie thing whatsoeuer, untill he come to the church, where he must heare * masse deuoutlie, and then followeth recoverie.

* Memo-
randum
that hea-
ring of
masse be
in no case
omitted,
quoth
Nota.

¶ Another for the same purpose.

There must be commended to some poore begger the saying of five *Pater nosters*, and five *Aues*; the first to be said in the name of the partie possessed, o: bewitched: for that Christ was led into the garden; secondlie, for that Christ did sweat both water and blood; thirdlie, for that Christ was condemned; fourthlie, for that he was crucified guiltlesse; and fifthlie, for that he suffered to take awaie our sinnes. Then must the sicke bodie heare masse eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospel is said, and must mingle holie water with his meate and his drinke, and holie salt also must be a portion of the mixture.

¶ Another to the same effect.

The sicke man must fast thre daies, and then he with his parents must come to church, vpon an embering fridaie, and must heare the masse for that daie appointed, and so likewise the saturday and sunday following. And the priest must read vpon the sicke mans head, that gospel which is read in September, and in grape haruest, after the feast of holie crosse *In diebus quatuor temporum*, in ember daies: then let him write and carrie it about his necke, and he shall be cured.

*Iohannes
Anglicus ex
Constantino,
Gualtero,
Bernardo,
Gilberto, &c*

¶ Another charme or witchcraft for the same.

This office o: confuration following was first authorized and printed at Rome, and afterwards at Auenion, Anno. 1515. And least that the diuell should lie hid in some secret part of the bodie,

S. 117.

bodie, euerie part thereof is named; *Obscuro te Iesu Christe, &c.*: that is: I beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, that thou pull out of euerie member of this man all infirmities, from his head, from his haire, from his braine, from his face, from his eyes, from his nose, from his eares, from his mouth, from his tongue, from his teeth, from his iawes, from his throte, from his necke, from his backe, from his brest, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomach, from his sides, from his flesh, from his blood, from his bones, from his legs, from his feete, from his fingers, from the soles of his feete, from his marrowe, from his sinewes, from his skin, and from euerie ioint of his members, &c.

Doubtles Iesus Christ could haue no starting hole, but was hereby euerie waie presented and persued; so as he was forced to doe the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had bene insufficient for him to haue said; Depart out of this man thou vnielane spirit, and that when he so said he did not performe it. I doe not thinke that there will be found among all the heathens superstitious fables, or among the witdyes, conuincers, coulers, poets, knaues, foles, &c.: that euer wrote, so impudent and impious a lie or charme as is read in *Barnardine de bustis*; where, to cure a sicke man, Christs bodie, to wit: a waser cake, was outwardlie applied to his side, and entred into his heart, in the sight of all the standers by. Now, if graue authors report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute vnto the old wiues tales, that Sprenger, Infortior, Bodine, and others write? Then as much as to Ouids Metamorphosis, Aescops fables, Moores Vtopia, and ofuerse other fancies; which haue as much truth in them, as a blinde man hath sight in his eye.

*Barnard. de
bustis in Ro-
sar. serm.
serm. 15.*

¶ A charme for the bots in a horse.

You must both saie and doe thus vpon the diseased horse thre daies together, before the sunne rising: *In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti; Exorcizo te Verhemper Deum patrem, & filium & spiritum sanctum*: that is, In the name of God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost, I conuere thee O worme by God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost; that thou neither eat nor drinke the flesh blood or bones of this horse; and that thou hereby maist be made as patient as Iob, and as good as S. Iohn

Baptist,

Baptist, when he baptised Christ in Iordan, *In nomine pa-tris & fi-lii & spiritus-sancti*. And then saie these *Pater noster*s, and these *Aves*, in the right eare of the horse, to the glorie of the holie trinitie. *Do-minus fili-us spiritus-sancti Mari-a.*

There are also diuers bookes imprinted, as it should appeare with the authoritie of the church of Rome, wherein are contained manie medicinall praiers, not onelie against all diseases of horses, but also for euerie impediment and fault in a horse: in so much as if a shoo fall off in the middelt of his iourne, there is a praier to warrant your horses hooe, so as it shall not breake, how far so euer he be from the Smithes forge.

The smiths will canne them small thanks for this praier.

Item, the Duke of Alba his horse was consecrated, or canonized, in the lowe countries, at the solenne masse; wherein the popes bull, and also his charme was published (which I will here after recite) he in the meane time sitting as Vice-roy with his consecrated standard in his hand, till masse was done.

¶ A charme against vineager.

That wine was not eager, write on the vessell, *Gustate & videte, quoniam suauis est Dominus.*

O notable blasphemie.

The enchanting of serpents and snakes, obiections answered concerning the same; fond reasons whie charmes take effect therein, Mahomet's pigeon, miracles wrought by an Asse at Memphis in Aegypt, popish charmes against serpents, of miracle workers, the taming of snakes, Bodins lie of snakes.

The xv. Chapter.



Concerning the charming of serpents and snakes, mine aduersaries (as I haue said) thinke they haue great advantage by the words of Dauid in the fiftie eight psalme; and by Ieremie, chapter eight, expounding the one prophet by Virgil, the other by Ouid. For the words of Dauid are these; *Their poison is like the poison of a serpent, and like a deafe adder, that stoppeth his eare,*

Virg. eclog. 3. care, and heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie. The words of Virgil are these, *Frigidus in pratis can-rando rumpitur anguis.* As he might saie, Dauid thou liest; for the cold natured snake is by the charmes of the inchanters broken all to peeces in the field where he lieth. Then commeth Ouid, and he taketh his countrie mans part, saieing in the name and person of a witch; *Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces;* that is, I with my words and charmes can breake in sunder the vipers iawes.

Ouid. meta-mor. 7. Marrie Ieremie on the other side encountereth this poetickall witch, and he not onelie defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his owne name, but in the name of almightie God; saieing, I will send serpents and cockatrices among you, which cannot be charmed.

Ierem. 8. 17.

Now let anie indifferent man (christian or heathen) iudge, whether the words and minds of the prophets doe not direalie op-pugne these poets words (I will not saie minds:) for that I am sure they did therein but iest and trifle, according to the common fabling of lieng poets. And certeinlie, I can encounter them two with other two poets; namelie Propertius and Horace, the one merrilie deriding, the other serioullie impugning their fan-tastickall poetries, concerning the power and omnipotencie of witches. For where Virgil, Ouid, &c: write that witches with their charmes fetch downe the moone and starres from heauen, &c; Propertius mocketh them in these words following:

*At vos deducta quibus est fallacia Luna,
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
En age dum dominae mentem conuertite nostra,
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,
Tunc ego crediderim vobis & sidera & amnes
Possẽ Circeis ducere carminibus:*

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

But you that haue the subtil flight,
Off fetching downe the moone from skies;
And with inchanting fier bright,
Attempt to purge your sacrifices:
Lo now, go to, turne (if you can)
Our madams mind and sturdie hart,

And

And make hir face more pale and wan,
Than mine : which if by magicke art
You doo, then will I soone beleue,
That by your witching charmes you can
From skies aloft the starres remeeue,
And riuers turne from whence they ran.

And that you may see more certainlie, that these poets did but
test and deride the credulous and timorous sort of people, I
thought good to shew you what Ouid saith against himselfe, and
such as haue written so incredible and ridiculouslie of witches
omnipotencie :

Nec media magicis finduntur cantibus angues,

Nec credit in fontes unda supina suos :

Snakes in the middle are not riuen
with charmes of witches cunning,
Nor waters to their fountaines driuen
by force of backward running.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

As so: Horace his verses I omit them, because I haue cited
them in another place. And concerning this matter Cardanus
saith, that at euerie eclipse they were wont to thinke, that wit-
ches pulled downe the sunne and moone from heauen. And
doubtles, hence came the opinion of that matter, which spread so
farre, and continued so long in the common peoples mouthes,
that in the end learned men grew to beleue it, and to affirme it
in writing.

Card. lib. 15.
de var. rer.
cap. 80.

But here it will be objected, that because it is said (in the places
by me alledged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; Ergo
other things may: To answer this argument, I would aske the
witchmonger this question, to wit; Whether it be expedient, that
to satisfie his follie, the Holie ghost must of necessitie make men-
tion of euerie particular thing that he imagineth may be bewit-
ched: I would also aske of him, what priuilege a snake hath more
than other creatures, that he onelie may not, and all other crea-
tures may be bewitched: I hope they will not saie, that either
their faith or infidelitie is the cause thereof; neither do I admit
the answer of such diuines as saie, that he cannot be bewitched:

An obiecti-
on answer-
red.

foz that he seduced Eue; by meanes whereof God himfelfe curfled him; and thereby he is fo privileged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But more fhall be faid hereof in the fequle.

*Dan. in dia-
log. cap. 3.*

Danaus faith, that witches charmes take foneft hold vpon snakes and adders; becaufe of their conference and familiaritie with the diuell, whereby the rather mankind through them was seduced. Let vs ferke then an answer fo: this cauill; although in truth it needeth not: fo: the phrafe of fpeech is abfolute, & importes not a fpeciall qualitie proper to the nature of a viper anie more, than when I faie; A connie cannot flie: you fhould gather & conclude therevpon, that I ment that all other beafts could flie. But you fhall vnderftand, that the caufe why the vipers can rather withftand the voice & praife of inchanters and fozcerers, than o- ther creatures, is: fo: that they being in bodie and nature veno- mous, cannot fo fone o: properlie receiue their deftrution by ve- nome, wherby the witches in other creatures bring their mifche- rous praifes more eaffie to paffe, according to Virgils faieing:

*Virg. geo. 4.
Engliſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.*

Corruptique lacus, infecti pabula tabo,

She did infect with poifon ftrong
Both ponds and patures all along.

And therevpon the prophet alludeth vnto their corrupt and in- fterible nature, with that comparifon: and not (as Tremelius is faine to ſhift it) with ftopping one eare with his taile, and lateng the other clofe to the ground; becaufe he would not heare the charmers voice. Fo: the snake hath neither fuch reafon; nor the words fuch effect: otherwife the snake muſt know our thoughts. It is alfo to be confidered, how vntame by nature thefe vipers (fo: the moſt part) are; in fo much as they be not by mans indu- ſtrie o: cunning to be made familiar, o: trained to do anie thing, whereby admiration mae be procured: as Bomelio Feates his dog could do; o: Mahomets pigeon, which would refozt vnto him, being in the middeſt of his campe, and picke a peafe out of his eare; in fuch fo: that manie of the people thought that the Holie-ghoſt came and told him a tale in his eare: the ſame pi- geon alfo brought him a ſcroll, wherein was written, *Reueſto*, and laid the ſame in his necke. And becaufe I haue ſpoken of the doct- cilitie

*Feates his
dog, and
Mahomets
pigeon.*

litie of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

At Memphis in Aegypt, among other juggling knacks, which were there vsuallie shewed, there was one that toke such paines with an asse, that he had taught him all these qualities following. And for gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assemblie of people to meete; which being done, in the manner of a plaie, he came in with his asse, and said; The Sultane hath great need of asses to helpe to carrie stones and other stufte, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The asse immediatlie fell downe to the ground, and by all signes shewed himselfe to be sicke, and at length to giue vp the ghost: so as the juggler begged of the assemblie monie towards his losse. And hauing gotten all that he could, he said; Now my maisters, you shall see mine asse is yet aliue, and doth but counterfet; bicause he would haue some monie to buye him prouender, knowing that I was poore, and in some need of reliefe. Whereupon he would needs laie a wager, that his asse was aliue, who to euerie mans seeming was starke dead. And when one had laid monie with him thereabout, he commanded the asse to rise, but he laie still as though he were dead: then did he beate him with a cudgell, but that would not serue the turne, untill he addrested this speech to the asse, saieng (as before) in open audience; The Sultane hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to morrow, and see the triumph, and that the faire ladies will then ride vpon the fairest asses, and will giue notable prouender vnto them, and euerie asse shall drinke of the swete water of Nilus: and then lo the asse did presentlie start vp, and aduance himselfe exceedinglie. Lo (quoth his maister) now I haue wonne: but in troth the spaior hath bozrowed mine asse, for the vse of the old vsauoured with his wife: and thereupon immediatlie he hong downe his eares, and halted downe right, as though he had beene starke lame. Then said his maister; I perceiue you loue yong prettie wenches: at which words he looked vp, as it were with ioyfull chere. And then his maister did bid him go chose one that should ride vpon him; and he ran to a verie handsome woman, and touched hir with his head: ec. A snake will neuer be brought to such familiaritie, &c. Bodin *1. Bod. lib. de dem. 2. cap. 6.*

rather

rather thinke that he is an asse in the likenesse of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a storie concerning the charming of them, and the curent of the same.

*Mal. malef.
part. 2. qu. 2.
cap. 9.
Iohn. Bodin.*

In the citie of Salisborough there was an inchanter, that befoze all the people toke vpon him to coniure all the serpents and snakes within one mile compasse into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When all the serpents were gathered together, as he stood vpon the brinke of the pit, there came at the last a great and a horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the force of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew vpon the inchanter, and clasped him in the middest, and dyed him downe into the said dike, and there killed him. You must thinke that this was a diuell in a serpents likenesse, which for the loue he bare to the poore snakes, killed the sorcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practise. And surely, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies contained in M. Mal. and in I. Bodin. And if this be well weighed, and conceiued, it beateth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to wring witching miracles out of this place. For they disagree notable, some denieng and some affirming that serpents maie be betwitched.ouertheless, be cause in enerie point you shall see how poperie agreeth with paganism, I will recite certeine charmes against vipers, allowed for the most part in and by the church of Rome: as followeth.

*Exorcismes
or conuira-
tions against
serpents.*

I coniure thee O serpent in this houre, by the true holie words of our Lord, that thou remoue not out of this place, but here staie, as certeinlie as God was borne of a pure virgine. * Otherwise: I coniure thee serpent *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti*: I command thee serpent by our ladie S. Marie, that thou obeie me, as water obeieth the fier, and as fier obeieth water; that thou neither hurt me, nor anie other christian, as certeinlie as God was borne of an immaculate virgine, in which respect I take thee vp, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti*: Ely last eiter, ely last eiter, ely last eiter. * Otherwise: O vermine, thou must come as God came vnto the Iewes. * Otherwise: L. Vairus saith, that *Serpens quernis frondibus contacta*, that a serpent touched with oke leaues dieth, and staieyth euen in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird Ibis be cast or throwne vpon him: and that

*L. Vair. lib.
de fascino.
l. cap. 4.*

a viper smitten or hot with a reed is assonied, and touched with a
bachen branch is presentlie numme and stiffe.

Here is to be remembred, that manie vse to boast that they
are of S. Paules race and kindred, shewing vpon their bodies the
p:ints of serpents: which (as the papists affirme) was incident
to all them of S. Paules stocke. Marie they saie herewithall, that
all his kinsfolks can handle serpents, or anie poison without
danger. Others likewise haue (as they bzag) a Katharine there
vpon their bodies, and they saie they are kin to S. Katharine, and
that they can carrie burning coles in their bare hands, and dip
their said hands in hot skalding liquoz, and also go into hot o:
uens. Whereof though the last be but a bare test, and to be done
by anie that will proue (as a bad fellow in London had bled to
do, making no fariance at all therein:) yet there is a shew made
of the other, as though it were certeine and vndoubted; by an:
nointing the hands with the iuice of mallowes, mercurie, brine,
&c: which so; a little time are defensatiues against these scalding
liquozs, and scortching fiers.

But they that take vpon them to worke these mysteries and
miracles, do indeed (after rehearfall of these and such like wo:ds
and charmes) take vp euen in their bare hands, those snakes and
vipers, and sometimes put them about their necks, without re:
ceiuing anie hurt thereby, to the terroz and assonishment of the
beholders, which naturallie both feare and abhorre all serpents.
But these charmers (vpon my wo:rd) dare not trust to their
charmes, but vse such an enchantment, as euerie man maie late
fullie vse, and in the latofull vse thereof maie bring to passe that
they shalbe in securitie, and take no harme, how much soeuer
they handle them: marie with a woollen rag they pull out their
teeth before hand, as some men saie; but as truth is, they wearie
them, and that is of certaintie. And surelie this is a kind of witch:
craft, which I terme priuate confederacie. Bodin saith, that all
the snakes in one countrie were by charmes and verses driven
into another region: perhaps he meaneth Ireland, where S. Pa:
trike is said to haue done it with his holinesse, &c.

James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor affirme, that serpents
and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures so; witch:
craft: in so much as witches do vse to burie them vnder mens
th:eytholds,

Vsurpers of
kinred with
blest
Paule and
S Katha:
rine.

I. Bodin. lib.
de dem. 1.
cap. 3.

threshholds, either of the house or stables, whereby barrennes is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the verie earth and ashes of them continue to haue force of fascination. In respect whereof they with all men now and then to dig awaie the earth vnder their threshholds, and to sprinkle holie water in the place, & also to hang boughes (halloved on midsummer daie) at the stall doore where the cattell stand: & produce examples thereupon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit; bicause I see my booke groweth to be greater than I meant it should be.

Charmes to carrie water in a siue, to know what is spoken of vs behind our backs, for bleare eies, to make seeds to growe well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang hir vp, notable authorities against waxen images, a storie bewraing the knauerie of waxen images.

The xvj. Chapter.

*I. Vairus lib.
fascin. l. ca. 5.
Oratio Tus-
ca uelalis.*



Of the
word (*Bud*)
and the
Greeke let-
ters *Π* & *A*.

Leonardus Vairus saith, that there was a praier extant, whereby might be carried in a siue, water, or other liquo: I thinke it was *Clam clai*; which a crow taught a maid, that was promised a cake of so great quantitie, as might be kneded of so much floure as she could wet with the water that she brought in a siue, and by that meanes she clamd it with clai, & brought in so much water, as whereby she had a great cake, and so beguiled hir sisters, &c. And this tale I heard among my grandams maides, whereby I can decipher this witchcraft. Item, by the tingling of the eare, men heretofore could tell what was spoken of them. If anie see ascopion, and saie this word (*Bud*) he shall not be stung or bitten therewith. These two Greeke letters *Π* and *A* written in a paper, and hong about ones necke, preserue the partie from blæreidnesse. Cummin or hempsed sowne with cursing and opprobrious words grow the faster and the better. Berolus Anianus maketh witchcraft of great antiquitie: for he saith, that Cham

Cham touching his fathers naked member vttered a charme, whereby his father became emasculated or depriued of the power's generatiue.

¶ A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list
with images of wax, &c.

MAke an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new birgine war; vnder the right arme poke whereof place a swallowes hart, and the liuer vnder the left; then hang about the necke thereof a new thred in a new needle pricked into the member which you would haue hurt, with the rehearsall of certeine words, which for the auoiding of foolish superstition and credulitie in this behalfe is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare undertake they would doe no harme, were it not to make foles, and catch gudgeons. * Otherwise: Sometimes these images are made of brasse, and then the hand is placed where the foote should be, and the foote where the hand, and the face downward. * Otherwise: For a greater mischæse, the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, vpon whose head is written the certeine name of the partie: and on his or hir ribs these words, *Ailifcush, Zaze, hit mel meltat*: then the same must be buried. * Otherwise: In the dominion of Mars, two images must be prepared, one of war, the other of the earth of a dead man; each image must haue in his hand a sword wherewith a man hath bene slaine, & he that must be slaine may haue his head thrust through with a soine. In both must be written certeine peculiar characters, and then must they be hid in a certeine place. * Otherwise: To obtaine a womans loue, an image must be made in the houre of Venus, of birgine war, in the name of the beloued, wherupon a character is written, & is warmed at a fier, and in doing therof the name of some angell must be mentioned. To be vtterlie rid of the witch, and to hang hir vp by the haire, you must prepare the image of the earth of a dead man to be baptised in another mans name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written: then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these psalmes read backward: *Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*: and then burie it, first in one place, and

The practi-
ser of these
charmes
must haue
skill in the
planetarie
motions, or
else he may
goe thro the
goose.

afterwards in another. *Howbeit*, it is written in the 21. article of the determination of Paris, that to affirme that images of brasse, lead, gold, of white or red war, or of any other stufte (conured, baptised, consecrated, or rather exccrated through these magicall arts at certeine daies) haue wonderfull vertues, or such as are auowed in their booke or assertions, is error in faith, naturall philosophie, and true astronomie: yea it is concluded in the 22. article of that counsell, that it is as great an error to beleue those things, as to doe them.

A proued
storie con-
cerning the
premisses.

But concerning these images, it is certeine that they are much feared among the people, and much bled among consening witches, as partlie appereth in this discourse of mine else-where, & as partlie you may see by the contents of this storie following. Not long sithence, a yong maiden (dwelling at new Romnie here in Kent) being the daughter of one M. L. Stuppenie (late Jurat of the same towne but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of Thomas Eps, who is at this instant Maioz of Romnie) was visited with sicknesse, whose mother and father in lawe being abused with credulitie concerning witches supernaturall power, repaired to a famous witch called mother Baker, dwelling not far from thence at a place called Stontstreet, who (according to witches consening custome) asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, to whom they answered that indeed they doubted a woman nere vnto them (and yet the same woman was, of the honestest & wisest sort of hir neighbors, reputed a good creature.) Neuertheles the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion: for the same (said she) is the verie partie that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a hart of war, and pricking the same with pins and needels; affirming also that the same neighbor of hers had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being beleued, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wise woman being certified hereof, continued hir assertion, and would needs go to the house where she hir selfe (as she affirmed) would certeinlie find it. When she came thither, she vied hir cunning (as it chanced) to hir owne confusion, or at leastwise to hir detection: for herein she did, as some of the wisest sort mistrusted that she would doe, lasing downe priuile such an image

image (as she had before described) in a corner, which by others had bene most diligentlie searched & looked into, & by that means hir couenage was notablie betozated. And I would wish that all witchmongers might paie for their lewd repaire to inchantozs, and consultation with witches, and such as haue familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high commissioners, which partlie for respect of neighborhoode, and partlie for other considerations, I leaue vnspoken of.

Sundrie sorts of charmes tending to diuerse purposes, and first, certeine charmes to make taciturnitie in tortures.

The xvij. Chapter.

In paribus meritis tria
pendent corpora ramis,
Dismas & Gestas,
in medio est diuina potestas,
Dismas damnatur,
Gestas ad astra leuatur:

This charm seemeth to allude to Christ crucified betwene the two thecuss.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Three bodies on a bough doo hang,
for merits of inequalitie,
Dismas and Gestas, in the midst
the power of the diuinitie.
Dismas is damnd, but Gestas lif-
red vp aboute the starres on hie.

Also this: *Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum veritatem nunquam* Psal. 44.

dican regi. * Otherwise: As the milke of our ladie was

luscious to our Lord Iesus Christ; so let this torture

or rope be pleasant to mine armes and mem-

bers. * Otherwise: *Iesus autem transiens*

per medium illorum ibat. * Other-

wise: You shall not
breake a bone
of him.

Luk. 4.
Iohn. 19.

L. ij.

¶ Counter

¶ Counter charmes against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saieng allo whereof witches are vexed, &c.

Psal 44.
Scripture
properlie
applied.

E *rustauit eor meum verbum bonum, dicam cuncta opera mea regi.*
* *Otherwise: Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit*
veritatem. * *Otherwise: Contere brachia iniqui rei, & lingua maligna*
subuertetur.

¶ A charme for the choine cough.

Take three sips of a chalice, when the priest hath said masse, and swallow it downe with good deuotion, &c.

¶ For corporall or spirituall rest.

In nomine patris, vp and downe,
Et filij & spiritus sancti vpon my crowne,
Crux Christi vpon my brest,
Sweete ladie send me eternall rest.

¶ Charmes to find out a theefe.

O most
wonder-
full vertue
hidden in
the letters
of S. He-
lens holic
name!

The meanes how to find out a theefe, is thus: Turne your face to the east, and make a crosse vpon christall with oile oliue, and vnder the crosse write these two words [Saint Helen.] When a childe that is innocent, and a chaste virgine borne in true wedlocke, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yeares, must take the christall in his hand, and behind his backe, kneeling on thy knees, thou must deuoutlie and reuerentlie saie ouer this praier thise: I beseech thee my ladie S. Helen, mother of king Constantine, which diddest find the crosse where vpon Christ died: by that thy holic deuotion, and inuention of the crosse, and by the same crosse, and by the ioy which thou conceiuedst at the finding thereof, and by the loue which thou barest to thy sonne Constantine, and by the great godnes which thou doest alwaies be, that thou shew me in this christall, whatsoeuer I aske or desire to knowe; Amen. And when the childe seeth the angell in the christall, demand what you will, and the angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, that this be done iust at the sunne rising,

rising, when the weather is faire and clere.

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables, and setteth Card. lib. 16. de var. rer. cap. 93. dowlne his iudgement therein accordinglie, in the sixtenth booke *De rerum var.* These confutors and coulersers forsooth will shew you in a glasse the these that hath stolne anie thing from you, and this is their order. They take a glasse viall full of holie water, and set it vpon a linnen cloth, which hath bene purified, not onelie by washing, but by sacrifice, &c. On the mouth of the viall or vinnall, two oliue leaues must be laid acrosse, with a litle consuration said ouer it, by a child; to wit thus: *Angele bone, angele candido, per tuam sanctitatem, meam virginitatem, ostende mihi furem:* with thre *Pater noster's*, thre *Aves*, and betwixt either of them a "crosse made with the naile of the thumbe vpon the mauth of the viall; and then shall be seene angels ascending and descending as it were moles in the sunne beames. The these all this while shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seene plainlie, even as plainlie I beleue as the man in the moone. For in truth, there are toies artificiallic conueied into the glasse, which will make the water bubble, and deuises to make images appeare in the bubbles: as also there be artificiall glasses, which will shew vnto you that shall looke therein, manie images of diuerse formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in fauour resemble whom so euer you thinke vpon. Loke in Iohn Bap. Neap. for the confektion of such glasse. The subtilties hercof are so detected, and the mysteries of the glasses so common now, and their coulenage so well knowne, &c: that I need not stand vpon the particular confutation hereof. Cardanus in the place before cited reporteth, how he tried with children these and diuerse circumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plaine knaueerie and coulenage.

"For if the
crosse be
forgotten
all is not
woorth a
pudding.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe that hath
stolne anie thing from you.

Go to the sea side, and gather as manie pebles as you suspect
persons for that matter; carrie them home, and throwe
them into the fier, and burie them vnder the threshold, where the
parties are like to come ouer. There let them lie thre daies, and
then before sunne rising take them awaie. Then set a poztenger

L.ij.

full

full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosse euerie waie, as manie as can stand in it; vpon the which must be written: *Christ ouercommeth, Christ reigneth, Christ commandeth.* The porrenger also must be signed with a crosse, and a soyme of coniuration must be pronounced. Then each stone must be throwne into the water, in the name of the suspected. And when you put in the stone of him that is guiltie, the stone will make the water boile, as though glowing iron were put thereinto. Which is a mere knacke of legier de maine, and to be accomplished diuerse waies.

¶ To put out the theeves eie.

REad the seuen psalmes with the Letanie, and then must be said a horrible praier to Christ, and God the father, with a curse against the theefe. Then in the midst of the step of your fote, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eie, and write thereabout certaine barbarous names, and drue with a copers hammar, or addes into the midst thereof a brasen nail consecrated, saying: *Iustus es Domine, & iusta iudicia tua.* Then the theefe shall be betwailed by his exting out.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe.

These be
meere toies
to mocke
apes, and
haue in
them no
commen-
dable de-
uise.

Sicke a paire of shéres in the rind of a siue, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers vpon the upper part of the shéres, holding it with the siue vp from the ground steddilie, and aske Peter and Paule whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guiltie person, the siue will turne round. This is a great practise in all countries, and indeed a verie bable. For with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by sight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the siue to be said, &c: at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which vpon conceipt at the naming of the partie altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceiued by a ring held steddilie by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, or rather in a goblet or glasse; which within short space will strike against the side thereof so manie strokes as the holder thinketh it

a clocke, and then will staie : the which who so proueth shall find true.

¶ A charme to find out or spoile a theefe.

Of this matter, concerning the apprehension of theues by words, I will cite one charme, called S. Adelberts curse, being both for length of words sufficient to wearie the reader, and for substantiall stuffe comprehending all that apperteineth vnto blasphemous speech or cursing, allowed in the church of Rome, as an excommunication and inchantment.

¶ Saint Adelberts curse or charme
against theues.

By the authoritie of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and by the holie virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesu Christ, and the holie angels and archangels, and S. Michaell, and S. Iohn Baptiste, and in the behalfe of S. Peter the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of S. Steeuens, and of all the martyrs, of S. Syluester, and of S. Adelbert, and all the confessoers, and S. Alegand, and all the holie virgins, and of all the saints in heauen and earth, vnto whom there is giuen power to bind and lose : we doe excommunicate, damne, curse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we doe segregate from the bounds and lists of our holie mother the church, all those theues, sacrilegious persons, rauinous catchers, doers, counsellors, coadiutors, male or female, that haue committed this theft or mischeefe, or haue vsurped any part thereof to their owne vse. Let their share be with Dathan and Abiran, whome the earth swallowed vp for their sinnes and pride, and let them haue part with Iudas that betrayed Christ, Amen : and with Pontius Pilat, and with them that said to the Lord, Depart from vs, we will not vnderstand thy waies ; let their children be made orphanes. Cursed be they in the field, in the groue, in the woods, in their houses, barnes, chambers, and beds ; and cursed be they in the court, in the waie, in the towne, in the castle, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunnall place, in battell, in their abode, in the market place, in their talke, in silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking,

*this shold come
to be done
by a prest.*

*This is not
to doo good
to our eni-
mies, nor to
praise for
them that
hurt and
hate vs; as
Christ ex-
horteth.*

in feeling, in ſitting, in kneeling, in ſtanding in lying, in ſolennes, in all their worke, in their bodie and ſoule, in their ſiue ſuits, and in euerie place. Curſed be the fruit of their wombs, and curſed be the fruit of their lands, and curſed be all that they haue. Curſed be their heads, their mouthes, their noſtrels, their noſes, their lips, their iawes, their teeth, their eyes and eyelids, their bzaines, the roſe of their mouthes, their tongs, their throates, their beaſts, their harts, their bellies, their liuers, all their bowels, and their ſtomach.

Curſed be their nauels, their ſplânes, their bladder. Curſed be their thighs, their legs, their ſæte, their toes, their necks, their ſhoulders. Curſed be their backs, curſed be their armes, curſed be their elbowes, curſed be their hands, and their fingers, curſed be both the nails of their hands and ſæte; curſed be their ribbes and their genitals, and their knees, curſed be their fleſh, curſed be their bones, curſed be their blood, curſed be the ſkin of their bodies, curſed be the marrowe in their bones, curſed be they from the crowne of the head, to the ſole of the ſæte: and whatſoeuer is betwixt the ſame, be it accuſed, that is to ſaie, their ſiue ſenſes; to wit, their ſeing, their hearing, their ſmel- ling, their taſting, and their feeling. Curſed be they in the holie croſſe, in the paſſion of Chriſt, with his ſiue wounds, with the effuſion of his blood, and by the milke of the virgine Marie. I conſure thee Lucifer, with all thy ſoldiers, by the * father, the ſon, and the Holie-ghoſt, with the humanitie and natiuitie of Chriſt, with the vertue of all ſaints, that thou reſt not day nor night, till thou bringeſt them to deſtruction, either by drowning or hang- ing, or that they be deuoured by wild beaſts, or burnt, or ſlaine by their enemies, or hated of all men liuing. And as our Lord hath giuen authoritie to Peter the apoſtle, and his ſucceſſors, whoſe place we occupie, and to vs (though unworthie) that what- ſoeuer we bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heauen, and whatſoe- uer we loſe on earth, ſhall be loſed in heauen: ſo we according- lie, if they will not amend, doe ſhut from them the gates of hea- ven, and denie vnto them chriſtian buriall, ſo as they ſhall be bu- ried in aſſes leaze. Furthermoze, curſed be the ground whercin they are buried, let them be confounded in the laſt daie of indge- ment, let them haue no conuerſation among chriſtians, nor be-
houlded

* Thus they
make the
holie trini-
tie to beare
a part in
their exor-
ciſme, or
eſe it is no
bargaine.

houſeled at the houre of death; let them be made as duſt before the face of the wind: and as Lucifer was expelled out of heauen, and Adam and Eue out of paradise; ſo let them be expelled from the daie light. Alſo let them be ioined with thoſe, to whom the Lord ſaith at the iudgement; Go ye curſed into euerlaſting fier, *Math. 19.* which is prepared for the diuell and his angels, where the worne ſhall not die, nor the fier be quenched. And as the candle, which is throwne out of my hand here, is put out: ſo let their works and their ſoule be quenched in the ſtrench of hell fier, except they reſtore that which they haue ſtolne, by ſuch a daie: and let euerie one ſay, Amen. After this muſt be ſong *In media vita in morte ſumus, &c.*

This terrible curſe with bell, booke, and candell added thereto, muſt needs worke wonders: howbeit among theues it is not much weighed, among wiſe and true men it is not well liked, to them that are robbed it bringeth ſmall reſeſe: the preſts ſtomach may well be eaſed, but the gods ſtolne will neuer the ſoner be reſtored. Hereby is betwailed both the malice and follie of popiſh doctrine, whose uncharitable impietie is ſo impudentlie publiſhed, and in ſuch order vttered, as euerie ſentence (if oportunitie ſerued) might be proued both hereticall and diabolicall. But I will anſwer this cruell curſe with another curſe farre moze mild and ciuill, performed by as honeſt a man (I dare ſaie) as he that made the other, whereof mention was latelie made.

So it was, that a certeine ſir Iohn, with ſome of his companie, once went abroad a ietting, and in a mone light euening robbed a millers weire, and ſtole all his eeles. The poore miller made his mone to ſir Iohn himſelfe, who willed him to be quiet; for he would ſo curſe the theſe, and all his confederates, with bell, booke, and candell, that they ſhould haue ſmall ioy of their fiſh. And therefore the next ſundae, ſir Iohn got him to the pulpit, with his ſurpliſſe on his backe, and his ſtole about his necke, and prouounced theſe words following in the audience of the people.

All you that haue ſtolne the millers eeles,

Laudate Dominum de celis,

And all they that haue conſented thereto,

Benedicamus Domino.

A curſe
for theſe.

Lo (saith he) there is sauoe for your ees my maisters.

¶ Another enchantment.

Certeine priests vse the hundred and eight psalme as an enchantment of charme, or at the leastwise saicng, that against whome soeuer they pronounce it, they cannot liue one whole yere at the bittermost.

¶ A charme or experiment to find out a witch.

The xvij. Chapter.

In die dominico sotularia iuuenum axungia seu pinguedine porci, ut moris est, pro resuscitatione fieri perungunt: and when she is once come into the church, the witch can neuer get out, vntill the seachers for hir giue hir cypresse leaue to depart.

Preserua-
tiues from
witchcraft
according
to M. Mal.
L. Vairus
& others.

But now it is necessarie to shew you how to preuent and cure all mischances wrought by these charmes & witchcrafts, according to the opinion of M. Mal. and others. One principall waie is to naile a horse shoo at the inside of the outmost threshold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall haue power to enter therein. And if you marke it, you shall find that rule obserued in manie countrie houses. * Otherwise: Item the triumphant title to be written crossewise, in euerie corner of the house, thus: *Iesu* ✠ *Nazarenus* ✠ *rex* ✠ *Iudeorum* ✠ Memorandum you may ioine herewithall, the name of the virgine Marie, or of the foure euangelists, or *Verbum caro factum est*. * Otherwise: Item in some countries they naile a wolues head on the doze. * Otherwise: Item they hang Scilla (which is either a roote, or rather in this place garlike) in the roofe of the house, for to keepe atwaie witches and spirits: and so they doe Alicium also. * Otherwise: Item perfume made of the gall of a blake dog, and his blond besmared on the posts and walles of the house, driueth out of the dozes both diuels and witches. * Otherwise: The house where

where *Herba betonica* is sowe, is free from all mischiefs. * Otherwise: It is not unknowne that the Romish church allowed and used the smoke of sulphur, to drive spirits out of their houses; as they did frankincense and water hallowed. * Otherwise: Apuleius saith, that Mercurie gave to Vlysses, when he came nere to the inchantresse Circe, an hearbe called *Verbascum*, which in English is called *Pullein*, or *Tapsus barbatus*, or *Longwort*; and that preserved him from the enchantments. * Otherwise: Item Plinie and Homer both doe saie, that the herbe called *Polie* is an excellent herbe against incantments; and saie all that thereby Vlysses escaped Circes hir sorceries, and incantments. * Otherwise also diuerse waies they went to worke in this case, and some used this defensatiue, some that preseratiue against incantations.

And herein you shall see, not onelie how the religion of papists, and infidels agree; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all one concerning witches and spirits.

For thus writeth Ouid touching that matter:

Ouid de Medea.

Térque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat:

She purifies with fier thrise
old horie headed Aeson,
With water thrise, and sulphur thrise,
as she thought meet in reason.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Againe, the same Ouid commeth in as before:

*Adueniat, qua lustrat anus, lectúmque locúmque,
Deferat & tremula sulphur & oua manu.*

Let some old woman hither come,
and purge both bed and place,
And bring in trembling hand new eggs
and sulphur in like case.

By Ab. Fleming.

And Virgil also harpeth vpon the like string:

Virg. in Bn. colicis.

*—baccare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro:*

Of

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Of berrie bearing baccar bowze
a wreath or garland knit,
And round about his head and browze
see decentlie it sit;
That of an euill talking tung
Our future poet be not stung.

Olaus Goth.
lib. de gentib.
septentriona-
lib. 3. cap. 8.

Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papists vse, or superstition, to ring their belles against diuels; trusting rather to the tonging of their belles, than to their owne crie vnto God with fasting and praier, assigned by him in all aduersities and dangers: according to the order of the Thracian priests, which would roze and crie, with all the noise they could make, in those tempests. Olaus Gothus saith, that his countrymen would shot in the aire, to assist their gods, whome they thought to be then together by the eares with others, and had consecrated arrowes, called *Sagittæ Ioniales*, euen as our papists had. Also in stead of belles, they had great hammers, called *Mallei Ioniales*, to make a noise in time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of the doores in time of tempest, blessing themselves with a chæse, wherevpon there was a crosse made with a ropes end vpon ascension daie. Also thre hailestones to be throwne into the fier in a tempest, and therevpon to be laid thre *Pater nosters*, and thre *Aues*, &c. Iohns gospel, and *In fine fugiat tempestas*, is a present remedie. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension daie in the roose of the house, preserveth the same from all hurts. * Item, I coniure you haile and wind by the five wounds of Christ, by the thre nailes which pearced his hands and his fete, and by the foure euangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, that thou come downe dissolued into water. Item, it hath bene a vsuall matter, to carrie out in tempests the sacraments and relikes, &c. Item, against stormes, and manie dunne creatures, the popish church vseth excommunication as a principall charme. And now to be deliuered from twiches themselves, they hang in their countries an hearbe called pentaphyllon, cinquefole, also an olive branch, also frankincense, myrrh, valerian, veruen, palme, an tirkimon, &c: also hawthorne, otherwise whitehorne gathered on Asaie daie: also the smoke of a laypoints fethers driueth spirits awaie.

* A witches
coniuration
to make
haile cease
and be dis-
solved.

atwaie. Where be innumerable poppish exorcismes, and coniurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made wholsome both for the bodies and soules of men and beaſts, and alſo for contagion of weather. Memorandum, that at the gathering of theſe magicall herbs, the *Credo* is neceſſarie to be ſaid, as Vairus affirmeth; and alſo the *Fater noſter*, for that is not ſuperſtitious. Alſo Sprenger ſaith, that to throw vp a blacke chicken in the aire, will make all tempeſts to ceaſe: ſo it be done with the hand of a witch. If a ſoule wander in the likenesse of a man or woman by night, moleſting men, with bewailing their torments in purgatorie, by reaſon of titheſ forgotten, &c: and neither maſſes nor coniurations can helpe; the exorcist in his ceremoniall apparell muſt go to the towne of that bodie, and ſpurne thereat, with his foote, ſaieng; *Vade ad gehennam*, Get thee packing to hell: and by and by the ſoule goeth thither, and there remaineth for euer.

*L. Vair. lib. de
fascin. 2. cap.
11.*

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 15.*

Note that
you read
neuer of a
nie ſpirit
that walked
by daie,
quothe No-
ta.

✱ Otherwiſe: If there be maſſes of purpoſe for this matter, to unbewitch the bewitched. ✱ Otherwiſe: You muſt ſpet into the piſſepot, where you haue made water. ✱ Otherwiſe; Spet into the ſhoe of your right foote, before you put it on: and that Vairus ſaith is god and hollſome to doe, before you go into anie dangerous place. ✱ Otherwiſe: That neither hunters nor their dogs maie be bewitched, they cleaue an oken branch, and both they and their dogs paſſe ouer it. ✱ Otherwiſe: S. Auguſtine ſaith, that to pacifie the god *Liber*, whereby women might haue fruite of the ſeeds they ſowe, and that their gardens and ſelds ſhould not be bewitched; ſome choſe graue matrone bleſed to put a crowne vpon his genitall member, and that muſt be publi-
lie done.

*Aug. de ci-
uit. Dei. lib.
7. cap. 12.*

To ſpoile a theefe, a witch, or anie other enimie,
and to be deliuered from the euill.

Vpon the Sabbath daie before ſunriſing, cut a hazell wand, ſaieng: I cut thee O bough of this ſummers growth, in the name of him whome I meane to beate or maime. Then couer the table, and ſaie ✱ *In nomine patris* ✱ & *filij* ✱ & *ſpiritus ſancti* ✱ *ter*. And ſtriking thereon ſaie as followeth (engliſh it be that can) *Drochs myroch, eſenaroſh* ✱ *betu* ✱ *baroch* ✱ *aſſ* ✱ *maaroſh* ✱: and then ſaie; Holie trinitie puniſh him that hath wrought

wrought this mischiefe, & take it away by thy great iustice, *Eson* \dagger *dion* \dagger *amaris*, *ales*, *age*; and strike the carpet with your wand.

¶ A notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrow-head, or anie such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be had out.

The Hebrew knight was canonized a saint to wit, *S. Longinus*.

Saie three severall times kneeling; *Oremus, preceptis salutariibus* *Smoniti, Pater noster, ave Maria*. Then make a crosse saieing: The Hebrew knight strake our Lord Iesu Christ, and I beseech thee, O Lord Iesu Christ \dagger by the same iron, speare, bloud and water, to pull out this iron: *In nomine patris* \dagger & *filij* \dagger & *spiritus sancti* \dagger

¶ Charmes against a quotidian ague.

Cut an apple in three peeces, and write vpon the one; The father is vncreated: vpon the other; The father is incomprehensible: vpon the third; The father is eternall. * Otherwise: Write vpon a masscake cut in three peeces; Wague to be worshipped: on the second; W sickness to be ascribed to health and toies: on the third; *Pax* \dagger *max* \dagger *fax* \dagger and let it be eaten fasting. * Otherwise: Paint vpon three like peeces of a masscake, *Pater pax* \dagger *Adonai* \dagger *filius vita* \dagger *sabbaoth* \dagger *spiritus sanctus* \dagger *Tetragrammaton* \dagger and eat it, as is aforesaid.

¶ For all maner of agues intermittant.

A crossed appension, with other appensions.

Bind two little sticke together in the midst, being of one length, and hang it about your necke in the forme of a crosse. * Otherwise: For this disease the Turkes put within their doublet a ball of wood, with an other peece of wood, and strike the same, speaking certeine friuolous words. * Otherwise: Certeine monks hanged scrolles about the necks of such as were sicke, willing them to saie certeine praiers at each sit, and at the third sit to hope well: and made them beleue that they should thereby receiue cure.

Periapts, characters, &c: for agues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliuer from all euill.

For bodie and soule.

The first chapter of *S. Iohns* gospel in small letters consecrated at a masse, and hanged about ones necke, is an incomparable

comparable amulet or tablet, which deliuereth from all witchcrafts and diuclish practises. But me thinkes, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguile the diuell terrible. For indeed so would S. Barnard haue done, whom the diuell told, that he could shew him seuen verses in the psalter, which being daillie repeated, would of themselves bring anie man to heauen, and preserve him from hell. But when S. Barnard desired the diuell to tell him which they were, he refused, saying, he might then thinke him a foole so to preiudice himselfe. Well (quoth S. Barnard) I will doe well enough for that, for I will daillie saie ouer the whole psalter. The diuell hearing him saie so, told him which were the verses, least in reading ouer the whole psalter daillie he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of S. Iohns gospel about the necke be so beneficiall; how if one should eate vp the same?

S. Barnard ouermarcheth the diuell for all his subtiltie.

¶ More charmes for agues.

Take the partie by the hand, and saie; *Aequè facilis sit tibi hæc febris, atque Maria virgini Christi partus.* * Otherwise: Clasp with the partie, and priuilie saie this psalme, *Exaltabo te Deus meus, rex, &c.* * Otherwise: Cleare about your necke a peece of a naile taken from a crosse, and wrapped in wooll. * Otherwise: Drink wine, wherein a sword hath bene drowned that hath cut off ones head. * Otherwise: Take three consecrated mailecakes, and write vpon the first: *Qualis est pater talis est vita*; on the second; *Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus*; on the third; *Qualis est spiritus tale est remedium.* Then giue them to the sicke man, enioining him to eate none other thing that daie wherein he eateth anie of them, nor yet drinke: and let him saie sithene *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aues*, in the honour and praise of the Trinitie. * Otherwise: Lead the sicke man on a fridaie before sunne rising towards the east, and let him hold vp his hands towards the sunne, and saie: This is the daie, wherein the Lord God came to the crosse. But as the crosse shall neuer more come to him: so let neuer the hot or cold fit of this ague come anie more vnto this man, *In nomine patris* ✠ ✠ ✠ *fi* ✠ *li* ✠ *q* ✠ *spiritus* ✠ *sancti* ✠. Then saie seuen and twentie *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aues*, and vse this three daies together. * Otherwise:

Precious restorities.

Fecana,

This is too
mysticall
to be en-
glighted;
quoth No-
ta.

*Fécana, cagéri, daphnes, gebáre, gedáco,
Gébalistant, sed nonstant phebas, hecas, & hedas.*

Fernelius,

Cuerie one of these words must be written vpon a peece of bread, and be giuen in order one daie after another to the sicke bodie, and so must he be cured. This saith Nicholas Hemingius he chanced to read in the scholes in iess; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earnest; and was not onelie cured himselfe, but also cured manie others thereby. And therefore he concludeth, that this is a kind of a miraculous cure, wrought by the illusion of the diuell: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonlie, that a tertian ague will not hold anie man longer than so, though no medicine be giuen, no; anie words spoken. * Otherwise: This word, *Abra cadabra* written on a paper, with a certeine figure ioined therewith, and hanged about ones necke, helpeth the ague. * Otherwise: Let the vrine of the sicke bodie made earlie in the morning be softlie heated nine daies together continuallie, vntill all be consumed into vapor. * Otherwise: A crosse made of two litle twigs ioined together, wherewith when the partie is touched, he will be whole; speciallie if he weare it about his necke. * Otherwise: Take a like quantitie of water out of three ponds of equall bignesse, and tast thereof in a new earthen vessel, and drinke of it when the fit commeth.

Notable
follies of
the Spaniards &
Italians.

In the yeare of our lord 1568. the Spaniards and Italians refused from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sinnes, and good successe in their warres in the lowe countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as anie witches charme, I reposit me to the indifferent reader. † *Crucem pro nobis subijt* † & *stans in illa subiit* † *Iesus sacratis manibus, clauis ferrens, pedibus perfoßus, Iesus, Iesus, Iesus: Domine libera nos ab hoc malo, & ab hac peste: then three Pater nosters, and three aue Marias.* Also the same yeere their ensignes were by the authoritie aforesaid consiured with certeine ceremonies, & consecrated against their enemies. And if you read the histories of these warres, you maie see what victorie they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their cheefe standard, and gaue it to name S. Margaret, who ouerthrew the diuell. And bicause you shall vnderstand

Stand the myſterie hereof, I haue the rather ſet it downe elſe where, being indeed woꝝth the reading.

¶ For a bloudie flux, or rather an iſſue of blood.

Take a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto thꝛee drops of the ſame blood, and betwæene each drop ſaie a *Pater noſter*, and an *Aue*, then drinke to the patient, and ſaie; Who ſhall helpe you? The patient muſt anſwer S. Marie. Then ſaie you; S. Marie ſtop the iſſue of blood. * Otherwiſe: Write vpon the patients forehead with the ſame blood; *Conſummatum eſt*. * Otherwiſe: Saie to the patient; *Sanguis mane in te, ſicut fecit Chriſtus in ſe; Sanguis mane in tua vena, ſicut Chriſtus in ſua pæna; Sanguis mane fixus, ſicut Chriſtus quando fuit crucifixus: ter.* * Otherwiſe, as folloꝝweth.

He muſt anſwer by none other, for the perhaps hath the curing thereof by patent.

In the blood of Adam death was taken ✝

In the blood of Chriſt it was all to ſhaken ✝

And by the ſame blood I doo thee charge,

That thou doo runne no longer at large. * Otherwiſe.

Chriſt was boꝝrne at Bethelẽ, and ſuffered at Ieruſalem, where his blood was troubled. I command thee by the vertue of God, and through the helpe of all ſaints, to ſtaie euen as Iordan did, when Iohn baptiſed Chriſt Jeſus; *In nomine patris ✝ & filij ✝ & ſpiritus ſancti ✝* * Otherwiſe: Put thy nameles finger in the wound, and make therewith thꝛee croſſes vpon the wound, and ſaie ſiue *Pater noſter*, ſiue *Aues*, and one *Credo*, in the honour of the ſiue wounds. * Otherwiſe: Touch that part and ſaie, *De latere*

See I. Wier. cap. 11. conf.

eius exiuit ſanguis & aqua. * Otherwiſe: *In nomine patris ✝ & filij ✝ & ſpiritus ſancti ✝ & c. Chumrat, chara, ſarite, confirma, conſina, imobalite.* * Otherwiſe: *ſepa ✝ ſepaga ✝ ſepagoga ✝ ſta ſanguis in nomine patris ✝ podendi ✝ & filij ✝ podera ✝ & ſpiritus ſancti ✝ pandorica ✝ pax tecum, Amen.*

¶ Cures commenſed and finiſhed by witchcraft.

There was a ſollie ſelloꝝwe that tooke vpon him to be a notable ſurgion, in the dutchie of Mentz, 1567. to whom there reſorted a Gentleman that had beẽe vered with ſickneſſe, named

Cl. J.

Elibert,

The surgi-
on here
most impu-
dentlie set-
teth his
knauerie
abroch.

A preten-
ded coniu-
ration.

Elibert, hauing a kerchiefe on his head, according to the guile of sicke folke. But the surgion made him pull off his kerchiefe, and willed him to drinke with him frelie. The sickeman said he durst not; for he was forbidden by physicke so to do. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your disease: be ruled by me, and take in your drinke lussilie. For he thought that when he was well tippled, he might the more easilie beguile him in his bargain, and make his reward the greater, which he was to receiue in part aforesaid. When they had well dronke, he called the sicke man aside, and told him the greatnes and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by meanes of witchcraft, and that it would be vniuersallie spread in his house, and among all his cattell, if it were not prevented: and impudentlie perswaded the sicke man to receiue cure of him. And after bargain made, he demanded of the sicke man, whether he had not anie at home, whom he might assuredlie trust. The sicke man answered, that he had a daughter and a seruant. The couseler asked how old his daughter was? The patient said, twentie. Well (said the couseler) that is fit for our torne. Then he made the mother and father to kneele on their knees to their daughter, and to desire hir in all things to obey the physician, and that she would do in euerie thing as he commanded hir; otherwise hir father could not be restored to his health. In which respect hir parents humble besought hir on their knees so to do. Then he assigned hir to bring him into his lodging hir fathers haire, and hir mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and women, as also of his cattell. When she came therewith vnto him, according to the match made, and hir parents commandement, he lead hir dolone into a loue parlor, where hauing made a long speech, he opened a booke that laie on the board, and laith thereon two kniues a crosse, with much circumstance of words. Then coniureth he, and maketh strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he causeth hir to sticke one of those coniured kniues; and after manie more strange words, he maketh hir sticke the other knife beside it. Then fell dolone the maid in a swone for feare; so as he was faine to froe hir and put a sop in to hir mouth, after the receipt whereof she was sore troubled and amazed. Then he made hir bress to be vncouered, so as when they

they were bare, he dallied with them, diuerslie and long together. Then he made hir lie right vprward, all vncouered and bare belowe hir pappes. Wherein the maid being loth to obeie him, resisted, and in chaine forbade that villanie. Then said the knaue; Your fathers destruction is at hand: for except you will be ruled, he and all his familie shall susteine greater græfe and inconuenience, than is yet happened vnto him. And no remedie, except you will seeke his vtter ouerthrowe, I must haue carnall copulation with you, and therewithall sell into hir besonne, and ouerthrowe hir and hir virginittie. So did he the second daie, and attempted the like on the third daie. But he failed then of his purpose, as the wench confessed after wards. In the meane time he ministred so cruell medicines to the sicke man, that through the torments therof he feared present death, and was faine to keepe his bed, whereas he walked about befoze verie well and lustilie. The patient in his torments calleth vnto him for remedie, who being slacke and negligent in that behalfe, made roine for the daughter to accompanie hir father, who asked hir what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his recouerie. Who with teares remained silent, as being oppressed with græfe; till at the last in abundance of sorrowe she vttered the whole matter to hir father. This dooth Iohannes Wiener report, saieing, that it came vnto him by the lamentable relation of the father himselfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehearsed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such counselling merchants, and knowe what they be that take vpon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; least they be bewitched: as master Elibert and his daughter were.

*Ad vada
tor vadit
vna quid
ipsa cadit.*

¶ Another witchcraft or knauerie, practised
by the same surgion.

This surgion ministred to a noble man, that laie sicke of an ague, offering vnto him three peces of a rote to be eaten at three morfels; saieing to the first: I would Christ had not bene borne; vnto the second: I would he had not suffered; vnto the third: I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sicke mans necke, said; Be of good chere. And if he lost them, whosoever toke them vp, should therewithall take awaie

Uij.

Three
morfels,
the first
charmed
with christ
birth, the
second
with his
passion, the
third with
his resur-
rection.

his ague. * Otherwise : Iesus Christ, which was borne, deliuer thee from this infirmitie + Iesus Christ which died + deliuer thee from this infirmitie + Iesus Christ which rose againe + deliuer thee from this infirmitie. Then daillie must be said siue *Pater nosters*, and siue *Aues*.

¶ Another experiment for one bewitched.

A coue-
ning phy-
sician, and
a foolish
patient.

A Pother such couensing physician perswaded one which had a timpanie, that it was one old viper, and two yong main-
teined in his bellie by witchcraft. But being watched, so as he
could not conuey vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his
purgations: at length he told the partie, that he should suffer the
paines of childbirth, if it were not prevented; and therefore he
must put his hand into his breech, and rake out those wormes
there. But the mother of the sicke partie hauing warning here-
of, said she could doe that hir selfe. So the couenoer was preven-
ted, and the partie died onelie of a timpanie, and the knaue ran
awaie out of the countrie.

¶ Otherwise.

John. Bodin.

Monsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who undertaking to cure a
woman bewitched, caused a masse to be song at midnight
in our ladies chappell. And when she had ouerlien the sicke partie,
and breathed certeine words vpon hir, she was healed. Wherein
Bodin saith, she folloved the example of Elias the prophet, who
raised the Sunamitic. And this storie must needs be true: for good-
man Hardiui in Blesensis his host at the signe of the lion told him
the storie.

Kakozelia.

¶ A knacke to knowe whether you be be-
witched, or no, &c.

Mal. malef.
pa. 1. que. 17.
Barth. Spin.
in nouo
Mal. malef.

It is also expedient to learne how to know whether a sicke
man be bewitched or no: this is the practise thereof. You must
hold molten lead ouer the sicke bodie, and powze it into a
poyrerger full of water; and then, if there appeare
vpon the lead, anie image, you may
then knowe the partie is
bewitched.

That

That one witchcraft maie lawfullie meete
with anoder.

The xix. Chapter.

SCOTUS, Hostiensis, Goffridus, and all
the old canonists agree, that it is lawfull
to take awaie witchcraft by witchcraft,
Et vana vana contundere. And SCOTUS saith, *Scotus in 4.*
It were folie to so;beare to encounter *distinct. 34.*
witchcraft by witchcraft; for (saith he) there *de imperio.*
can be none inconuenience therein; be-
cause the ouerthrower of witchcraft as-
senteth not to the works of the diuell. And therefore he saith fur-
ther, that it is meritorious so to ertingulsh and ouerthrow the di-
uels works. As though he should saie; It maketh no matter,
though S. Paule saie; *Non facies malum, ut inde veniat bonum,* Thou
shalt not do euill, that good maie come thereof. Humbertus saith, *Diff. 4.*
that witchcraft maie be taken awaie by that meanes whereby it
was brought. But Goffredus inuents sore against the oppug- *Goffred. in*
ners thereof. Pope Nicholas the sixt gaue indulgence and leaue *summa sua.*
to bishop Miracles (who was so bewitched in his priuities, that
he could not vse the gift of venerie) to seeke remedie at witches
hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation, *vt ex duobus*
malis fugiatur maius, that of two evils, the greater should be auoi-
ded. And so a witch, by taking his doublet, cured him, and killed
the other witch: as the storie saith, which is to be seene in M. Mal.
and diuerse other writers.

Who are priuileged from witches, what bodies are
aptest to be bewitched, or to be witches, why women are
rather witches than men, and what they are.

The xx. Chapter.



NOw if you will knowe who and what per-
sons are priuileged from witches, you must vnder-
stand, that they be euen such as cannot be be- *Mal. malef.*
wicked. In the number of whome first be the iur- *par. 2. que. 1.*
quistsors, *cap. 1.*

¶. iij.

"Whereof
looke more
in a little
booke set
forth in
print.

guiltles, and such as exercise publike iustice vpon them. Howbeit, a iustice in Essex, whome for diuerse respects I haue left vnnamed, not long since thought he was bewitched, in the verie instant whiles he examined the witch; so as his leg was broken thereby, &c. which either was false, or else this rule untrue, or both rather iniurious vnto Gods prouidence. Secondlie, such as obserue duilie the rites and ceremonies of holie church, and worship them with reuerence, through the sprinkling of holie water, and receiuing consecrated salt, by the lawfull vse of candles halowed on Candelmas daie, and greene leaues consecrated on Palme sundaie (which things they saie the church vseth for the qualifying of the diuels power) are preserved from witchcraft. Thirdlie, some are preserved by their good angels, which attend and wait vpon them.

*L. Vair. lib. de
fascin. l. c. 13.*

But I maie not omit here the reasons, which they bring, to proue what bodies are the moze apt and effectuall to execute the art of fascination. And that is, first they saie the force of celestiaall bodies, which indifferenlie communicate their vertues vnto men, beastes, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and naturall influence of fascination maie be increased in man, according to his affections and perturbations; as thorough anger, feare, loue, hate, &c. For by hate (saith Vairus) entereth a fierie inflammation into the eie of man, which being violentlie sent out by beams and streames, &c: infect and bewitch those bodies against whome they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the fauour of women) that that is the cause why women are oftener found to be witches than men. For (saith he) they haue such an vnbrideled force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no meanes it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as vpon euertie trifling occasion, they (like brute beastes) fix their furious eies vpon the partie whom they bewitch. Whereby it commeth to passe, that whereas women hauing a meruellous fickle nature, what græfe so euer happeneth vnto them, immediatlie all peaceableness of mind departeth; and they are so troubled with euill humors, that out go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thorough their illsaoured diet, and increased by meanes of their pernicious excrements, which they expell. Women are also (saith he) monethlie filled full of superfluous humors, and with them

Much like
the eiebit-
ting wit-
ches, of
whom we
haue elf-
where
spoken.

the

the melancholike blood boileth; whereof spring vapors, and are carried by, and conueied through the noſethrils and mouth, &c: to the bewitching of whatſoeuer it meeteth. For they biſch vp a certaine breath, where with they bewitch whomſoeuer they liſt. And of all other women, leane, hollow cied, old, beetle bowed women (ſaith he) are the moſt infectious. Marie he ſaith, that hot, ſubtil, and thin bodies are moſt ſubiect to be bewitched, if they be moiſt, and all they generallie, whoſe veines, pipes, and paſſages of their bodies are open. And ſmallie he ſaith, that all beautifull things whatſoeuer, are ſone ſubiect to be bewitched; as namelie goodlie yongmen, faire women, ſuch as are naturallie boꝛne to be rich, goodlie beaſts, faire hoꝛſſes, ranke coꝛne, brutiſfull trees, &c. Pea a friend of his told him, that he ſaw one with his rie brake a pretious ſtone in pecces. And all this he telleth as ſoberlie, as though it were true. And if it were true, honeſt women maie be witches, in deſpight of all inquiſitors: neither can anie auoid being a witch, except ſhe locke hir ſelfe vp in a chamber.

Who are
moſt likelie
to bewitch,
and to be
bewitched.

What miracles witchmongers report to haue beene done by witches words, &c: contradictions of witchmongers among themſelues, how beaſts are cured hereby, of bewitched butter, a charme againſt witches, and a counter charme, the effect of charmes and words proued by L. Vairus to be wonderfull.

The xxj. Chapter.

If I ſhould go about to recite all charmes, I ſhould take an infinite worke in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that anie thing almoſt maie be therby brought to paſſe; & that whether the words of the charme be vnderſtandable or not, it ſkillett not: ſo the charmer haue a ſteddie intention to bring his deſire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For L. Vairus ſaith, that old women haue infeebled and killed childꝛen with words, and haue made women with child miſcarrie; ſaſim. 2. ca. 5.

U. liij.

they

*According
to *Quid*, say-
ing of *Pro-
seri* & *Me-
dea*, which he
indeed al-
ledgeth
therefore,
*Nunc aqua,
nunc ales,
modo bos,
modo cer-
uus abibat.*

they haue made men pine awaie to death, they haue killed hor-
ses, depriued sheepe of their milke, * transformed men into
beasts, slowne in the aire, tamed and staied wild beasts, driuen
all noisome cattell and vermine from cozne, vines and hearbs,
staied serpents, &c: and all with words. In so much as he saith,
that with certeine words spoken in a bulles eare by a witch, the
bull hath fallen downe to the ground as dead. Yea some by ver-
tue of words haue gone vpon a sharpe sword, and walked vpon
hot glowing coles, without hurt; with words (saith he) verie hea-
uie weights and burthens haue bene lifted by; and with words
wild horses and wild bulles haue bene tamed, and also mad
dogs; with words they haue killed wozmes, and other vermine,
and staied all maner of bleedings and flures: with words all the
diseases in mans bodie are healed, and wounds cured; arowes
are with wonderfull strangenesse and cunning plucked out of
mens bones. Yea (saith he) there be manie that can heale all bi-
tings of dogs, or stingings of serpents, or anie other poison:
and all with nothing but words spoken. And that which is most
strange, he saith, that they can remedie anie stranger, and him
that is absent, with that verie sword wherewith they are woun-
ded. Yea and that which is beyond all admiration, if they stroke
the sword vponwards with their fingers, the partie shall feele no
paine: whereas if they dꝛawe their finger downewards there-
vpon, the partie wounded shall feele intollerable paine. With a
number of other cures, done altogether by the vertue and force
of words vttered and spoken.

Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 7.
Nider in pre-
ceptorio, pre-
cept. 1. ca. 11.
Nider in for-
nicario.

Mal. malef.
par. 2. cap. 8.

Where, by the waie, I maie not omit this spectall note, giuen
by M. Mal. to wit, that holie water maie not be sprinkled vpon
bewitched beasts, but must be powꝛed into their mouthes. And
yet he, and also Nider, saie, that It is lawfull to blesse and sancti-
fie beasts, as well as men; both by charmes written, and also by
holie words spoken. For (saith Nider) if your cow be bewitched,
thre crosse, thre Pater nosters, and thre Aues will certainlie cure
hir: and likewise all other ceremonies ecclesiasticall. And this
is a sure *Maxime*, that they which are deliuered from witchcraft
by xrist, are euer after in the night much molested (I beleue by
their ghostlie fathers.) Also they lose their monie out of their
purples and caskets: as M. Mal. saith he knoweth by experience.

Also

Also one generall rule is giuen by M. Mal. to all butter wines, and dairie maidens, that they neither giue nor lend anie butter, milke, or chesse, to anie witches, which alwaies vse to beg therof, when they meane to worke mischese to their kine or whittmeats. Whereas indeed there are in milke three substances commixed; to wit, butter, chesse, and wheie: if the same be kept too long, or in an euill place, or be stuttishlie bled, so as it be stale and sotter, which happeneth sometimes in winter, but oftener in summer, when it is set ouer the fier, the chesse and butter runneth together, and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you maie wind it about a stricke, and in short space it will be so drie, as you maie beate it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is wondered at, and imputed to witches. And herehence sometimes proceedeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when the countrie people see that it commeth not, then get they out of the suspected witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made three balles, in the name of the holie trinitie; and so if they be put into the cherne, the butter will presentlie come, and the witchcraft will cease; *sic ars deluditur arte*. But if you put a little sugar or lope into the cherne, among the creame, the butter will neuer come: which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closelie, cleanlie, and prauilie handled. There be twentie seuerall waies to make your butter come, which for breuitie I omit; as to bind your cherne with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c: but your best remedie and surest waie is, to looke well to your dairie maid or wife, that she neither eat by the creame, nor sell a waie your butter.

A good deuise to starue vp poore women.
Mal. malef.
pars. 2. que. 2.
cap. 7.

¶ A charme to find hir that bewitched your kine.

Put a paire of bryches vpon the colwes head, and beate hir out of the pasture with a good cudgell vpon a fridaie, and she will runne right to the witches doze, and strike thereat with hir hoynes.

A ridiculous charme.

¶ Another, for all that haue bewitched anie kind of cattell.

When anie of your cattell are killed with witchcraft, haue you to the place where the carcase lieth, and traile the bowels of the beast vnto your house, and draine them not in at the

the doze, but vnder the threshold of the house into the kitchen; and there make a fier, and set ouer the same a grediron, and therevpon laie the inwards or bowels; and as they war hot, so shall the witches entrailes be molested with extream heate and paine. But then must you make fast your dozes, least the witch come and fetch a waie a cole of your fier: for then ceaseth hir torments. And we haue knowne saith M. Mal. when the witch could not come in, that the whole house hath bene so darkened, and the aire round about the same so troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes; that except the doze had bene opened, we had thought the house would haue fallen on our heads. Thomas Aquinas, a principall treator herein, alloweth conturations against the changelings, and in diuerse other cases: whereof I will saie moze in the word lidoni.

¶ A speciall charme to preferue all cattell
from witchcraft.

In anie case
obserue the
festiuall
time, or
else you
marre all.

After you must take certaine drops, that lie hypermost of the holie paschall candle, and make a little ware candle thereof: and vpon some fundaie morning rath, light it, and hold it, so as it maie drop vpon and betwene the hoznes and eares of the beast, saing: *In nomine patris, & filij, & duplex ss*: and burne the beaſt a little betwene the hoznes on the eares with the same war: and that which is left thereof, sticke it in crossewise about the stable or stall, or vpon the threshold, or ouer the doze, where the cattell vse to go in and out, and for all that yeare your cattell shall neuer be bewitched. * Otherwise: Iacobus de Chusa Carthusianus sheweth, how bread, water, and salt is coniured, and saith, that if either man or beaſt receiue holie bread and holie water nine daies together, with three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aues*, in the honour of the trinitie, and of S. Hubert, it preferneth that man or beaſt from all diseases, and defendeth them against all assaults of witchcraft, of satan, or of a mad dog, &c.

Lo this is their stufſe, mainteined to be at the least effectuall, if not whollome, by all papists and witchmongers, and speciallie of the last and proudest writers. But so proue these things to be effectuall, God knoweth their reasons are base and absurd. For they write so, as they take the matter in question as granted,
and

and by that means go awaie therewith. For L. Vairus saith in the beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this supernatural matter, bicause a number of writers agree herein, and a number of stories confirme it, and manie poets handle the same argument, and in the twelue tables there is a lawe against it, and bicause the consent of the common people is fullie with it, and bicause immoderate praise is to be approued a kind of witchcraft, and bicause old women haue such charmes and superstitious means as preferue themselves from it, and bicause they are mocked that take awaie the credit of such miracles, and bicause Salomon saith; *Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona*, and bicause the apostle saith; *O insensati Galatae, quis vos fascinauit?* And bicause it is written, *Qui timent te, videbunt me*. And finally he saith, least you should seeme to distrust and detract anie thing from the credit of so manie graue men, from histories, and common opinion of all men: he meaneth in no wise to proue that there is miraculous working by witchcraft and fascination; and proceedeth so, according to his promise.

L. Vair lib.
de fascino. 1.
cap. 1.
Sapi 4.
Gali. 3.
Psal. 119.

Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattell. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.

The xxij. Chapter.

BUt if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattell, euen such as seeme to haue extraordinary sickness, or to be bewitched, or (as they saie) stranglie taken: looke in B. Googe his third booke, treating of cattell, and happily you shall find some good medicine or cure for them: or if you list to see more ancient stufte, read Vegetius his foure bookes thereupon: or, if you be vnlearned, seeke some cunning bullocke leech. If all this will not serue, then set Iobs patience before your eyes. And neuer thinke that a poore old woman can alter supernaturally the notable course, which God hath appointed among his creatures.

Direct and
lawfull
meanes
of curing
cattell, &c.

Not

creatures. If it had bene Gods pleasure to haue permitted such a course, he would no doubt haue both giuen notice in his word, that he had giuen such power vnto them, and also would haue taught remedies to haue preuented them.

Furthermore, if you will knowe assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yelding indeed vndoubted remedies, and preuenting all maner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then despise first all consening knauerie of priests, witches, and conseners: and with true faith read the first chapter of S. Paule to the Ephesians, and followe his counsell, which is mistred vnto you in the words following, deseruing worthilie to be called by the name insuing:

The charme of charmes.

A charme
of charmes
taken out
of the sixt
chapter of
S. Paule
to the E-
phesians.

Finallie my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the diuell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud, but against principalities and powers, & against worldlie gouernors the princes of the darkenes of this world, against spirituall wickednes, which are in the high places. For this cause take vnto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the euill daie; and hauing finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with veritie, and hauing on the brestplate of righteousness, &c: as followeth in that chapter, verses 15. 16. 17. 18. 1. The. 5. 1. Pet. 5, verse. 8. Ephes. 1. and elsewhere in the holie scripture.

¶ Otherwise.

If you be vnlearned, and want the comfort of friends, repaire to some learned, godlie, and discret preacher. If otherwise need require, go to a learned physician, who by learning and experience knoweth and can discern the difference, signes, and causes of such diseases, as faithlesse men and unskillfull physicians impute to witchcraft.

A confutation of the force and vertue falselie ascribed to charmes and amulets, by the authorities of ancient writers, both diuines and phyficians.

The xxij. Chapter.

My meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can doe anie thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalfe; or that it were wholesome for your bodie or soule to weare them about your necke: for then would I wish you to weare the whole Bible, which must needs be more effectuell than anie one parcell thereof. But I find not that the apostles, or anie of them in the primitive church, either carried S. Iohns gospell, or anie *Agnus Dei* about them, to the end they might be preserved from bugges: neither that they looked into the foure corners of the house, or else in the rose, or vnder the threshold, to find matter of witchcraft, and so to burne it, to be freed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or *Mal. malef.* prayers made vnto saints, at such or such houres, seeke to ob- *part. 2. qu. 2. cap. 6.* teine grace: neither spake they of anie old women that vsed such trades. Neither did Christ at anie time vse or command holie water, or crosses, &c. to be vsed as terro:rs against the diuell, who was not affraid to assault himselfe, when he was on earth. And therefore a verie vaine thing it is to thinke that he feareth these trifles, or anie externall matter. Let vs then cast alwaie *1. Tim. 4, 7.* these prophane and old wiues fables. For (as Origen saith) *Origin. lib. 3. in Job.* *Incantationes sunt demonum irrisiones, idololatrie fax, animarum infatuatio, &c.* Chrysostome saith; There be some that carrie about their necks a peece of a gospell. But* is it not daillie read (saith he) and heard of all men? But if they be neuer the better for it, being* put into their eares, how shall they be saued, by carrying it about their necks? And further he saith; Where is the vertue of the gospell: In the figure of the letter, or in the vnderstanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou dost well to weare it about thy necke;

1. Chrysost. in Matth.
* Marke that here was no latine seruice.
Idem. Ibid.

August. 26.
que. vltim.

necke; but if in the vnderstanding, then thou shouldest laie it vp in thine heart. Augustine saith; Let the faithfull ministers admonish and tell their people, that these magicall arts and incantations doe bring no remedie to the infirmities either of men or cattell, &c.

The heathen philosophers shall at the last daie confound the infidelitie and barbarous foolishnes of our christian or rather antichristian and prophane witchmongers. For as Aristotle saith, that *Incantamenta sunt muliercularum figmenta*: so dooth Socrates (who was said to be cunning herein) affirme, that *Incantationes sunt verba animas decipientia humanas*. Others saie; *Inscitiae pallium*

Galen. in lib.
de comitiali
morbo.

sunt carmina, maleficium, & incantatio. Galen also saith, that such as impute the falling euill, and such like diseases to diuine matter, and not rather to naturall causes, are witches, coniuers, &c.

Hippocrat.
lib. de morbo
sacro.

Hippocrates calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were manie deceiuers and counsellers, that would vndertake to cure the falling euill, &c: by the power and helpe of diuels, by burieng some lots or incantments in the ground, or casting them into the sea, conclude thus in their credit, that they are all

knaues and counsellers: for God

is our onlie defender and
deliuerer. A notable

sentence of a hea-
then philoso-
pher!



The

¶ The xiiij. booke.

The signification of the Hebrue word Hartumim, where it is found written in the scriptures, and how it is diuerſlie translated: whereby the obiection of Pharaos magicians is afterward answered in this booke; also of naturall magicke not euill in it selfe.

The first Chapter.



Artumim is no naturall Heb:ue word, but is borrowed of some other nation: howbeit, it is used of the Heb:ues in these places; to wit, Gen. 4. 1. 8. 24. Exod. 7. 13. 24. & 8. 7. 18. & 9. 11. Dan. 1. 20. & 2. 2. Hierome sometimes translateth it *Coniectores*, sometimes *Malefici*, sometimes *Arioli*: which we for the most part translate by this word witches. But the

Hieronymus
in Gen. 41. 8,
& 24. In
Exod. 7. 13.
In Dan. 1. 20

right signification hercof may be conceiued, in that the incanters of Pharaos, being magicians of Aegypt, were called Hartumim. And yet in Exodus they are named in some Latine translations *Venefici*. Rabbi Leui saith, it betokeneth such as do strange and wonderfull things, naturallie, artificiallie, and deceitfullie. Rabbi Isaac Natar affirmeth, that such were so termed, as amongst the Gentiles professed singular wisdom. Aben Ezra expoundeth it, to signifie such as knowe the secrets of nature, and the qualitie of stones and hearbs, &c: which is attributed vnto by art, and speciallie by naturall magicke. But we, either for want of speech, or knowledge, call them all by the name
and

The au-
thors in-
tention
touching
the matter
hereafter
to be dis-
coursed
vpon.

Certainlie, God indueth bodies with wonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached vnto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuall loue, societie, and consent; and on the other side, such naturall discord, and secret enmitie, that therein manie things are wrought to the astonishment of mans capacitie. But when deceit and diabolicall words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and coniuration; as wherevnto those naturall effects are falselie imputed. So as here I shall haue some occasion to say somewhat of naturall magicke; because vnder it lieth hidden the benome of this word Hartumim. This art is said by some to be the profoundnesse, and the verie absolute perfection of naturall philosophie, and the wing forth the actiue part thereof, & through the aid of naturall vertues, by the conuenient applieng of them, works are published, exceeding all capacitie and admiration; and yet not so much by art, as by nature. This art of it selfe is not euill: for it consisteth in searching forth the nature, causes, and effects of things. As farre as I can conceiue, it hath bene more corrupted and prophaned by vs Christians, than either by Iewes or Gentiles.

How the philosophers in times past trauelled for the knowledge of naturall magicke, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a naturall magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for witchcraft.

The second Chapter.



Manie philosophers; as namely Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, &c: trauelled ouer all the world, to find out & learne the knowlege of this art; & at their returne they preached and taught, professed and published it. Yea, it should appere by the magicians that came to adore Christ, that the knowledge and reputation

reputation thereof was greater, than we conceiue or make account of. But of all other, Salomon was the greatest traoueller in this art, as may appere throughout the booke of Ecclesiastes: and speciallie in the booke of Wisedome, where he saith * God hath giuen me the truc science of things, so as I knowe how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the beginning and the end, and the middelt of times, how the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the yeare, and the situation of the starres, the nature of liuing things, and the furiousnesse of beasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diuersities of plants, and the vertues of roots, and all things both secret and knotone, &c. Finallie, he was so cunning in this art, that he is said to haue bene a coniuurer or witch, and is so reputed in the Romish church at this daie. Whereby you may see, how soles and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of witchcraft and coniuration. The lesse knowledge we haue in this art, the more we haue it in contempt: in which respect Plato saith trulie to Dionysius; They make philosophie a mockerie, that deliuer it to prophane and rude people. Certainlie, the witchcraft, coniuration, and inchantment that is imputed to Salomon, is gathered out of these his words following: I applied my mind to knowledg, and to search and seeke out science, wisdome and vnderstanding, to knowe the foolishnesse of the vngodlie, and the erroꝝ of dotting soles. In this art of naturall magike (without great heed be taken) a student shall soone be abused. For manie (writing by report, without experience) mistake their authors, and set downe one thing for another. When the conclusions being found false, the experiment groweth into contempt, and in the end seemeth ridiculous, though neuer so true. Plinie and Albert being curious writers here in, are often deceiued; insomuch as Plinie is called a noble lier, and Albert a rusticall lier; the one lieng by heresie, the other by authoritie.

A magician is indeed that which the Latines call a wise man, as Numa Pompilius was among the Romans; The Greeks, a philosopher, as Socrates was among them; the Aegyptians a priest, as Hermes was; the Cabalists called them prophets. But although these distinguished this art, accounting the one part

A a. j.

thereof

Sap. 7. 17

18.

19.

20.

21.
See Iudion.

Eccle. 1. & 1

A magician described and the art distinguished.

thereof infamous, as being too much giuen vnto wicked, vaine, and impious curiositie, as vnto mouings, numbers, figures, sounds, voices, tunes, lights, affections of the mind, and words; and the other part commendable, as teaching manie good and necessarie things, as times and seasons to sow, plant, till, cut, &c: and diuerse other things, which I will make manifest vnto you hereafter: yet we generallie condemne the whole art, without distinction, as a part of witchcraft; hauing learned to hate it, before we knowe it; affirming all to be witchcraft, which our grosse heads are not able to conceiue, and yet can thinke that an old doting woman seeth through it, &c. Wherein we consider not how God bestoweth his gifts, and hath established an order in his works, grasing in them sundrie vertues to the comfort of his seuerall creatures; and speciallie to the vse and behoofe of man: neither doe we therein weigh that art is seruant vnto nature, and waiteth vpon hir as hir handmaiden.

What secrets do lie hidden, and what is taught in naturall magicke, how Gods glorie is magnified therein, and that it is nothing but the worke of nature.

The third Chapter.

*Read Plinie
in natural.
hist. Cardan
de rerum
variet. Al-
bertus de oc-
cularum
proprietate.
Barthol. Ne-
ap. in natu-
ral. magia. &
many others.*



In this art of naturall magicke, God almightie hath hidden manie secret mysteries; as wherein a man may learne the properties, qualities, and knowledge of all nature. For it teacheth to accom- plish maters in such sort and oportunitie, as the common people thinketh the same to be miraculous; and to be compassed none other waie, but onelie by witchcraft. And yet in truth, na- turall magicke is nothing else, but the worke of nature. For in tillage, as nature produceth coine and hearbs; so art, being na- tures minister, prepareth it. Wherein times and seasons are greatlie to be respected: for *Annus non arum producit aristas.*

But as manie necessarie and sober things are herein taught: so dooth it partlie (I saie) consist in such experiments and conclu- sions

sions as are but toies, but neuerthelesse lie hid in nature, and being unknowne, doe seeme miraculous, speciallic when they are intermedled and corrupted with cunning illusion, or legierdemaine, from whence is deriued the estimation of witchcraft. But being learned and knowne, they are contemned, and appeere ridiculous: for that onelie is wonderfull to the beholder, whereof he can conceiue no cause nor reason, according to the saiering of Ephesius, *Miraculum soluitur vnde videtur esse miraculum.* And therefore a man shall take great paines here in, and bestow great cost to learne that which is of no value, and a mere iugling knacke. Wherevpon it is said, that a man may not learne philosophie to be rich; but must get riches to learne philosophie: for to sluggards, niggards, & dizzards, the secrets of nature are neuer opened. And doubtlesse a man may gather out of this art, that which being published, shall set forth the glorie of God, and be many waies beneficiall to the commonwealth: the first is done by the manifestation of his works; the second, by skillfullie applieng them to our vse and seruice.

Naturall
magicke
hath a double end,
which pro-
ueth excellencie
of the same.

What strange things are brought to passe
by naturall magicke.

The fourth Chapter.

THe dailie vse and practise of medicine taketh awaie all admiration of the wonderfull effects of the same. Manie other things of lesse weight, being more secret and rare, seeme more miraculous. As for example (if it be true that I. Bap. Neap. and many other writers doe constantly affirme.) Tie a told bull to a fig tree, and he will be presentlie tame; or hang an old cocke therevpon, and he will immediatlie be tender; as also the feathers of an eagle consume all other feathers, if they be intermedled together. Wherein it may not be denied, but nature sheweth herselfe a proper workwoman. But it seemeth impossible, that a little fish being but halfe a foot long, called Remora or Remiligo, or

A. a. ij.

of

Pompanazius lib. de incant. cap. 3.
 I. Wienerus de lamyis.
 Iasp. Peucer H. Cardan.
 &c.

of some Edeneis, straieth a mightie ship with all hir load and tackling, and being also vnder saile. And yet it is affirmed by so manie and so graue authors, that I dare not denie it; speciallie, bicause I see as strange effects of nature otherwise: as the propertie of the loadstone, which is so beneficiall to the mariner; and of Rheubarb, which onelie medleth with choler, and purgeth neither flegme nor melancholie, & is as beneficiall to the physician, as the other to the mariner.

The incredible operation of waters, both standing and running; of wels, lakes, riuers, and of their wonderfull effects.

The fift Chapter.

The operation of waters, and their sundrie vertues are also incredible, I meane not of waters compounded and distilled: for it were endlesse to treat of their forces, speciallie concerning medicines. But we haue here euen in England naturall springs, wels, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, euen such as except we had seene, and had experient of, we would not beloeue to be *in rerum natura*. And to let the physicall nature of them passe (for the which we cannot be so thankfull to God, as they are wholsome for our bodies) is it not miraculous, that wood is by the qualitie of diuers waters here in England transubstantiated into a stone? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the citie Masaca in Cappadocia, there is a riuer called Scarmandrus, that maketh yelow shepe. Yea, there be manie waters, as in Pontus & Thessalia, and in the land of Assyrides, in a riuer of Thracia (as Aristotle saith) that if a white shepe being with lambe drinke thereof, the lambe will be blacke. Strabo writeth of the riuer called Crantes, in the borders of Italie, running towards Tarentum, where mens haire is made white and yelow being washed therein. Plinie doth write that of what colour the beines are vnder the ranuncs tong, of the

Of late experience
 neere Co-
 uentrie, &c.

Aristot. in
 lib. de hist.
 animalium.

Plin. de la-
 nicy colore.

the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called Cornetus, in the bottome whereof manifestlie appeareth to the eie, the carcases of snakes, ewts, and other serpents: whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There doppeth water out of a rocke in Arcadia, the which neither a siluerne nor a brassen boll can containe, but it leapeth out, and sprinkleth awaie; and yet will it remaine without motion in the hofe of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not vnknowne to Iannes and Iambres.

The vertues and qualities of sundrie pretious
stones, of couening Lapidaries, &c.

The sixt Chapter.

The excellent vertues and qualities of stones, found, conceiued and tried by this art, is wonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added vnto their true effects, therewith I thought god in part to trie the readers patience and cunning withall. An Agat (they saie) hath vertue against the biting of scorpions or serpents. It is written (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the fauour of princes; yea that the fume thereof dooth turne awaie tempests. *Alectorius* is a stone about the bignesse of a beane, as clere as the chrysell, taken out of a cocks bellie which hath bene gelt or made a capon foure yeares. If it be held in ones mouth, it alswageth thirst, it maketh the husband to loue the wife, and the bearer inuincible: for hereby Milo was said to overcome his enemies. A crawpocke deliuereth from prison. *Chelidonium* is a stone taken out of a swallowe, which cureth melancholie: howbeit, some authors saie, it is the hearbe whereby the swallowes recover the sight of their yong, euen if their eies be picked out with an instrument. *Ceranites* is taken out of a crane, and *Draconites* out of a dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds,

A a. iij. (wherein

Alectorius

Ludonicus
Carinus Rhodo
do lib. antiq.
le f. ii. ca. 70.
Barthol. An-
glicus, lib. 16.

Chelidonium

N. 11

(wherein they are) whiles they live: otherwise, they vanish awaie with the life, and so they retaine the vertues of those starres under which they are. Amethysus maketh a drunken man sober, and refresheth the wit. The corall preserveth such as beare it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hangged about childrens necks. But from whence that superstition is deriued, and who inuented the lie, I knowe not: but I see how readie the people are to giue credit therevnto, by the multitude of coralls that waie employed. I find in good authors, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an hearbe; and when it is brought thence, into the aire, it hardeneth, and becommeth a stone.

Heliotropius francheth blond, drinketh awaie poisons, preserveth health: yea, and some write that it prouoketh raine, and darkeneth the sunne, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. Hyacinthus doth all that the other doth, and also preserveth from lightening. Dinothera hangged about the necke, collar, or yoke of any creature, taweth it presentlie. A Topase healeth the lunatike person of his passion of innacie. Aitites, if it be shaken, soundeth as if there were a little stone in the bellie therof: it is good for the falling sicknesse, and to prevent untimelie birth. Amethysus aforesaid resisteth drunkenesse, so as the bearers shall be able to drinke frelie, and recouer themselves sone being dronke as apes: the same maketh a man wise. Chaledonius maketh the bearer luckie in lawe, quickeneth the power of the bodie, and is of force also against the illusions of the diuell, and phantasticall cogitations arising of melancholie. Corneclus mitigateth the heate of the mind, and qualifieth malice, it francheth bloudie fluxes, speciallie of women that are troubled with their flowes. Heliotropius aforesaid darkeneth the sunne, raiseth the wters, francheth blond, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceived. If this were true, one of them would be vnder than a thousand diamonds.

Hyacinthus deliuereth one from the danger of lightening, driueth awaie poison and pestilent infection, and hath manie other vertues. Iris helpeth a woman to speedie deliuerance, and maketh rainebowes to appere. A Saphire preserveth the members, and maketh them luckie, and helpeth agues and gotvs, and suffereth not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against venome,

Amethysus
camo. 2. tra. 7.
2. cap. 124.
Serapio agg.
cap. 100.
Dioscor. lib. 5.
cap. 93.

Heliotropius

Hyacinthus

Dinothera

A Topase

Aitites

Chaledonius

Corneclus

Plin. lib. 37.
cap. 10.
Albert. lib. 2.
cap. 7.
Solin. cap. 32.

Saphire

benome, and staieþ blæding at the nose being often put thereto. A Smarag is god for the eiesight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A Topase increaseth riches, healeth the lunatike passion, and stancheth blood. Perhis (as Aaron and Herimes report out of Albertus Magnus) being broken into powder, and dronke with water, maketh insensible of torture. Hereby you may vnderstand, that as God hath bestowed vpon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and wonderfull vertues: so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, manie ascribe vnto them either more vertues, or others than they haue: other boast that they are able to adde new qualities vnto them. And herein consisteth a part of witchcraft and common coulenage bled sometimes of the Lapidaries for gaines; sometimes of others for coulening purposes. Some part of the vanitie hereof I will here describe, bicause the place serueth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that Pharos magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

Nevertheless, I will first giue you the opinion of one, who professed himselfe a verie skilfull and well experimented Lapidarie, as appeareth by a booke of his owne penning, published vnder this title of Dactylothea, and (as I thinke) to be had among the booksellers. And thus folloiweth his assertion:

*Euax rex Arabum fertur scripsisse Neroni,
(Qui post Augustum regnavit in orbe secundus)
Quot species lapidis, quæ nomina, quæue colores,
Quæq; sit his regio, vel quanta potentia cuiq;
Ocultas etenim lapidum cognoscere vires,
Quorum causa latens effectus dat manifestos,
Egregium quiddam volumus rarumque videri.
Scilicet hinc solers medicorum cura tuatur,
Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docta.
Nec minus inde dari cunctarum commoda rerum
Autores perhibent, quibus hæc perspecta feruntur.
Nec dubium cuiquam debet falsumque videri,
Quin sua sit gemmis diuinitus insita virtus:*

A.uy.

Euax

*Marbodens
Gallus in sua
dactylothea,
pag. 56.*

13. Booke. The diſcouerie Pretious ſtones.

Euax an old Arabian king
 is named to haue writ
 A treatiſe, and on Neros Grace
 to haue beſtowed it,
 (Who in the world did ſecond reigne
 after Auguſtus time)
 Of pretious ſtones the ſundrie ſorts,
 their names, and in what clime
 And countrie they were to be found,
 their colours and their hue,
 Their priuie power and ſecret force,
 the which with knowledge true
 To vnderſtand, their hidden cauſe
 moſt plaine effects declare:
 And this will we a noble thing
 haue counted be and rare.
 The ſkilfull care of ſleeches learn'd
 is aided in this caſe,
 And hereby holpen, and are taught
 with aid of ſtones to chaſe
 Awaie from men ſuch ſickneſſes
 as haue in them a place.
 No leſſe preciſe commodities
 of althings elſe therebie
 Are miniſtred and giuen to men,
 if authors doo not lie,
 To whome theſe things are ſaid to bee
 moſt manifeſtly knowne.
 It ſhall no falſe or doubtfull caſe
 appeare to anie one,
 But that by heauenlie influence
 each pretious pearle and ſtone,
 Hath in his ſubſtance fixed force
 and vertue largelie ſowne.

*Vis gemma-
 rum & lapil-
 lorum precio-
 ſorum nega-
 tur, quia oc-
 culia eſt, ra-
 riſſimeque
 ſub ſenſum
 cadit.*

Whereby it is to be concluded, that ſtones haue in them cer-
 teine

feine proper vertues, which are given them of a speciall influence of the planets, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a verie fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter wherein is no grosse mixture: as appeareth by plaine proofe of India and Aethopia, where the sunne being orient and meridionall, doth more effectually helpe his operation, procuring more pretious stones there to be ingendred, than in the countries that are occident and septentrionall. Unto this opinion doe diuerse ancients accoꝝd; namelie, Alexander Peripateticus, Hermes, Euax, Bocchus Zoroastes, Isaac Iudaus, Zacharias Babylonicus, and manie more beside.

Manie mo
authors
may be na-
med of no
lesse anti-
quitie and
learning.

Whence the pretious stones receiue their operations, how curious Magicians vse them, and of their scales.

The seuenth Chapter.



Various Magicians affirme, that these stones receiue their vertues altogether of the planets and heauenlie bodies, and haue not onelie the verie operation of the planets, but sometimes the verie images and impressions of the starres naturallie ingrafted in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to haue grauen vpon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other deuises, as they imagine to be both internallie in operation, and externallie in view, expresse in the planets. As for example, vpon the Achate are grauen serpents or venomous beasts; and sometimes a man riding on a serpent: which they know to be Aesculapius, which is the celestiaall serpent, whereby are cured (they saie) poisons and stings of serpents and scorpions. These grow in the riuer of Achates, where the greatest scorpions are ingendred, and their noisomnes is thereby qualified, and by the force of the scorpions the stones vertue is quickened and increased. Also, if they would induce loue for the accomplishment of venerie, they inscribe and expresse in the stones, amiable embracing and loue-
lic

Plin. lib. 37.
cap. 10.
Albert. mi-
ner. li. 2. ca. 1.
Solin. cap. 11.
Diurnus in
scrim. cap. de
complexioni-
bus & com-
plexariis.

lie countenances and gestures, words and kissings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set in rings, and upon soiles of such metals as haue affinitye with those stones, thorough the operation of the planets wherevnto they are addicted, whereby they may gather the greater force of their working.

As for example, They make the images of Saturne in lead, of Sol in gold, of Luna in siluer. Marrie there is no small regard to be had for the certaine and due times to be obserued in the graving of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure loue, you must worke in apt, proper, and frendlie aspects, as in the houre of Venus, &c: to make debate, the direct contrarie order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of Venus, you must expect to be vnder Aquarius or Capricornus: for Saturne, Taurus, and Libra must be taken heed of. Manie other obseruations there be, as to auoid the infortunate seate and place of the planets, when you would bring a happie thing to passe, and speciallie that it be not done in the end, declination, or heele (as they terme it) of the course thereof: for then the planet moorneth and is dull.

Such signes as ascend in the daie, must be taken in the daie; if in the night they increase, then must you go to worke by night, &c. For in Aries, Leo, and Sagittarie is a certaine triplicitie, wherein the sunne hath dominion by daie, Iupiter by night, and in the twilight the cold star of Saturne. But bicause there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they saie that the vertues of all stones decaie through tract of time: so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Howbeit Iannes and Iambres were liuing in that time, and in no inconuenient place; and therefore not vnlike to haue that helpe towards the abusing of Pharao. Cardane saith, that although men attribute no small force vnto such scales; as to the scale of the sunne, authorities, honors, and fauors of princes; of Iupiter, riches and frends; of Venus, pleasures; of Mars, boldnes; of Mercurie, diligence; of Saturne, patience and induring of labour; of Luna, fauour of people: I am not ignorant (saith he) that stones do good, and yet I knowe the scales or figures do none

Gen. Pictorini. Villang. doct. medici in scholis super Marbod. dactyl.

H. Card. Lib. de subtil. 10.

none at all. And when Cardane had shewed fullie that art, and the foliie thereof, and the maner of those terrible prodigious, & deceitfull figures of the planets with their characters, &c: he saith that those were deceitfull inventions deuised by couensers, and had no vertue indeed no: truth in them. But bicause we spake some, that euen now of signets and seales, I will shew you what I read reported by Vincentius *in suo speculo*, where making mention of the Jasper Stone, whose nature and propertie Marbodeus Galus describeth in the verses following:

*Iaspidis esse decem species septemque feruntur,
Hic & multorum cognoscitur esse colorum,
Et multis nasci perhibetur partibus orbis,
Optimus in viridi translucentique colore,
Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur,
Castè gestatus febrem fugat, arcet hydropem,
Adpositusque iuuat mulierem parturientem,
Et tutamentum portanti creditur esse.
Nam consecratus gratum facit atque potentem,
Et, sicut perhibent phantasmata noxia pellit,
Cuius in argento vis fortior esse putatur.*

Marbodeus
in sua dacty-
lothea, pag.
41, 52.

Seuen kinds and ten of Iasper stones
reported are to be,
Of manie colours this is knowne
which noted is by me,
And said in manie places of
the world for to be seene,
Where it is bred; but yet the best
i thorough shining greene,
And that which prooued is to haue
in it more vertue plaste:
For being borne about of such
as are of liuing chaste,

Englished by
Abraham
Flaming.

Memoran-
dum the
authors
meaning
is, that this

It

stone be set
in siluer, &
worne on
the finger
for a ring;
as you shall
see after-
wards,

It driues awaie their ague fits,
the dropsie thirsting drie,
And put vnto a woman weake
in trauell which dooth lie
It helps, assists, and comforts hir
in pangs when she dooth crie.
Againe, it is beleued to be
A safegard franke and free,
To such as weare and beare the same;
and if it hallowed bee
It makes the parties gracious,
and mightie too that haue it,
And noysome fantasies (as they write
that ment not to depraue it)
It dooth displace out of the mind:
the force thereof is stronger,
In siluer if the same be set,
and will endure the longer.



Vincen. lib.
9. cap. 77.
Dioscor. lib.
5. cap. 100.
Aristot. in
Lapidario.

But (as I said) Vincentius making mention of the Jasper stone, touching which (by the waie of a parenthesis) I haue inserted Marbodeus his verses, he saith that some Jasper stones are found hauing in them the liuelie image of a naturall man, with a sheeld at his necke and a speare in his hand, and vnder his fete a serpent: which stones so marked and signed, he preferreth before all the rest, bicause they are antidotaries or remedies notable resisting poison. Other some also are found figured and marked with the forme of a man bearing on his necke a bundle of hearbs and flowres, with the estimation and value of them noted, that they haue in them a facultie or power restrictiue, and will in an instant or moment of time stanch bloud. Such a kind of stone (as it is reported) Galen wore on his finger. Other some are marked with a crosse, as the same author writeth, and these be right excellent against inundations or ouerflowings of waters. I could hold you long occupied in declarations like vnto these, wherein I laie before you what other men haue published and set forth to the world, choosing rather to be an academicall discouer-

scr,

fer, than an vniuersall determiner: but I am desirous of hys
ultie.

The sympathie and antipathie of naturall and ele-
mentarie bodies declared by diuerse examples of
beasts, birds, plants, &c.

The eight Chapter.

If I should write of the strange ef- Agreement
& disagree-
ments in suf-
ferance.
fects of Sympathia and Antipathia, I
should take great paines to make you
wonder, and yet you would scarce beleue
me. And if I should publish such conclu-
sions as are common and knowne, you
would not regard them. And yet Empe-
docles thought all things were wrought
hereby. It is almost incredible, that the grunting or rather the
wherking of a little pig, or the sight of a simple sheepe should ter-
rifie a mightie elephant: and yet by that meanes the Romans
did put to flight Pyrrhus and all his host. A man would hardlie
beleue, that a cocks combe or his crowing should abash a puis-
sant lion: but the experience herof hath satisfied the whole world.
Who would thinke that a serpent should abandon the shadow of
an ash, &c: But it seemeth not strange, because it is common,
that some man otherwise hardie and stout enough, should not
dare to abide or endure the sight of a cat. Or that a draught of
drinke should so overthrow a man, that neuer a part or member
of his bodie should be able to performe his dutie and office; and
should also so corrupt and alter his senses, vnderstanding, me-
mozie, and iudgement, that he should in euerie thing, sauing in
shape, become a verie beast. And herein the poets experiment
of liquor is verified, in these words following:

*sunt qui non corpora tantum,
Verum animas etiam valeant mutare liquores:*

Some waters haue so powerfull ben,
As could not onelie bodies change,

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

But

But euen the verie minds of men,
Their operation is so strange.

Read a litle
tract of E-
ralmus in-
tituled *De*
amicitia,
where e-
nough is
said tou-
ching this
point.

The frendlie societie betwixt a fox and a serpent is almost incredible: how louing the lizzard is to a man, we maie read, though we cannot see. Yet some affirme that our netwt is not onlie like to the lizzard in shape, but also in condition. From the which affection towards a man, a spaniell doth not much differ, whereof I could cite incredible stozies. The amitie betwixt a castrell and a pigeon is much noted among writers; and speciallie how the castrell defendeth hir from hir enimie the sparowhawk: whereof they saie the doue is not ignozant. Besides, the wonderfull operation and vertue of hearbs, which to repeat were infinite: and therfore I will onlie referre you to Matheolus his herball, or to Dodonæus. There is among them such naturall accord and discord, as some prosper much the better for the others companie, and some wither awaie being planted nere vnto the other. The lillie and the rose reioise in ech others neigh- borhood. The flag and the fernebulb abhorre each other so much, that the one can hardlie liue besides the other. The cotwumber loueth water, and hateth oile to the death. And bicause you shall not saie that hearbs haue no vertue, for that in this place I cite none, I am content to discouer two or thre small qualities and vertues, which are affirmed to be in hearbs: marie as simple as they be, Iannes and Iambres might haue done much with them, if they had had them. If you picke out a yong swallowes eyes, the old swallow restoreth againe their sight, with the application (they saie) of a little Celondine. Xan- thus the authoꝝ of histories reporteth, that a yong dragon being dead, was reuiued by hir dam, with an hearbe called Balim. And Iuba saith, that a man in Arabia being dead was reuiued by the vertue of another hearbe.

Xanthus in
hist. prima.

Iub. lib. 25.
cap. 2.

The former matter prooued by manie examples
of the liuing and the dead.

The ninth Chapter.



As we see in stones, herbes, &c. strange operation and naturall loue and dissention: so doe we read, that in the bodie of a man, there be as strange properties and vertues naturall. I haue heard by credible report, and I haue read many grane authors constantlie affirme, that the wound of a man murdered reneweth bleeding; at the presence of a deere friend, or of a mortall enemy. Diuerse also write, that if one passe by a murdered bodie (though unknowne) he shalbe stricken with feare, and feele in himselfe some alteration by nature. Also that a woman, about the age of fiftie yeares, being bound hand and foote, hir clothes being vpon hir, and laid downe softlie into the water, sinketh not in a long time; some saie, not at all. By which experiment they were wont to trie witches, as well as by *Ferrum candens*: which was, to hold hot iron in their hands, and by not burning to be tried. Holobreit, Plutarch saith, that Pyrrhus his great toe had in it such naturall or rather diuine vertue, that no fier could burne it.

This common experience can iustifie.

1 Wiener.

*Plutarch. in
vita Pyrrhi.*

*Albert. lib. de
mor. animal.
cap. 3.*

And Albertus saith, and manie other also repeat the same storie, saieing, that there were two such children borne in Germanie, as if that one of them had beene carried by anie house, all the doores right against one of his sides would sic open: and that vertue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right side. He saith further, that manie sawe it, and that it could be referred to nothing, but to the proprietie of their bodies. Pompanatius writeth that the kings of France doe cure the disease called now the kings euill, or quænes euill; which hath bene alwaies thought, and to this daie is supposed to be a miraculous and a peculiar gift, & a speciall grace giuen to the kings and quænes of England. Which some referre to the proprietie of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the efficacy

*Pompan. lib.
de incans.
cap. 4.*

*Plutar. in
vita Catois.*

*I. Bap. Neap.
in lib. de ha-
tur. magia. I.*

efficacie of words. But if the French king vse it no worse than our Princesse doth, God will not be offended thereat: for hir maiestie onelie vseth godlie and diuine praier, with some almes, and referreth the cure to God and to the physician. Plutar. writeth that there be certeine men called Psilli, which with their mouthes heale the bitings of serpents. And I. Bap. Neap. saith, that an oliue being planted by the hand of a virgine, prospereth; which if a harlot doe, it withereth awaie. Also, if a serpent or viper lie in a hole, it maie easilie be pulled out with the left hand, whereas with the right hand it cannot be removed. Although this experiment, and such like, are like enough to be false; yet are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by characters, charmes, &c. For manie strange properties remaine in sundrie partes of a liuing creature, which is not vniuersallie dispersed, and indifferentlie spread through the whole bodie: as the eie smelleth not, the nose seeth not, the eare tasteth not, &c.

The bewitching venome contained in the bodie of an harlot, how hir eie, hir tongue, hir beautie and behauior bewitcheth some men: of bones and hornes yeelding great vertue.

The tenth Chapter.

The venom
or poison of
an harlot.



The vertue contained within the bodie of an harlot, or rather the venome proceeding out of the same maie be beheld with great admiration. For hir eie infecteth, entiseth, and (if I maie so saie) bewitcheth them manie times, which thinke themselves well armed against such manner of people. Hir tongue, hir gesture, hir behauiour, hir beautie, and other allurements poison and intoricate the mind: yea, hir companie induceth impudencie, corrupteth virginities, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the verie soules of men. And finally hir bodie destroiet and rotteth the verie flesh and bones of mans bodie. And this is common, that we wonder not at all thereat, naie we haue not the

the course of the sunne, the moone, or the starres in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeting their order: which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I thinke) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the erecution of miracles, and had left that powe'r permanent and common in the church; they would haue growne into contempt, and not haue bene esteemed, according to his owne saying: A prophet is not regarded in his owne countrie. I might recite infinite properties, wherewith God hath indued the bodie of man, worthe of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other liuing creatures, God hath likewise (for his glorie, and our behoofe) bestowed most excellent and miraculous gifts and vertues vpon their bodies and members, and that in seuerall and wonderfull wise. We see that a bone taken out of a carps head, stancheth bloud, and so doth none other part besides of that fish. The bone also in a hares foot mitigateth the crampe, as none other bone nor part else of the hare doth. How pretious is the bone growing out of the forehead of a vnicorne; if the horne, which we see, growe there, which is doubted: and of how small accompt are the residue of all his bones: At the excellencie wherof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we muse not at all; bicause it hath pleased God to make them common vnto vs. Which perchance might in some part assist Iannes and Iambres, towards the hardning of Pharaos heart. But of such secret and strange operations read Albert *De mineral. cap. 1. 11. 17.* Also Marsilius Ficinus, *cap. 1. lib. 4.* Cardan. *de rerum varietate. l. 1.* Bap. Neap. *de magia naturalis.* Peucer, Wier, Pompanacius, Fernelius, and others.

Matth. 13.
Marke. 6.
Luke. 4.
Iohn. 4.

Wonder-
full natu-
rall effects
in bones
of fishes,
beasts, &c.

Two notorious woonders and yet not maruelled at.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Thought good here to insert two most miraculous matters, of the one I am *Testis oculatus*, an eie witnesse; of the other I am so credible and certeinlie informed, that I dare and doe beleue it to be verie true. When Maister T. Randolph returned out of Russia, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his traine

B b. j.

brought

Strange
properties
in a peece
of earth.

Strange
properties
in a stone:
the like
qualities in
other stons:
*See pag. 193.
194, 195,
196, 197,
198, 199,
300.*

brought home a monument of great accompt, in nature and in propriety very wonderfull. And because I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing it selfe: which was a peece of earth of a good quantitie, and most excellentlie proportioned in nature, hauing these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a peece of perfect Steele, forked and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therewith to haue touched it; it would haue fled with great celeritie: and on the other side, it would haue pursued gold, either in coine or bulloine, with as great violence and speed as it shunned the other. No bird in the aire durst approach nere it; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturallie fled from the sight thereof. It would be here to daie, and to morrowe twentie miles off, and the next daie after in the verie place it was the first daie, and that without the helpe of anie other creature.

Johannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone latelie brought out of India, which hath in it such a marvellous brightnes, puritie, and shining, that therewith the aire round about is so lightened and cleared, that one may see to read thereby in the darknes of night. It will not be contained in a close roome, but requireth an open and free place. It would not willingly rest or staie here belowe on the earth, but alwaies laboureth to ascend vp into the aire. If one presse it downe with his hand, it resisteth, and striketh verie sharpelie. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet verie vnpleasant to taste or feele. If anie part thereof be taken awaie, it is neuer a whit diminished, the forme thereof being inconstant, and at euery moment mutable. These two things last rehearsed are strange, and so long wondred at, as the mysterie and moralitie thereof remaineth vndercouered: but when I haue disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lump of earth a man is ment, and some of his qualities described; and that that which was contained in the farre fetched stone, was fier, or rather flame: the doubt is resolved, and the miracle ended. And yet (I confesse) there is in these two creatures contained more miraculous matter, than in all the loadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that euery a part of this art which is called naturall or witching magicke, consisteth as well in the deceit of words, as in the
Aeight

fleight of hand : wherein plaine lieng is auoided with a figuratiue speech, in the which, either the words themselues, or their interpretation haue a double or doubtfull meaning, according to that which hath bene said before in the title *Ob or Pytho* : and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

Of illusions, confederacies, and legierdemaine, and how they may be well or ill vsed.

The twelſe Chapter.

Manie writers haue bene abused, as well by vntrue reports, as by illusion, and practises of confederacie and legierdemaine, &c : sometimes imputing vnto words that which reſteth in the nature of the thing ; and sometimes to the nature of the thing, that which proceedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments growe to superstition or impietie, they are either to be forsaken as vaine, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be done for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of Gods name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether vnlawfull : though herein or hereby a naturall thing be made to seeme supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by iugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conueiance, called legierdemaine : as when they seeme to cast awaie, or to deliuer to another that which they reteine still in their owne hands ; or conueie otherwise : or seeme to eate a knife, or some such other thing, when indeed they besstowe the same secretlie into their bosoms or laps. Another point of iuggling is, when they thrust a knife through the braines and head of a chicken or pullet, and seeme to cure the same with words : which would liue and doe well, though neuer a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arithmetticall deuisses, partlie in experiments of naturall magike, and partlie in priuate as also in publike confederacie.

*Being the 7 booke of this discouerie : See pag. 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 160, &c. Where discourse is made of oracles, &c.

Look hereafter in this booke for diuers conceits of iuggling set forth at large, beginning at pag. 321.

Of priuate confederacie, and of Brandons pigeon.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Priuate confederacie I meane, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himselfe, without anie compact made with others) perswadeth the beholders, that he will suddenlie and in their presence doe some miraculous feat, which he hath already accomplished priuillie. As for example, he will shew you a card, or anie other like thing: and will saie further vnto you; Behold and see what a marke it hath, and then burneth it; and neuertheles fetcheth another like card so marked out of some bodies pocket, or out of some corner where he himselfe before had placed it; to the wonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceiue not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works.

Example
of a ridicu-
lous woon-
der.

What wondering and admiration was there at Brandon the juggler, who painted on a wall the picture of a dove, and seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the king; Lo now your Grace shall see what a juggler can doe, if he be his craftes maister; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectuall words, as the pigeon fell downe from the top of the house starke dead. I need not write anie further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken, what wondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to use that feat anie further, least he should emploie it in anie other kind of murder; as though he, whose picture so euer he had pricked, must needs haue died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a juggler: as is now supposed to be in the hands and willes of witches. This storie is, vntill the daie of the writing herof, in fresh remembrance, & of the most part believed as canonicall, as are all the fables of witches: but when you are taught the seate or sleight (the secrecie and sorcerie of the matter being belwaied, and discovered) you will thinke it a mockerie, and a simple illusion. To interpret vnto you the reuelation of this mysterie; so it is, that the poore pigeon was before in the hands of the juggler,
into

This I haue
prooued
vpon crows
and pies.

into whome he had thrust a dramme of *Nuxvomica*, or some other such poison, which to the nature of the bird was so extream a venome, as after the receipt thereof it could not liue aboue the space of halfe an houre, and being let lose after the medicine ministred, she alwaies resorted to the top of the next house: which she will the rather doe, if there be anie pigeons already sitting there, and as it is already said after a short space falleth downe, either starke dead, or greatlie astonnied. But in the meane time the fuggler vseth words of art, partlie to protract the time, and partlie to gaine credit and admiration of the beholders. If this or the like feate should be done by an old woman, euerie bodie would crie out so: fier and faggot to burne the witch.

This might be done by a confederate, who standing at some window in a church steeple, or other fit place, and holding the pigeon by the leg in a string, after a signe giuen by his fellowe, pulleth downe the pigeon, and so the wonder is wrought.

Of publike confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Ublike confederacie is, when there is before hand a compact made betwixt diuerse persons; the one to be principall, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in coulensing and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you haue thought or done, or shall doe or thinke, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunninglie and closelie handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders; speciallie when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of naturall magike, arithmetick conclusions, or legierdemaine. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and deuises of Feates: wherein doubt you not, but Iannes and Iambres were expert, actiue, and readie.

How men haue beene abused with words of equiuocation, with sundrie examples thereof.

The xv. Chapter.

Some haue taught, and others haue written certaine experiments; in the expressing whereof they haue vsed such words of equiuocation, as whereby manie haue bene ouertaken and abused through

B b. iij.

rash

A iest among wa-
termen
touching
Stone
church in
Kent as
light at
midnight
as at mid-
daie.

rash credulitie : so as sometimes (I saie) they haue reported, taught, and written that which their capacitie toke hold vpon, contrarie to the truth and sincere meaning of the author. It is a common iest among the water men of the Thames, to shew the parish church of Stone to the passengers, calling the same by the name of the lanterne of Kent; affirming, and that not vnrulie, that the said church is as light (meaning in weight and not in brightnes) at midnight, as at none daie. Wherevpon some credulous person is made beleue, and will not sticke to affirme and sweare, that in the same church is such continuall light, that anie man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

An excellent philosopher, whome (for reuerence vnto his fame and learning) I will forbear to name, was ouertaken by his hostesse at Douer, who merrilie told him, that if he could reteine and keepe in his mouth certeine pibbles (lieng at the shore side) he should not perbreake vntill he came to Calice, how rough and tempestuous so euer the seas were. Which when he had tried, and being not forced by sicknes to vomit, nor to lose his stones, as by vomiting he must needs doe, he thought his hostesse had discouered vnto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of hir amphibologicall speech : and therefore thought it a worthie note to be recorded among miraculous and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordingly into his booke, among other experiments collected with great industrie, learning, trauell, and iudgement. All these toies helpe a subtilt counseler to gaine credit with the multitude. Yea, to further their estimation, manie will whisper prophesies of their owne inuention into the eares of such as are not of quickest capacitie; as to tell what weather, &c: shall followe. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they denie the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrarie in earnest, and spake that but in iest. All these helps might Pharaos iugglers haue, to mainteine their counsages and illusions, towards the hardening of Pharaos hart.

A slender
shift to saue
the credit
of their
cunning.

Herevnto belong all maner of charmes, periapts, amulets, characters, and such other superstitions, both popish and prophane: whereby (if that were true, which either papists, coniurores, or wit-
ches

ches undertake to do) we might daillie see the verie miracles wrought indeed, which Pharaos magicians seemed to performe. Howbeit, because by all those deuises or consenages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as Iannes and Iambres could haue no helpe that waie, I will speake thereof in place more conuenient.

How some are abused with naturall magike, and sundrie examples thereof when illusion is added therevnto, of Iacobs pied sheepe, and of a blacke Moore.

The xvj. Chapter.

Ut as these notable and wonderfull experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature it selfe (through wisdom, learning, and industrie) do greatlie oppose and astonnish the capacite of man: so (I saie) when decept and illusion is annexed therevnto, then is the wit, the faith, & constancie of man searched and tried. For if we shall yeeld that to be diuine, supernaturall, and miraculous, which we cannot comprehend; a witch, a papist, a coniuro, a counsener, and a iuggler may make vs beleue they are gods: or else with more impietie we shall ascribe such power and omnipotencie vnto them, or vnto the diuell, as onelie and properlie appertaineth to God. As for example. By confederacie or consenage (as before I haue said) I may seeme to manifest the secret thoughts of the hart, which (as we learne in Gods booke) none knoweth or searcheth, but God himselfe alone. And therefore, whosoever beleueth that I can do as I may seeme to do, maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, whensoever we heare papist, witch, coniuro, or counsener, take vpon him more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know & boldlie saie it is a knacke of knauerie; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we understand it, it will not be worth the knowing. And at the discoverie of these miraculous toies, we shall leaue to wonder at them, and beginne to wonder at our selues, that could be so abused with

The inconuenience of holding opinion, that whatsoever passeth our capacitie, is diuine, supernaturall, &c.

bables. *Howbeit*, such things as God hath laid by secretlie in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be searched out with such industrie, as may become a christian man: I meane, so as neither God, nor our neighbour be offended thereby, which respect doubtlesse Iannes and Iambres neuer had. We find in the scriptures diuerse naturall and secret experiments practised; as namelie that of Iacob, for pied sheepe: which are confirmed by prophane authors, and not onelie verified in lambs and sheepe, but in horses, pecocks, connies, &c. We read also of a woman that brought forth a yong blacke *Howe*, by meanes of an old blacke *Howe* who was in hir house at the time of hir conception, whome she beheld in phantasie, as is supposed: *howbeit*, a gelous husband will not be satisfied with such phantastickall imaginations. For in truth a blacke *Howe* neuer faileth to beget blacke child: en, of what colour soeuer the other be: *Et sic è contra.*

*I. Bap. Nea.
pol. in natu-
ral. mag.*

The opinion of witchmongers, that diuels can create bodies, and of Pharaos magicians.

The xvij. Chapter.

*M. malef. p.
l. 9. 10.*



Tis affirmed by Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor, in *M. Mal.* who cite Albert *In lib. de animalib.* for their purpose, that diuels and witches also can truelie make liuing creatures as well as God; though not at an instant, yet verie suddenly. *Howbeit*, all such as are rightlie informed in Gods word, shall manifestlie perceiue and confesse the contrarie, as hath bene by scriptures alreadie proued, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore I saie Iannes and Iambres, though sathan and also Belzebub had assisted them, could neuer haue made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, nor yet haue changed the waters with words. *Howbeit*, all the learned expositors of that place as firme, that they made a shew of creation, &c: exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which God wrought by the hand of Moses. *Yea* S. Augustine and manie other hold, that they made by art (and that truelie) the serpents, &c.

*Iohn. 1. 3.
Colos. 1. 16.*

But

But that they may by art approach somewhat nêrer to those actions, than hath beene yet declared, shall and may appêre by these and manie other conclusions, if they be true.

How to produce or make monsters by art magike, and why Pharaos magicians could not make lice.

The xviii. Chapter.



Trato, Democritus, Empedocles, and of late, Io. Bap. Neap. teach by what meanes monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. Aristotle himselfe teacheth to make a chicken haue foure legs, and as manie wings, onlie by a double yolked eg: whereby also a serpent may be made to haue manie legs.

Naturall conclusions.

Any thing that produceth eggs, may likewise be made double membered, or dismembered: & the viler creature the sooner brought to monstrous deformitie, which in more noble creatures is more hardlie brought to passe. There are also prettie experiments of an eg, to produce anie fowle, without the naturall helpe of the hen: the which is brought to passe, if the eg be laid in the powder of the hens dung, dried and mingled with some of the hens fethers, & stirred euerie fourth houre. You may also produce (as they saie) the most venomous, noisome, and dangerous serpent, called a cockatrice, by melting a little arsenicke, and the poison of serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an eg therein, which there must remaine certeine daies; and if the eg be set vp:ight, the operation will be the better. This may also be done, if the eg be laid in dung, which of all other things giueth the most singular and naturall heate: and as I. Bap. Neap. saith is *Mirabilium rerum parens*; who also writeth, that *Crines feminae menstruosa* are turned into serpents within short space: and he further saith, that basill being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of tiles, doth ingender scorpions. The ashes of a ducke, being put betwene two dishes, and set in a moist place, doth ingender a huge tode: *Quod etiam efficit sanguis menstruus*. Manie writers conclude, that there be two maner of todes, the one

To produce anie fowle out of an eg, without the naturall helpe of the hen.

*The mother of marucls.

Two kind
of todes,
naturall &
temporall.

Maggots
ingendred
of the in-
wards of a
beast are
good for
angling.

Giles Alley:
See the
poore mans
librarie.

one bred by naturall course and order of generation, the other growling of themselves, which are called temporarie, being onlie ingendred of shewers and dust: and (as I. Bap. Neap. saith) they are easie to be made. Plutarch and Heraclides doe saie, that they haue seene these to descend in raine, so as they haue lien and cralled on the tops of houses, &c. Also Aelianus dooth saie, that he sawe frogs and todes, whereof the heads & shoulders were aliue, & became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, & so cralled on two feete, the other being not yet fashioned or fullie framed. And Macrobius reporteth, that in Aegypt, mice growe of earth and shewers; as also frogs, todes, and serpents in other places. They saie that Danmatus Hispanus could make them when & as manie as he listeth. He is no good angler, that knoweth not how soone the entrails of a beast, when they are buried, will engender maggots (which in a ciuiler terme are called gentles) a good bait for small fishes. Whosoever knoweth the order of preserving silkwormes, may perceiue a like conclusion: because in the winter, that is a dead seed, which in the summer is a liuelie creature. Such and greater experiments might be knowne to Iannes and Iambres, and serue well to their purpose, especiallie with such excuses, delaies, and cunning, as they could ioine therewithall. But to proceed, and come a little nearer to their seats, and to shew you a knacke beyond their cunning; I can assure you that of the fat of a man or a woman, lice are in verie short space ingendered: and yet I saie, Pharaos magicians could not make them, with all the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceiue, that God indeed performed the other actions, to indurate Pharao, though he thought his magicians did with no lesse dexterity than Moses worke miracles and wonders. But some of the interpreters of that place excuse their ignorance in that matter, thus; The diuell (saie they) can make no creature vnder the quantitie of a barlie corne, and lice being so little cannot therefore be created by them. As though he that can make the greater, could not make the lesse. A verie grosse absurditie. And as though that he which hath power ouer great, had not the like ouer small.

That

That great matters may be wrought by this art, when princes esteeme and mainteine it : of diuers woonderfull experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses, of the art perfectiue, &c.

The xix. Chapter.

Wherebeit, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect; speciallie when great princes mainteine & giue countenance to students in those magicall arts, which in these countreys and in this age is rather prohibited than allowed, by reason of the abuse commonlie coupled therewith; which in truth is it that moueth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example. If I affirme, that with certeine charmes and popish prayers I can set an horsses or an asses head vpon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beleued; or if I do it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if I. Bap. Neap. experiments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it seeme so: and the charme of a witch or papist ioined with the experiment, will also make the wonder seeme to proceed thereof. The words vsed in such case are vncerteine, and to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or confener. But the conclusion is this: Cut off the head of a horsses or an asse (before they be dead) otherwise the vertue or strength thereof will be the lesse effectually, and make an earthen vessell of fit capacitie to containe the same, and let it be filled with the oile and fat thereof; couer it close, and daube it ouer with lome: let it boile ouer a soft fier thre daies continuallie, that the flesh boyled may run into oile, so as the bare bones may be seene: beate the haire into powder, and mingle the same with the oile; and annoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seeme to haue horsses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oile made of a mans head, they shall seeme to haue mens faces, as diuerse authors soberlie affirme. If a lampe be annointed herewith, euerie thing shall seeme most monstrous. It is also written, that if that which is called *Sperma* in anie beast be burned,

Woonder-
full experi-
ments.

To set an
horsses or
an asses
head on a
mans neck
and shoul-
ders,

Strange
things to
be doone
by perspec-
tiue glasses.

ned, and any bodies face therewithall annointed, he shall seeme to haue the like face as the beast had. But if you beate arsenicke verie fine, and boile it with a little sulphur in a couered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seeme to be headed. Aqua composita and salt being fiered in the night, and all other lights ertinguished, make the standers by seeme as dead. All these things might be verie well perceiued and knowne, and also practised by Iannes and Iambres. But the wondrous deuises, and miraculous sights and conceits made and contained in glasse, doo farre exceed all other; whereto the art perspectiue is verie necessarie. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seene in diuerse sorts of glasses; as in the hallothe, the plaine, the embossed, the columnarie, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bounched, the round, the cornerd, the inuerfed, the euerfed, the masse, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and cleare glasses: for you may haue glasses so made, as what image or fauour soeuer you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein one may see what others doo in places far distant; others, wherby you shall see men hanging in the aire; others, whereby you may perceiue men slieng in the aire; others, wherein you may see one comming, & another going; others, where one image shall seeme to be one hundred, &c. There be glasses also, wherein one man may see another mans image, and not his owne; others, to make manie similitudes; others, to make none at all. Others, contrarie to the vse of all glasses, make the right side turne to the right, and the left side to the left; others, that burne before and behind; others, that represent not the images receiued within them, but cast them farre off in the aire, appearing like aerie images, and by the collection of sunne beames, with great force setteth fier (verie farre off) in euerie thing that may be burned. There be cleare glasses, that make great things seeme little, things farre off to be at hand; and that which is nere, to be far off; such things as are ouer vs, to seeme vnder vs; and those that are vnder vs, to be aboue vs. There are some glasses also, that represent things in diuerse colours, & them most gorgeous, speciallie any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthe of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the lesser glasse doth lessen the

Concerning
these glasse
remember that
the eyesight
is deceiued:
for *Non est
in speculo res
que speculatur
in eo.*

the shape : but how big so euer it be, it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therefore Augustine thinketh some hidden mystery to be therein. Vitellius, and I. Bap. Neap. write largelie hereof. These I haue for the most part sene, and haue the receipt how to make them : which, if desire of breuitie had not forbidden me, I would here haue set downe. But I thinke not but Pharaos magicians had better experience than I for those and such like deuises. And (as Pompanacius saith) it is most true, that some of these feats haue bene accounted saints, some other witches. And therefore I saie, that the pope maketh rich witches, saints; and burneth the poore witches.

Rash opinion can neuer iudge soundlie.

A comparifon betwixt Pharaos magicians and our witches, and how their cunning consisted in iuggling knacks.

The xx. Chapter.

THUS you see that it hath pleased GOD to shew vnto men that seeke for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he seemeth to haue bestowed vpon man, some part of his diuinitie. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and doth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoeuer he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his prophets, as here he did by Moses in the presence of Pharaos, which Iannes and lambrus apishlie followed. But to affirme that they by themselves, or by all the diuels in hell, could do indeed as Moses did by the power of the Holie-ghost, is worse than infidelitie. If anie object and saie, that our witches can do such feats with words and charms, as Pharaos magicians did by their art, I denie it; and all the world will neuer be able to shew it. That which they did, was openlie done; as our witches and confutors neuer do anie thing: so as these cannot do as they did. And yet (as Caluine saith of them) they were but iugglers. Neither could they do, as manie suppose.

An apish imitation in Iannes and lambrus of working wonders.

Io. Caluine, lib. institut. 1. cap. 8. Cle. recog. 3.

*Eraft. in dis-
putat. de
lamijs.*

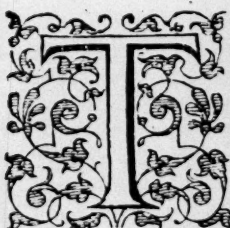
*Actions vn-
possible to
diuels: Ergo
to witches
coniurors,
&c.*

*Iamb. de my-
sterijs.*

suppose. For as Clemens saith; These magicians did rather seeme to do these wonders, than worke them indeed. And if they made but prestigious shewes of things, I saie it was more than our witches can do. For witchcrafts (as Erasmus himselfe confesseth in dykt of argument) are but old wiues fables. If the magicians serpent had bene a verie serpent, it must needs haue bene transformed out of the rod. And therein had bene a double worke of God; to wit, the qualifieng and ertinguishtment of one substance, and the creation of another. Which are actions beyond the diuels power, for he can neither make a bodie to be no bodie, nor yet no bodie to be a bodie; as to make something nothing, and nothing something; and contrarie things, one: naie, they cannot make one haire either white or blacke. If Pharaos magicians had made verie frogs vpon a sudden, whie could they not driue them awaie againe? If they could not hurt the frogs, whie should we thinke that they could make them? Or that our witches, which cannot do so much as counterfet them, can kill cattell and other creatures with words or wishes? And therefore I saie with Iamblichus, *Quia fascinati imaginamur, prater imaginamenta nulla habent actionis & essentie veritatem*; Such things as we being bewitched do imagine, haue no truth at all either of action or essence, beside the bare imagination.

That the serpents and frogs were trulie presented,
and the water poisoned indeed by Iannes and Iambres,
of false prophets, and of their miracles, of Balams asse.

The xxj. Chapter.



*Pharaos
magicians
were not
masters of
their owne
actions.*

Truelie I thinke there were no inconuenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truelie presented, and the water truelie poisoned by Iannes and Iambres; not that they could execute such miracles of themselves, or by their familiars or diuels; but that God, by the hands of those counterfet counsellers, contrarie to their owne expectations, ouertooke them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickednes to be
in

instruments of his will and vengeance, vpon their maister Pharaο: so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himselfe wrought: as appeareth in Exodus. For God did put the spirit of truth into Baalams mouth, who was hired to curse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischaeuous enterprise; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to doe here, as a speciall worke, whereby to shew his omnipotencie, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias deliuered vnto them by the prophet Moses, then was it miraculous and extraordinarie, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a consort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and worke miracles. I answer, it was extraordinarie and miraculous; that it pleased God so to trie his people; but he worketh not so in these daies: for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with Gods glorie, to vse the hands of Pharaos magicians, towards the hardening of their maisters hart; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceits to become effectuell. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of Pharaο. As for the miracles which Moses did, they mollified it so, as he alwaies relented vpon the sight of the same. For vnto the greatnesse of his miracles were added such modestie and patience, as might haue moued euen a heart of Steele or flint. But Pharaos frowardnes alwaies grew vpon the magicians actions: the like example, or the resemblance whereof, we find not againe in the scriptures. And though there were such people in those daies suffered and vsed by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose: yet it followeth not, that now, when Gods will is wholie reuealed vnto vs in his word, and his sonne exhibited (for whome, or rather for the manifestation of whose comming all those things were suffered or wrought) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conelude, the cause being taken awaie, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to asigne our witches and coniurors their roome, is to mocke and contemne Gods wonderfull works; and to oppose against them couenages, ingling knacks, and things of nought. And therefore, as they must confesse,

God vseth
the wicked
as instru-
ments to
execute his
counsels &
iudgments.

The con-
trarie ef-
fects that
the mira-
cles of Mo-
ses and the
miracles of
the Aegyptian
magicians wrought
in the hart
of Pharaο.

confesse, that none in these daies can doe as Moses did: so it may be answered, that none in these daies can doe as Iannes and Iambres did: who, if they had bene false prophets, as they were iugglers, had yet bene more priuiledged to exceed our old women or coniuroers, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophesying, &c. For who may be compared with Balaam? Saie, I dare saie, that Balaams asse wrought a greater miracle, and more supernaturall, than either the pope or all the coniuroers and witches in the world can doe at this daie.

That the
art of iug-
gling is
more, or
at least no
les strange
in working
miracles
than con-
iuring,
witchcraft,
&c.

To conclude, it is to be auouched (and there be proofes manifest enough) that our iugglers approach much nêrer to resemble Pharaos magicians, than either witches or coniuroers, & can make a more liuelie shew of working miracles than anie incantors can doe: for these practise to shew that in action, which witches doe in words and termes. But that you may thinke I haue reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalfe, I will surcease by multitude of words to amplifie this place, referring you to the tract following of the art of iuggling, where you shall read strange practises and cunning conuetances; which bicause they cannot so conuenientlie be described by phrase of speech, as that they should presentlie sinke into the capacitie of you that would be practitioners of the same; I haue caused them to be set forth in forme and figure, that your vnderstanding might be somewhat helped by instrumentall demonstrations. And when you haue perused that whole discouerie of iuggling, compare the wonders thereof with the wonders imputed to coniuroers and witches, (not omitting Pharaos sorcerers at anie hand in this comparison) and I beleue you will be resolved, that the miracles done in Pharaos sight by them, and the miracles ascribed vnto witches, coniuroers, &c: may be well taken for false miracles, mere delusions, &c: and for such actions as are commonlie practised by cunning iugglers; be it either by legierdemaine, confession, or otherwise.

The art of iuggling discovered, and in what
points it dooth principallie consist.

The xxij. Chapter.

Now because such occasion is mi-
nistred, and the matter so pertinent to
my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft
and couenage so manifestlie deliuered
in the art of iuggling; I thought god to
discover it, together with the rest of the
other deceitfull arts; being sozie that it
falleth out to my lot, to laie open the se-
crets of this mysterie, to the hinderance of such poze men as liue
thereby: whose doings herein are not onlie tollerable, but great. In what re-
spectis iug-
gling is tol-
lerable and
also com-
mendable.

The true art therefore of iuggling consisteth in legierde-
maine; to wit, the nimble conuenance of the hand, which is espe-
ciallie performed three waies. The first and principall consisteth
in hiding and conuieing of balles, the second in the alteration of
monie, the third in the shuffling of the cards. He that is expert
in these may shew much pleasure, and manie feats, and hath
more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other
parts of this art are taught when they are discovered: but this
part cannot be taught by any description or instruction, without
great exercise and expense of time. And for as much as I pro-
fesse rather to discover than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice
to signifie vnto you, that the enduo: and drift of iugglers is
onlie to abuse mens eyes and iudgements. Now therefore
my meaning is, in words as plaine as I can, to rip by certeine
proper tricks of that art; whereof some are pleasant and delecta-
ble, other some dreadfull and desperate, and all but mere delusi-
ons, or counterfet actions, as you shall soone see by due obseruati-
on of euerie knacke by me hereafter decyphered.

The three
principall
points
wherein
legierde-
maine or
nimbleness
of hand
dooth con-
sist.

Of the ball, and the manner of legierdemaine therewith, also notable feats with one or diuerse balles.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Great variety
etic of plaie
with the
balles, &c.



These feats
are nimble,
cleanly, &
swiftly to
be concei-
ed; so as the
eyes of the
beholders
may not
discerne or
perceiue
the drift.

Concerning the ball, the plaies & deuises thereof are infinite, in so much as if you can by vse handle them well, you may shewe therewith a hundred feats. But whether you seeme to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or by into the aier, &c: it is to be kept still in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden bullet, you shall the sooner and better do it with balles of cooke. The first place at your first learning, where you are to bestow a great ball, is in the palme of your hand, with your ringfinger: but a small ball is to be placed with your thombe, betwixt your ringfinger and middlefinger, then are you to practise to do it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the forefinger and the thombe, with the forefinger and middlefinger jointlie, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning shewed. Likewise the same small ball is to be practised in the palme of the hand, and by vse you shall not onelie seeme to put anie one ball from you, and yet reteine it in your hand; but you shall keepe foure or fve as cleanelie and certeinlie as one. This being attained vnto, you shall worke wonderfull feats: as for example.

Lie three or foure balles before you, and as manie small candlesticks, bolles, saltcellers, or saltceller couers, which is the best. Then first seeme to put one ball into your left hand, and therewithall seeme to hold the same fast: then take one of the candlesticks, or anie other thing (hauing a hollow foot, & not being too great) and seeme to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, vnderneath the same, and so vnder the other candlesticks seeme to bestow the other balles: and all this while the beholders will suppose each ball to be vnder each candlestick: this done, some charme or forme of words is commonlie vsed. Then take vp one candlestick with one hand, and blow, saying; Lo, you see that is gone:

gone: & so likewise looke vnder eche candlestickke with like grace and words, & the beholders will wonder where they are become. But if you, in lifting vp the candlesticks with your right hand, leaue all those three or foure balles vnder one of them (as by vse you may easilie doe, hauing turned them all downe into your hand, and holding them fast with your little and ring fingers) and take the candlestickke with your other fingers, and cast the balles vp into the hollownes thereof (so: so they will not roll so sone awaie) the standers by will be much astonied. But it will seeme wonderfull strange, if also in shewing howe there remaineth nothing vnder an other of those candlesticks, taken vp with your left hand, you leaue behind you a great ball, or anie other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they thinke you haue pulled awaie all the balles by miracle; then, that you haue brought them all together againe by like meanes, and they neither thinke nor looke that anie other thing remaineth behind vnder anie of them. And therefore, after manie other feats done, returne to your candlesticks, remembryng where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same; but hauing an other like ball about you, seeme to bestow the same in maner and forme afore said, vnder a candlestickke which standeth furthest frō that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with words or charmes seeme to conueie the same ball from vnder the same candlestickke, and after ward bring it vnder the candlestickke which you touched not, it will (I saie) seeme wonderfull strange.

Memorandum that the iuggler must set a good grace on the matter: for that is verie requisite.

*As, Hey, fortuna furie, nunquam cre. do, passe, passe, when come you firra: See pag. 147.

To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be verie great.

Take a verie great ball in your left hand, or three indifferent big balles; and shewing one or three little balles, seeme to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well doe) the other balles which were there in before: then vse words, and make them seeme to swell, and open your hand, &c. This plaie is to be varied a hundred waies: for as you find them all vnder one candlestickke, so may you go to a stander by, and take off his hat or cap, and shew the balles to be there, by conueieng them therein, as you turne the bottome bpward.

To consume (or rather to conueie) one or
manie balles into nothing.

If you take one ball, or moze, & seeme to put it into your other hand, and whilseth you vse charming words, you conueie them out of your right hand into your lap; it will seeme strange. For when you open your left hand immediatlie, the sharpest lookers on will saie it is in your other hand, which also then you may open; & when they see nothing there, they are greatlie ouertaken.

How to rap a wag vpon the knuckles.

But I will leane to speake anie moze of the ball, for herein I might hold you all daie, and yet shall I not be able to teach you to vse it, nor scarce to vnderstand what I meane or write concerning it: but certeinlie manie are perswaded that it is a spirit or a flie, &c. Memorandum, that alwaies the right hand be kept open and streight, onlie keepe the palme from view. And therefore you may end with this miracle. & Laie one ball vpon your shoulder, an other on your arme, and the third on the table: which because it is round, and will not easilie lie vpon the point of your knife, you must bid a stander by laie it thereon, laieng that you meane to throwe all those three balles into your mouth at once: and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laieng it vpon the point of your knife, you may easilie with the hant rap him on the fingers, for the other matter wilbe hard to do.

This feate
tendeth
cheefelie
to the mo-
uing of
laughter
and mirth.

Of conueiance of monie.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

The monie
must not be
of too small
nor of too
large a cir-
cumference
for hinder-
ing of the
conuei-
ance.



TH conueieng of monie is not much inferior to the ball, but much easier to do. The principall place to keepe a peece of monie is the palme of your hand, the best peece to keepe is a tessoz; but with crerckse all will be alike, except the mony be verie small, and then it is to be kept betwixt the fingers, almost at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept belowe nere to the palme.

To

To conueie monie out of one of your hands into
the other by legierdemaine.

First you must hold open your right hand, & lay therein a tessoꝝ,
or some big peece of monie : then laie thereupon the top of
your long left finger, and vse words, and vpon the sudden slip
your right hand from your finger wherewith you held downe the
tessoꝝ, and bending your hand a berie little, you shall reteine the
tessoꝝ still therein : and suddenlie (I saie) drawing your right
hand through your left, you shall seme to haue left the tessoꝝ there
speciallie when you shut in due time your left hand. Which that
it may more plainelie appeare to be trulie done, you may take a
knife, and seme to knocke against it, so as it shall make a great
sound : but in stead of knocking the peece in the left hand (where
none is) you shall hold the point of the knife fast with the left
hand, and knocke against the tessoꝝ held in the other hand, and it
will be thought to hit against the mony in the left hand. Then vse
words, and open your hand, and when nothing is seene, it will
be wondered at how the tessoꝝ was remoued.

This is pret-
tic if it be
cunninglie
handled :
for both the
eare and
the eie is
deceiued
by this de-
uise.

To conuert or transubstantiate monie into
counters, or counters into monie.

Another waie to deceiue the lookers on, is to doe as before,
with a tessoꝝ ; and keeping a counter in the palme of the left
hand secretlie to seme to put the tessoꝝ thereinto ; which being re-
teined still in the right hand, when the left hand is opened, the
tessoꝝ will seme to be transubstantiated into a counter.

To put one tessoꝝ into one hand, and an other into the
other hand, and with words to bring them togidher.

He that hath once attained to the facilitie of reteining one
peece of monie in his right hand, may shew a hundredth pleas-
ant conceits by that meanes, and may referue two or three as
well as one. And so then may you seme to put one peece into
your left hand, and reteining it still in your right hand, you may
togither therewith take vp another like peece, and so with words
seme to bring both peeces togither.

Varietie of
trickes may
be shewed
in iuggling
with mony.

To put one testor into a strangers hand, and another into your owne, and to conueie both into the strangers hand with words.

Also you may take two testors euenlie set together, and put the same in stead of one testor, into a strangers hand, and then making as though you did put one testor into your left hand, with words you shall make it seeme that you conueie the testor in your hand, into the strangers hand: for when you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing sene; and he opening his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this deuise (I saie) a hundreth conceits may be shewed.

How to doo the same or the like feate otherwise.

To keepe a testor, &c: betwixt your finger, serueth speciallie for this and such like purposes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to laie a testor vpon the palme thereof, then shake the same by almost to your fingers ends, and putting your thombe vpon it; you shall easilie, with a little practise, conueie the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilst you proffer to put it in to your other hand (provided alwaies that the edge appeere not through the fingers on the backside) which being done, take by another testor (which you may cause a stander by to laie downe) and put them both together, either closelie in stead of one into a strangers hand, or keepe them still in your owne: & (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both peeces in the other, the beholders will wonder how they came together.

You must take heed that you be close and slye: or else you disceruit the art.

To throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list.

You may, with the middle or ringfinger of the right hand, conueie a testor into the palme of the same hand, & seeming to cast it awaie, keepe it still: which with confederacie will seeme strange; to wit, when you find it againe, where another hath bestowed the verie like peece. But these things without exercise cannot be done, and therefore I will proceed to the two things to be brought

We and exercise maketh men readie and practiue.

brought to passe by monie, with lesse difficultie; & yet as strange as the rest: which being unknowne are maruellouslie commended, but being knowne, are derided, & nothing at all regarded.

With words to make a groat or a testor to leape out of a pot, or to run alongst vpon a table.

You shall see a juggler take a groat or a testor, and throwe it into a pot, or laie it in the midst of a table, & with inchanting words cause the same to leape out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him ward alongst the table. Which will seeme misraculous, untill you knowe that it is done with a long blacke haire of a womans head, fastened to the brim of a groat, by meanes of a little hole or iuen through the same with a Spanish needle. In like sort you may vse a knife, or anie other small thing: but if you would haue it go from you, you must haue a confederate, by which meanes all iuggling is graced and amended.

This feat is the stranger if it be doone by night; a candle placed betweene the lookers on & the iuggler: for by that means their eyesight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

To make a groat or a testor to sinke through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher verie strange.

A Juggler also sometimes will borrow a groat or a testor, & marke it before you, and seeme to put the same into the midst of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better see and feele it. Then will he take you the handkercher, and bid you feele whether the groat be there or naie; and he will also require you to put the same vnder a candlesticke, or some such thing. Then will he send for a bason, and holding the same vnder the word right against the candlesticke, will vse certeine words of inchantments; and in short space you shall heare the groat fall into the bason. This done, one takes off the candlesticke, and the iuggler taketh the handkercher by a tassell, and shaketh it; but the monie is gone: which seemeth as strange as anie feat whatsoeuer, but being knowne, the miracle is turned to a bable. For it is nothing else, but to sowe a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finelie couered with a peece of linnen, little bigger than your groat: which corner you must conueie in stead of the groat deliuered to you, into the middle of your handkercher; leaving the other either in your hand or lap, which afterwards you must

A discourie of this iuggling knacke.

A notable tricke to transforme a counter
to a groat.

The iug-
gler must
haue none
of his trin-
kets wan-
ting; besides
that, it be-
hooueth
him to be
mindfull,
least he
mistake his
trickes.

TAke a groat, or some lesse peece of monie, and grind it be-
rie thin at the one side; and take two counters, and grind
them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side: glew the
smoth side of the groat to the smoth side of one of the counters,
ioining them so close together as may be, speciallie at the edges,
which may be so filed, as they shall seeme to be but one peece; to
wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat. Then take
a verie little graine ware (so: that is softest and therefore best)
and laie it so vpon the smoth side of the other counter, as it do
not much discolour the groat: and so will that counter with the
groat cleaue together, as though they were glewed; and being
filed euen with the groat and the other counter, it will seeme so
like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger handle it, he
shall not betwize it; then hauing a little touched your forefinger,
and the thombe of your right hand with soft ware, take there-
with this counterfet counter, and laie it downe openlie vpon the
palme of your left hand, in such sort as an auditor: lafeth downe
his counters, twinging the same hard, so as you may leaue the
glewed counter with the groat apparentlie in the palme of your
left hand; and the smoth side of the wared counter will sticke
fast vpon your thombe, by reason of the war therewith it is sme-
red, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Prouided alwaies,
that you laie the wared side downeward, and the glewed side
vptward: then close your hand, and in or after the
closing thereof turne the peece, & so in stead
of a counter (which they suppose to be
in your hand) you shall seeme to
haue a groat, to the astonish-
ment of the beholders,
if it be well
handed.

An excellent feat, to make a two penie peece lie plaine
in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence
when you list.

The xxv. Chapter.



DUt a little red wax (not too thin)
vpon the naile of your longest finger,
then let a stranger put a two penie peece
into the palme of your hand, and shut
your fist suddenlie, and conueie the two
penie peece vpon the wax, which with vse
you may so accomplish, as no man shall
perceiue it. Then and in the meane time
vse words of course, and suddenlie open your hand, holding the
tipes of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palme
of your hand, and the beholders will wonder where it is be-
come. Then shut your hand suddenlie againe, & laie a wager whe-
ther it be there or no; and you may either leaue it there, or take it
awaie with you at your pleasure. This (if it be well handled) hath
more admiration than any other feat of the hand. Memorandum
this may be best handled, by putting the wax vpon the two pe-
nie peece, but then must you laie it in your hand your selfe.

* As, Ailif,
calyl, zaze,
hit mel
meltar : Sa-
turnus, lu-
piter, Mars,
Sol, Venus,
Mercurie,
Luna: or
such like.

To conueie a testor out of ones hand that
holdeth it fast.

Sicke a little wax vpon your thombe, and take a slander by
the finger, shewing him the testor, and telling him you will
put the same into his hand: then tying it downe hard with your
warded thombe, and vsing many words loke him in the face, & as
soone as you perceiue him to loke in your face, or fro your hand,
suddenlie take awaie your thombe, & close his hand, and so will it
seeme to him that the testor remaineth: euen as if you tying a te-
stor vpon ones forehead, it will seme to sticke, when it is taken
awaie, especiallie if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand
still, and with speed put into another mans hand (or into your
owne) two testors in stead of one, and vse words of course, wher-
by

by you shall make not onelie the beholders, but the holders beleeue, when they open their hands, that by inchantment you haue brought both together.

To throwe a peece of monie into a deepe pond, and to fetch it againe from whence you list.

In these
knacks of
confederacie
Feats
had the
name, whil-
est he li-
ued.

There be a maruellous number of feats to be done with monie, but if you will worke by priuate confederacie, as to marke a shilling, or any other thing, and throwe the same into a riuer or deepe pond, and hauing hid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place; bid some go presentlie & fetch it, making them beleeue, that it is the verie same which you throw into the riuer: the beholders will maruell much at it. And of such feats there may be done a maruellous number; but manie more by publike confederacie, whereby one may tell another how much monie he hath in his purse, and a hundredth like toies, and all with monie.

To conueie one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your armes abroad like a rood.

A knacke
more mer-
rie than
maruellous

Ethermore it is necessarie to mingle some merie toies among your graue miracles, as in this case of monie, to take a shilling in each hand, and holding your armes abroad, to laie a wager that you will put them both into one hand, without bringing them anie whit nearer together. The wager being made, hold your armes abroad like a rood, and turning about with your bodie, laie the shilling out of one of your hands vpon the table, and turning to the other side take it vp with the other hand: and so you shall win your wager.

How to rap a wag on the knuckles.

Another to
the same
purpose
read in pag.
324.

Deliver one peece of monie with the left hand to one, and to a second person another, and offer him that you would rap on the fingers the third; for he (though he be vngracious and subtil) seeing the other receiue monie, will not lightlie refuse it: and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right hand, saieing that you knew by your familiar, that he ment to haue kept it from you.

To

To transforme anie one small thing into anie
other forme by folding of paper,

The xxvj. Chapter.



Ake a sheete of paper, or a handker-
cher, and fold or double the same, so as one
side be a little longer than an other: then put
a counter betwene the two sides or leaues of
the paper or handkercher, vp to the middle of
the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be
not perceiued, and laie a groat on the outside
thereof, right against the counter, and fold it downe to the end
of the longer side: and when you vnfold it againe, the groat will
be there the counter was, and the counter where the groat was;
so as some will suppose that you haue transubstantiated the mo-
nie into a counter, and with this manie feats may be done.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two pa-
pers three inches square a peece, diuided by two folds into three
equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remaine one
inch square: then glew the back sides of the two papers together
as they are folded, & not as they are open, & so shall both papers
seeme to be but one; & which side soeuer you open, it shall appeare
to be the same, if you hide handsomelic the bottome, as you may
well doe with your middle finger, so as if you haue a groat in the
one and a counter in the other, you (hauing shewed but one) may
by turning the paper seeme to transubstantiate it. This may
be best performed, by putting it vnder a candlesticke, or a hat, &c.*
and with* words seeme to doe the feat.

Of cards, with good cautions how to auoid coufenage
therein: speciall rules to conueie and handle the cards,
and the maner and order how to accomplish all difficult
and strange things wrought with cards.

The xxvij. Chapter.



Having now bestowed some waste monie a-
mong you, I will set you to cards; by which kind of
witchcraft a great number of people haue inggled
a waie not onelie their monie, but also their lands,
theire

Such as
you shall
find in pag.
323, & 329.
in the mar-
ginal notes
or some
strange
terms of
your owne
deuising.

Of dice
plaie & the
like vn-
thrifitie
games,
mark these
two olde
verses: *Ludens taxillis
bene respice
quid sis in il-
lis, Mors tua
sors tuarum
ma spes tua
pendet in il-
lis: and re-
member
them.*

Note.

their health, their time, and their honestie. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd juggling that chetors practise, least it minister some offense to the well disposed, to the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of euill doing. But I would wish all gamesters to beware, not onlie with what cards and dice they plaie, but speciallie with whome & where they exercise gaming. And to let dice passe (as whereby a man maie be ineuitable cou- sened) one that is skilfull to make and vse Sunncards, may binde a hundred wealthie men that are giuen to gaming: but if he haue a confederate present, either of the plaiers or standers by, the mischief cannot be auoided. If you plaie among strangers, beware of him that seemes simple or drunken; for vnder their habit the most speciall couisers are presented, & while you thinke by their simplicitie and imperfections to beguile them (and ther- of perchance are perswaded by their confederats, your verie freends as you thinke) you your selfe will be most of all ouertaken. Beware also of bettors by, and lookers on, and namelie of them that bet on your side: for whilist they loke in your game without suspicion, they discourt it by signes to your aduersaries, with whome they bet, and yet are their confederates.

But in shewing feats, and juggling with cards, the principall point consisteth in shuffling them nimble, and alwaies keeping one certeine card either in the bottome, or in some knowne place of the stocke, foure or five cards from it. Hereby you shall seme to worke wonders; for it will be easie for you to see or spie one card, which though you be perceiued to do, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note I must giue you, that in reseruing the bottome card, you must alwaies (whil- lest you shuffle) keepe him a little before or a little behind all the cards lieng vnderneath him, bestowing him (I saie) either a lit- tle beyond his fellows before, right ouer the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little finger of the left hand may mete with it: which is the easier, the readier, and the better waie. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thicke as you can; and in the end throw vpon the stocke the nether card (with so manie mo at the least as you would haue preserved for anie purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Prouided alwaies, that your forefinger, if the packe be laied before, or the little finger, if the packe lie be- hind,

hind, crêpe vp to mæte with the bottome card, and not lie be-
twixt the cards: and when you feele it, you may there hold it, un-
till you haue shuffled ouer the cards againe, still leauing your
kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may do almost what
you list with the cards. By this meanes, what packe soeuer you
make, though it consist of eight, twelue, or twentie cards, you
may keepe them still together vnseuered next to the nether
card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfie the curious beholders.
As for example, and for benities sake, to shew you diuers seats
vnder one.

How to deliuer out foure aces, and to conuert
them into foure knaues.

Make a packe of these eight cards; to wit, foure knaues and
foure aces: and although all the eight cards must lie imme-
diatlie together, yet must ech knaue and ace be openlie seuered,
and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the
bunch. When shuffle them so, as alwaies at the second shuffling,
or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said packe, and of
the packe one ace may lie nethermost, or so as you may know
where he goeth and lieth: and alwaies (I saie) let your foresaid
packe with three or foure cards more lie vnseparablie together
immediatlie vpon and with that ace. Then vsing some speech or
other deuise, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge
of the table to hide the action, let out priuilie a peece of the second
card, which is one of the knaues, holding forth the stocke in both
your hands, and shewing to the standers by the nether card
(which is the ace or kept card) couering also the head or peece of the
knaue (which is the next card) with your foure fingers, draw out
the same knaue, lateng it downe on the table: then shuffle againe,
keeping your packe whole, and so haue you two aces lieng toge-
ther in the bottome. And therfore, to reforme that disordered card,
as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the
vppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the midst of the
cards; and then take awaie the nethermost card, which is one of
your said aces, and bestow him likewise. Then may you begin
as before, shewing an other ace, and in steed thereof late downe
an other knaue: and so forth, untill in steed of foure aces you
haue

You must
be well ad-
vised in the
shuffling of
the bunch,
least you
ouershoot
your selfe.

13. Booke. The discouerie *Juggling with cards.*

haue laied downe foure knaues. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie foure aces on the table, are greatlie abused, and will maruell at the transformation.

How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stocke.

When you haue seene a card priuilie, or as though you marked it not, laie the same vndermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie againe below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let anie other shuffle them; for you know the card already, and therefore may at anie time tell them what card they saw: which neuertheless would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

*For that will drawe the action into the greater admiration.

Another waie to doo the same, hauing your selfe indeed neuer seene the card.

If you can see no card, or be suspected to haue seene that which you meane to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (hauing shewed and not seene the bottome card) shuffle againe, and keepe the same card, as before you are taught; and either make shift then to see it when their suspicion is past, which maie be done by letting some cards fall, or else laie downe all the cards in heaps, remembering where you laied your bottome card. Then spie how manie cards lie in some one heape, and laie the heape where your bottome card is vpon that heape, and all the other heapes vpon the same: and so, if there were fve cards in the heape where you laied your card, then the same must be the first card, which now you may throw out, or looke vpon without suspicion: and tell them the card they saw.

To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh.

The eie bewraith the thought.

Laie three cards on a table, a little waie distant, and bid a stander by be true and not wauer, but thinke one of them three; and by his eie you shall assuredlie perceiue which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall do the like, if you cast downe a whole paire

paire of cards with the faces vppward, wherof there will be seve[n] or none plainlie perceiued, and they also coate cards. But as you cast them do[t]one suddenlie, so must you take them vpp presentlie, marking both his eie and the card whereon he looketh.

How to tell what card anie man thinketh, how to conueie the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c: and the same againe into ones pocket: how to make one drawe the same or anie card you list, and all vnder one deuise.

The xxviii. Chapter.

Take a nut, or a cheristone, & burne a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or boare it with a nail; and with the eie of a needle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of a card in a peece of fine paper one inch or halfe an inch in length, and halfe so much in bredth, and roll it vpp hard: then put it into a nut, or cheristone, and close the hole with a little red ware, and rub the same with a litle duff, and it will not be perceiued, if the nut or cheristone be browne or old. Then let your confederate thinke that card which you haue in your nut, &c: and either conueie the same nut or cheristone into some bodies pocket, or laie it in some strange place: then make one drawe the same out of the stocke held in your hand, which by vse you may well do. But saie not, I will make you perforce drawe such a card: but require some stander by to draw a card, saieing that it skils not what card he drawe. And if your hand serue you to vse the cards well, you shall prefer vnto him, and he shall receiue (euen though he snatch at an other) the verie card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is written in the nut, and hidden in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the stocke in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember alwaies to keepe your card in your eie, and not to lose the sight thereof. Which seate, till you be perfect in, you may haue

Tricks with cards, &c: which must be doone with confederacie.

haue the same priuile marked; and when you perceiue his hand readie to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimble turning ouer the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw anie other: which if he should doe, you must let three or foure fall, that you may beginne againe. ¶ This will seeme most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie solued vpon the doublet or cote of anie bodie. This tricke they commonlie end with a nut full of inke, in which case some wag or unhappie boie is to be required to thinke a card; and hauing so done, let the nut be deliuered him to cracke, which he will not refuse to doe, if he haue seene the other feate played before.

A merrie
conceipt,
the like
whereof
you shall
find in pag.
324, & 330.

Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot vpon a handkercher, and to vndo the same with words.

The xxix. Chapter.

THe Aegyptians iuggling witchcraft or sortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I haue written somewhat generallie alreadye, yet hauing such oportunitie I will here shew some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune telling which is so impious; and yet both of them merre couenages. ¶ Make one plaine loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same verie hard, hold fast the bodie of the said handkercher (neere to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrarie end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close vp handsomlie the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be neere to the knot: then will it seeme a true and a firme knot. And to make it appeare more assuredlie to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilst you hold fast the other in your right hand: and then holding the knot with your forefinger & thombe, & the nether part of your handkercher with your other fingers,

Fast and
loose with a
handkercher.

as you hold a bzidle when you would with one hand slip vp the knot and lengthen your reines. This done, turne your handkercher ouer the knot with the left hand, in doing whereof you must suddenlie slip out the end or corner, putting vp the knot of your handkercher with your forefinger and thombe, as you would put vp the foresaid knot of your bzidle. Then deliuer the same (couered and wrapt in the middest of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words vsed, and wagers laied, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be lose.

A notable feate of fast or loose; namelie, to pull three beaddstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remouing of your hand.

Take two little whipcords of two foote long a peece, double them equallie, so as there may appeare foure ends. Then take these great beaddstones, the hole of one of them being bigger than the rest; and put one beaddstone vpon the eie or bolw of the one cord, and an other on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bolws be hidden therein: which may be the better done, if you put the eie of the one into the eie or bolw of the other. Then pull the middle bead vpon the same, being doubled ouer his fellow, and so will the beads seeme to be put ouer the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may tolle them as you list, and make it seeme manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you haue done it, that the beaddstones are put vpon the two cords without anie fraud. Then must you seeme to adde more effectuall binding of those beaddstones to the string, and make one halfe of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the beaddstones be taken awaie, the cords may be seene in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you haue made your halfe knot (which in anie wise you may not double to make a perfect knot) you must deliuer into the hands of some stander by those two cords; namelie, two ends euclie set in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c: beginne to pull off your beaddstones, &c: which if you handle nimblie, and wisthe end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will

Fast or lose
with whip-
cords and
beades.

This con-
ueiance
must be
closelie
done: Ergo
it must be
no bung-
lers worke.

shew to be placed plainelie, and the beaddstones to haue come through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be described, that I will leaue them; whereas I could shew great varietie.

Juggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.

The xxx. Chapter.



Lie a wager with your confederate (who must seme simple, or obstinate opposed against you) that standing behind a doore, you will (by the sound or ringing of the monie) tell him whether he cast crosse or pile: so as when you are gone, and he hath filipped the monie before the witnesses who are to be couened, he must saie; What is it, if it be crosse; or What is it, if it be pile: or some other such signe, as you are agreed vpon, and so you need not faile to gesse rightlie. By this meanes (if you haue anie inuention) you may seme to doe a hundreth miracles, and to discouer the secrets of a mans thoughts, or words spoken a far off.

What is it?
What is it?
signes of
confederacie.

To make a shoale of gollings drawe a timber log.

To make a shoale of gollings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of geese to seme to drawe a timber log, is done by that verie meanes that is vsed, when a cat doth drawe a sole through a pond or riuer: but handled somewhat further off from the beholders.

To make a pot or anie such thing standing fast on the cupboard, to fall downe thense by vertue of words.

Let a cupboard be so placed, as your confederate may hold a blacke thred without in the court, behind some window of that roome; and at a certeine loud word spoken by you, he may pull the same thred, being twind about the pot, &c. And this was the seate of Eleazar, which Iosephus reporteth to be such a miracle.

Eleazars
seate of confederacie.

To

To make one danse naked.

MAke a poze boie confederate with you, so as after charmes, &c: spoken by you, he vncloth himselfe, and stand naked, (seeming whilest he vnderseeth him) to shake, stampe, and crie, still hastening to be vnclothed, till he be starke naked: or if you can procure none to go so far, let him onelie beginne to stampe and shake, &c: and to vncloth him, and then you may (for the reuerence of the companie) seeme to release him.

To transforme or alter the colour of
ones cap or hat.

TAke a confederates hat, and vse certeine words ouer it, and deliuer it to him againe, and let him seeme to be wroth, and cast it backe to you againe, affirming that his was a good new blacke hat, but this is an old blew hat, &c: and then you may seeme to countercharme it, and redeliuer it, to his satisfaction.

How to tell where a stollen horssse is become.

Buranes of confederacie, Steeuen Tailor and one Pope Babused diuers countrie people. For Steeuen Tailor would hide awaie his neighbours horsses, &c: and send them to Pope, (whom he before had told where they were) promising to send the parties vnto him, whome he described and made knowne by diuers signes: so as this Pope would tell them at their first entrance vnto the doore. Wherefore they came, and would saie that their horsses were stollen, but the theefe should be forced to bring backe the horsses, &c: and leaue them within one mile south and by west, &c: of his house, euen as the plot was laid, and the packe made before by Steeuen and him. This Pope is said of

some to be a witch, of others he is accompted
a coniuor: but commonlie called
a wise man, which is all one
with a soothsaier or
witch.

* As, Droch
myroch, &
senaroth
betu ba-
roch affma-
aroth, rou-
see faroun-
see, hey
passe passe,
&c: or such
like strange
words.

Pope and
Tailor co-
federates.

Boxes to alter one graine into another, or to
consume the graine or corne to nothing.

The. xxxj. Chapter.



Here be diuers iuggling bores with false bottoms, wherein manie false seats are wrought. First they haue a bor couered or rather footed alike at each end, the bottome of the one end being no deeper than as it may containe one lane of corne or pepper glewed thereupon. Then vse they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of graine, ground or vnground; then doe they couer it, and put it vnder a hat or candlesticke: and either in putting it therinto, or pulling it thence, they turne the bor, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrarie graine: or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they suddenlie thrust into a boll or bag of such graine as is glewed already thereupon) and secondlie the emptie bor.

Note the
maner of
this con-
uiciance.

How to conuie (with words or charmes) the corne
contained in one box into another.

There is another bor fashioned like a bell, wherinto they doe put so much, and such corne or spice as the foresaid hollow bor can containe. Then they stop or couer the same with a peece of leather, as broad as a tessel, which being thrust vp hard towards the middle part or waste of the said bell, will sticke fast, & beare vp the corne. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other bor dipped (as is aforesaid) in corne, and set downe the same vpon the table, the emptie end vprward, saing that they will conuie the graine therein into the other bor or bell: which being set downe somewhat hard vpon the table, the leather and the corne therein will fall downe, so as the said bell being taken vp from the table, you shall see the corne lying thereon, and the stopple will be hidden therewith, & couered: & when you vncouer the other bor, nothing shall remaine therein. But presentlie the corne must be swept downe with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat. Manie seats maie be done with this bor, as to put therein a tode, affirming the same to haue bene so turned from corne, &c: and then manie beholders will suppose

You must
take heed
that when
the corne
commerh
out it couer
& hide the
leather, &c.

suppose the same to be the iugglers diuell, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft vsed in transferring of coine after this sort, than is in the transferring of one mans coine in the grasse into an other mans feld: which the lawe of the twelue tables doth so force-
ablie condemne: for the one is a coufening slight, the other is a false lie.

*See the 11 booke of this disco- uerie, in the title *Habar*, cap. 4. pag. 220, 221.

Of an other boxe to conuert wheat into flower
with words, &c.

There is an other bore vsuall among iugglers, with a bot-
tome in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One
other also like a tun, wherein is shewed great varietie of stuffe, as
well of liquors as spices, and all by means of an other little tun
within the same, wherein and whereon liquors and spices are
shewed. But this would aske too long a time of description.

Of diuerse petie iuggling knacks.

There are manie other beggerlie feats able to beguile the
simple, as to make an ote stir by spetting thereon, as though
it came to passe by words. Item to deliuer meale, pepper, gun-
ger, or anie powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c:
which is done by reteining anie of those things stuffed in a little
paper or bladder conueied into your mouth, and grinding the
same with your teeth. ¶ Item, a rish through a peece of a trencher,
hauing three holes, and at the one side the rish appearing out in
the second, at the other side in the third hole, by reason of a hollow
place made betwixt them both, so as the slight consisteth in tur-
ning the peece of trencher.

These are
such sleights
that euen a
bungler
may doo
them: and
yet prettie,
&c.

To burne a thred, and to make it whole
again with the ashes thereof.

The xxxij. Chapter.



Tis not one of the worst feats to burne a
thred handsomelie, and to make it whole againe: the
order thereof is this. Take two threds, or small la-
ces, of one sorte in length a peece: roll vp one of
them

Marke the
maner of
this con-
ceit and de-
uise.

Dd. iiij.

That is,
neatlie and
deintilie.

A thred cut
in manie
peeces and
burned to
ashes made
whole a-
gaine.

The means
discouered.

them round, which will be then of the quantitie of a pease, bestow the same betwene your left forefinger and your thombe. Then take the other thred, and hold it forth at length, betwixt the forefinger and thombe of each hand, holding all your fingers deintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take vp a morsell of meate. Then let one cut asunder the same thred in the middle. When that is done, put the tops of your two thombes together, and so shall you with lesse suspicion receiue the peece of thred which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thombe: then holding these two peeces as you did the same before it was cut, let those two be cut also asunder in the middell, and they conueied againe as before, vntill they be cut verie short, and then roll all those ends together, and keepe that ball of short threds before the other in your left hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it vntill the said ball of short threds be burnt to ashes. Then pull backe the knife with your right hand, and leaue the ashes with the other ball betwixt the forefinger and thombe of your left hand, and with the two thombs & two forefingers together sceme to take paines to frot and rub the ashes, vntill your thred be renewed, and drawe out that thred at length which you kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thombe. This is not inferiour to anie iugglers feate if it be well handled, for if you haue legierdemaine to bestowe the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place betwixt your other fingers (as may easilie be done) then will it sceme verie strange.

To cut a lace asunder in the middell, and to make it whole againe.

By a deuise not much vnlike to this, you may sceme to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about ones necke, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c: and with witchcraft or coniuration to make it whole and closed together againe. For the accomplishment whereof, prouide (if you can) a peece of the lace, &c: which you meane to cut, or at the least a patterne like the same, one inch and a halfe long, & (keeping it double pziulie in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers nere to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you meane to cut, still hanging about ones necke, and

and drawe downe your said left hand to the bought thereof: and putting your owne peece a little before the other (the end or rather middle thereof you must hide betwixt your forefinger and thombe) making the eie or bought, which shall be seene, of your owne patterne, let some stander by cut the same asunder, and it will be surelie thought that the other lace is cut; which with words and froting, &c: you shall seeme to renew & make whole againe. This, if it be well handled, will seeme miraculous.

How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth,
of what colour or length you list, and neuer anie
thing seene to be therein.

As for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale A common iuggling
trick, whereby iugglers gaine monie among maides, selling iuggling
lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottome as knack of
fast as they pull out an other, and at the fust end of euerie yard flat coufe-
they tie a knot, so as the same resteth upon their teeth: then cut nage plaied
they off the same, and so the beholders are double and treble de- among the
ceiued, seeing as much lace as will be contained in a hat, and the simple, &c.
same of what colour you list to name, to be drawne by so euen
yards out of his mouth, and yet the iuggler to talke as though
there were nothing at all in his mouth.

How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew eue-
rie lease therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow,
greene, &c.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

There are a thousand iugglings, which I am loth to spend time to describe, thereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but deceipt, coufe- nage, or confederacie: whereby you may iuggling a
plainelie see the art to be a kind of twich kind of
craft. I will end therefore with one deuise, witchcraft
which is not common, but was speciallie
vsed by Claruis, whome though I neuer saw to exercise the feat, The inuen-
yet am I sure I conceiue aright of that inuention. He had (they tion of
saie) Claruis.

This knack
is sooner
learned by
demonstra-
tione means,
than taught
by words of
instruction.

saie) a booke, whereof he would make you thinke first, that euerie leafe was cleane white paper: then by vertue of words he would shew you euerie leafe to be painted with birds, then with beasts, then with serpents, then with angels, &c: the deuise thereof is this. ¶ Make a booke seven inches long, and five inches broad, or according to that proportion: and let there be xlii. leaues; to wit, seven times seven contained therein, so as you may cut upon the edge of each leafe six notches, each notch in depth halfe a quarter of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint euerie fourteenth and fiftenth page (which is the end of euerie first leafe, & the beginning of euerie seventh) with like colour, or one kind of picture. Cut off with a paire of sheares euerie notch of the first leafe, leauing onlie one inch of paper in the vppermost place vncut, which will remaine almost halfe a quarter of an inch higher than anie part of that leafe. Leauē an other like inch in the second place of the second leafe, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place immediatlie about it, and all the notches below the same, and so orderlie to the third, fourth, &c: so as there shall rest vpon each leafe one onlie inch of paper aboue the rest. One high vncut inch of paper must answer to the first, directlie, in euerie seventh leafe of the booke: so as when you haue cut the first seven leaues, in such sort as I first described, you are to begin in the selfe same order at the eight leafe, descending in such wise in the cutting of seven other leaues, and so againe at the fiftenth, to xxi, &c: vntill you haue passed through euerie leafe, all the thickness of your booke.

Now you shall vnderstand, that after the first seven leaues, euerie seventh leafe in the booke is to be painted, sauing one seven leaues, which must remaine white. Whobreit you must obserue, that at each Burnleafe or high inch of paper, seven leaues distant, opposite one directlie and lineallie against the other, through the thickness of the booke, the same page with the page pcedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture; and so must you passe through the booke with seven seuerall sorts of colours or pictures: so as, when you shall rest your thombe vpon anie of those Burnleaves, or high inches, and open the booke, you shall see in each page one colour or picture through out the booke; in an other rowe, an other colour, &c. To make that matter more plaine vnto you, let this be the description hereof. Hold the booke
with

This will
seeme rare
to the be-
holders.

with your left hand, and (betwixt your forefinger and thombe of your right hand) slip ouer the booke in what place you list, and your thombe will alwaies rest at the seuenth leafe; to wit, at the *Wunke*: afe o2 high inch of paper from whence when your booke is streined, it will fall o2 slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, & open the booke, the beholders seeing each leafe to haue one colour o2 picture with so manie varieties, all passing continual-
lie & directlie through the whole booke, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaues at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardlie conceine herof by this description, you shall (if you be disposed) see o2 buye for a small value the like booke, at the shop of W. Brome in Bowles churchyard, for your further instruction. ¶ There are certeine feats of actiuitie, which beauti-
fie this art excēdinglie: howbeit euen in these, some are true, and some are counterfet; to wit, some done by practise, and some by confederacie. ¶ There are likewise diuers feats arithmetickall & geometricall: for them read *Gemma Phrysius*, and *Record*, &c. which being exercised by jugglers ad credit to their art. ¶ There are also (besides them which I haue set downe in this title of *Hartumim*) sundrie strange experiments reported by *Plinie*, *Albert*, *Ioh. Bap. Port. Neap.* and *Thomas Lupton*, wherof some are true, and some false: which being knotone to *Iannes* and *Iambres*, o2 else to our jugglers, their occupation is the more magni-
fied, and they thereby more reuerenced. ¶ Here is place to disco-
uer the particular knaueries of casting of lots, and drawing of cuts (as they terme it) whereby manie couenages are wrought: so as I dare not teach the sundrie deuises thereof, least the un-
godlie make a practise of it in the commonwealth, where manie things are decided by those meanes, which being honest-
lie meant may be lawfullie vsed. But I haue said
alreadie somewhat hereof in generall, and
therefore also the rather haue suppressed
the particularities, which (in truth)
are mere juggling knackes:
whereof I could disco-
uer a great num-
ber.

Wher such
bookes may
be gotten.

See more
hereof in
the 11. book
of this dis-
couerie, in
the title
Nahai, cap.
10 pag. 197,
198.

Desperate or dangerous iuggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to thinke, that a feelie iuggler with words can hurt and helpe, kill and reuiue anie creature at his pleasure: and first to kill anie kind of pullen, and to giue it life againe.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

Take a hen, a chicke, or a capon, and thrust a nail or a fine sharpe pointed knife through the midd of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seeme impossible for hir to scape death: then vse words, and pulling out the knife, laie otes before hir, &c: and she will eate and liue, being nothing at all grieued or hurt with the wound; bicause the baine lieth so far behind in the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife betwene the combe and it: and after you haue done this, you may conuert your speach and actions to the grieuous wounding and present recouering of your owne selfe.

* The naturall cause why a hen thrust thorough the head with a bodkin dooth liue notwithstanding.

To eate a knife, and to fetch it out of anie other place.

Take a knife, and containe the same within your two hands, so as no part be seene thereof but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as noise may be made therewith. Then seeme to put a great part thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip downe, there will appeare to haue bene more in your mouth than is possible to be contained therein. Then send for drinke, or vse some other delaie, untill you haue let the said knife slip into your lap, holding both your fists close together as before, and then raise them so from the edge of the table where you sit (so from thence the knife may most priuilie slip downe into your lap) and in stead of biting the knife, knable a little vpon your nail, and then seeme to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next vnto it, and thrust vp the other, so as it may appeare to the standers by, that you haue deliuered your hands

It must be cleanelie conueied in any case.

hands therof, and thrust it into your mouth: then call so: drinke, after countenance made of picking and danger, &c. Lastlie, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may seeme to bring it out from behind you, or from whence you list. ¶ But if you haue another like knife and a confederate, you may doe twentie notable wonders hereby: as to send a stander by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some tree or herbe, vnder which it sticketh; or else some Strangers sheath or pocket, &c.

To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.

Take a bodkin so made, as the haff being hollowe, the blade thereof may slip thereinto as sone as you hold the point vppward: and set the same to your forehead, and seeme to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may bring out bloud or wine, making the beholders thinke the bloud or the wine (whereof you may saie you haue drunke verie much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of paine and greefe, pull auaite your hand suddentie, holding the point downeward; and it will fall so out, as it will seeme neuer to haue beene thrust into the haff: but immediatlie thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocket, and pull out an other plaine bodkin like the same, sauing in that conceipt.

The maner
& meanes
of this acti-
on

To thrust a bodkin through your toong, and a knife
through your arme: a pittifull sight, without
hurt or danger.

Make a bodkin, the blade thereof being sundred in the middle, so as the one part be not nere to the other almost by three quarters of an inch, each part being kept a sunder with one small bought or crooked peece of iron, of the fashion described hereafter in place conuenient. Then thrust your toong betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left in the bodkin blade, thrusting the said bought behind your teeth, and biting the same: and then shall it seeme to sticke so fast in and through your toong, as that one can hardlie pull it out. ¶ Also the verie like may be done with a knife so made, and put vpon your arme: and the wound will appeare the moze terrible, if a little bloud be potored there.

A forme or
patterne of
this bodkin
and knife
you shal see
described if
you turne
ouer a few
leaves for-
ward.

To thrust a peece of lead into one eie, and to driue it about (with a sticke) betweene the skin and flesh of the forehead, vntill it be brought to the other eie, and there thrust out.

Put a peece of lead into one of the nether lids of your eie, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may doe without danger) and with a little tuggling sticke (one end therof being hollow) seeme to thrust the like peece of lead vnder the other eie lid; but conueie the same in deed into the hollownes of the sticke, the stopple or peg whereof may be primlie kept in your hand vntill this feate be done. Then seeme to bziue the said peece of lead, with the hollow end of the said sticke, from the same eie: and so with the end of the said sticke, being brought along vpon your forehead to the other eie, you maie thrust out the peece of lead, which before you had put therinto; to the admiration of the beholders. ¶ Some eat the lead, and then shoue it out at the eie: and some put it into both, but the first is best.

To cut halfe your nose asunder, and to heale it againe presentlie without anie salue.

This is easie
lie doone,
howbeit
being clen-
lie handled
it will de-
ceiue the
sight of the
beholders.

Take a knife hauing a round hollow gap in the middle, and laie it vpon your nose, and so shall you seeme to haue cut your nose halfe asunder. Prouided alwaies, that in all these you haue an other like knife without a gap; to be shewed vpon the pulling out of the same, and words of enchantment to speake, bloud also to beate the wound, and nimble conueiance.

To put a ring through your cheeke.

There is an other old knacke, which seemeth dangerous to the cheeke. For the accomplishing thereof you must haue two rings, of like colour and quantitie; the one filed asunder, so as you may thrust it vpon your cheeke; the other must be whole, and conueied vpon a sticke, holding your hand therevpon in the middle of the sticke, deliuering each end of the same sticke to be holden fast by a stander by. Then conueieng the same cleanlie into your hand, or (so lacke of good conueiance) into your lap or pocket,

pocket, pull a waie your hand from the stick: and in pulling it a waie, whirle about the ring, and so will it be thought that you haue put thereon the ring which was in your cheeke.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c:
which the iugglers call the decollation of Iohn Baptist.

T^M shew a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a board, a cloth, and a platter to be purposedly made, and in each of them holes fit for a boies necke. The board must be made of two planks, the longer and broader the better: there must be left within halfe a yard of the end of each plank halfe a hole; so as both planks being thrust together, there may remaine two holes, like to the holes in a paire of stocks: there must be made likewise a hole in the tablecloth or carpet. A platter also must be set directlie ouer or vpon one of them, hauing a hole in the middle thereof, of the like quantitie, and also a peece cut out of the same, so big as his necke, through which his head may be conueied into the midst of the platter: and then sitting or kneeling vnder the board, let the head onlie remaine vpon the board in the same. Then (to make the sight more dreadfull) put a little brimstone into a chafing dish of coles, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or thre times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth (which is not vnholysome) and the head presentlie will appeare starke dead; if the boie set his countenance accordingly: and if a little blood be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger.

This is commonlie practised with a boie instructed for that purpose, who being familiar and conuersant with the companie, may be knowne as well by his face, as by his apparell. In the other end of the table, where the like hole is made, an other boie of the bignesse of the knowne boie must be placed, hauing vpon him his vsuall apparell: he must leane or lie vpon the board, and must put his head vnder the board through the said hole. So as his bodie shall seeme to lie on the one end of the board, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. ¶ There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit: as to put about his necke a little dough kneded with bullocks

This was done by one Kingfield of London, at a Bartholomewide, An. 1582. in the sight of diuerse that came to view this spectacle.

Necessary obseruations to astonish the beholders.

locks blond, which being cold will appeare like dead flesh; & being pricked with a sharpe round hollow quill, will bleed, and seeme verie strange, &c. ¶ Manie rules are to be obserued herein, as to haue the table cloth so long and wide as it may almost touch the ground. ¶ Not to suffer the companie to staie too long in the place, &c.

To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie strangelic, and to recouer immediatlie.

Of a juggler that failing in the feats of his art lost his life.

A nother miracle may be shewed touching counterfet eruptions; namelie, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall seeme to kill your selfe, or at the least make an vntreuerable wound in your bellie: as (in truth) not long since a juggler caused himself to be killed at a tauerne in cheapside, from whence he presentlie went into Dotoles churchyard and died. Which misfortune fell vpon him through his owne follie, as being then drunken, and hauing forgotten his plate, which he should haue had for his defense. The deuise is this. ¶ You must prepare a passe board, to be made according to the fashon of your bellie and brest: the same must by a painter be coloured cunninglie, not onelie like to your flesh, but with pappes, nauill, haire, &c: so as the same (being handsomelie trussed vnto you) may shew to be your naturall bellie. Then next to your true bellie you may put a linnen cloth, and therevpon a double plate (which the juggler that killed himselfe forgot, or wilfullie omitted) ouer and vpon the which you may place the false bellie. Provided alwaies, that betwixt the plate & the false bellie you place a gut or bladder of blond, which blond must be of a calfe or of a sheepe; but in no wise of an ore or a cow, for that will be too thicke. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your brest a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out againe, the said blond will spin or spirt out a good distance from you, especiallie if you straine your bodie to swell, and thrust therewith against the plate. You must euer remember to vse (with words, countenance, and gesture) such a grace, as may giue a grace to the action, and moue admiration in the beholders.

But herein see you be circumspect

To drawe a cord through your nose, mouth or hand,
so sensible as is wonderfull to see.

There is an other iuggling knacke, which they call the *bridle*, being made of two elder sticks, through the hollownes thereof is placed a cord, the same being put on the nose like a paire of tongs or pinlars; and the cord, which goeth round about the same, being drawne to and fro, the beholders will thinke the cord to go through your nose verie dangerouslie. The knots at the end of the cord, which doe staie the same from being drawne out of the stickes, may not be put out at the verie top (for that must be stopped vp) but halfe an inch beneath each end: and so I saie, when it is pulled, it will seeme to passe through the nose; and then may you take a knife, and seeme to cut the cord asunder, and pull the bridle from your nose.

A forme or
patterne of
this bridle
you shall
see descri-
bed if you
turne ouer
afew leaues

The conclusion, wherein the reader is referred to cer-
taine patterns of instruments wherewith diuerse
seats heere specified are to be executed.

Herein I might waide infinitelie, but I hope it sufficeth, that I haue deliuered vnto you the principles, and also the principall seats belonging to this art of iuggling; so as any man conceiuing throughlie hereof may not onlie doe all these things, but also may deuise other as strange, & varie euerie of these deuises into other formes as he can best conceiue. And so long as the power of almightie God is not transposed to the iuggler, nor offense ministred by his vncomlie speech and behauiour, but the action perfozmed in pastime, to the delight of the beholders, so as alwaies the iuggler confesse in the end that these are no supernaturall actions, but deuises of men, and nimble conueiances, let all such curious concepted men as cannot affoord their neighbors anie comfort or commoditie, but such as pleaseth their melancholike dispositions say what they list, for this will not onlie be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatlie aduance the power and glorie of God, discouering their pride and falshood that take vpon them to worke miracles, and to be the mightie power of God, as Iannes and Iambres and also Simon Magus did.

Among
wharacti-
ons iug-
gling is to
be counted.

If anie man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as
Orange

A marchles
fellowe for
legierde-
maine.

Strange to behold as I haue reported, or thinke with Bodin that these matters are performed by familiars or diuels; let him go into S. Martins, and inquire for one Iohn Cautares (a French man by birth, in conuersation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his liuing hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his browes, and neuerthelesse hath the best hand and conueiance (I thinke) of anie man that liueth this daie.

Neither doe I speake (as they saie) without booke herein. For if time, place, and occasion serue, I can shew so much herein, as I am sure Bodin, Spinus, and Vairus, would sweare I were a witch, and had a familiar diuell at commandement. But truelie my studie and trauell herein hath onelie bene employed to the end I might proue them soles, and find out the fraud of them that make them soles, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may haue that which to him belongeth.

Touching
the pat-
ternes of
diuerse iug-
ling in-
struments.

And bicause the manner of these iuggling conueiances are not easilie conceiued by discourse of words; I haue caused to be set downe diuerse formes of instruments vsed in this art; which may serue for patternes to them that would throughlie see the secrets thereof, and make them for their owne priuate practises, to trie the euent of such deuises, as in this tract of legierde-maine are shewed. Where note, that you shall find euerie instrument that is most necessarilie occupied in the working of these strange feats, to beare the iust and true number of the page, where the vse thereof is in ample words declared.

Now will I proceed with another consening point of witchcraft, apt for the place, necessarie for the time, and in mine opinion meet to be discouered, or at the least to be defaced among

deceitfull arts. And bicause manie are abused hereby

to their vtter vndowing, for that it hath had pas-

sage vnder the protection of learning, wher-

by they pretend to accomplish their

works, it hath gone freeilie with

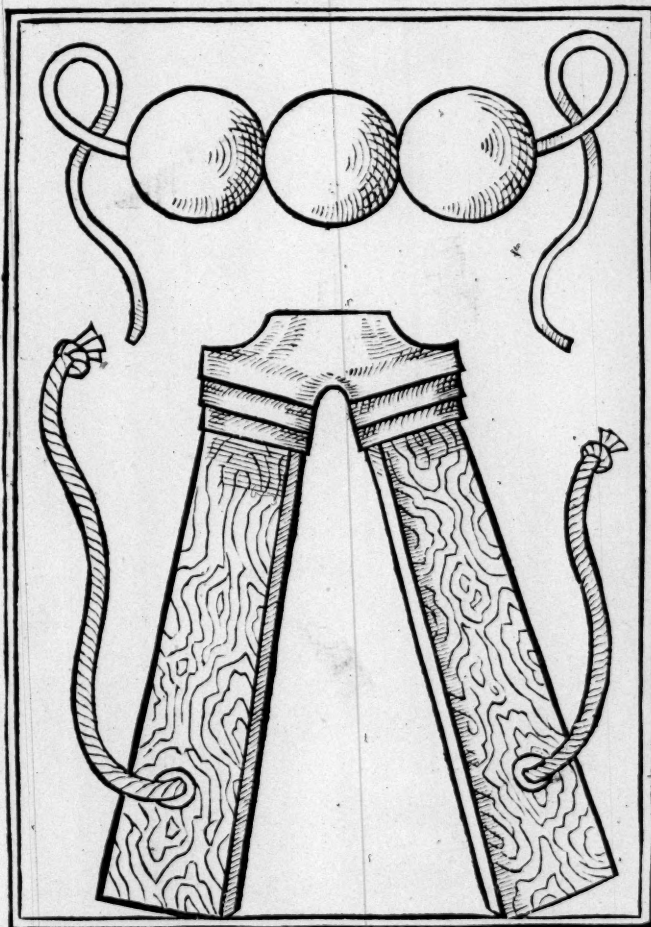
out generall controlment

through all ages, na-

tions & people.

Hartumim. of Witchcraft. Cap. 29, 34.

¶ Heere follow patternes of certeine instruments to be vsed in the former iuggling knacks.



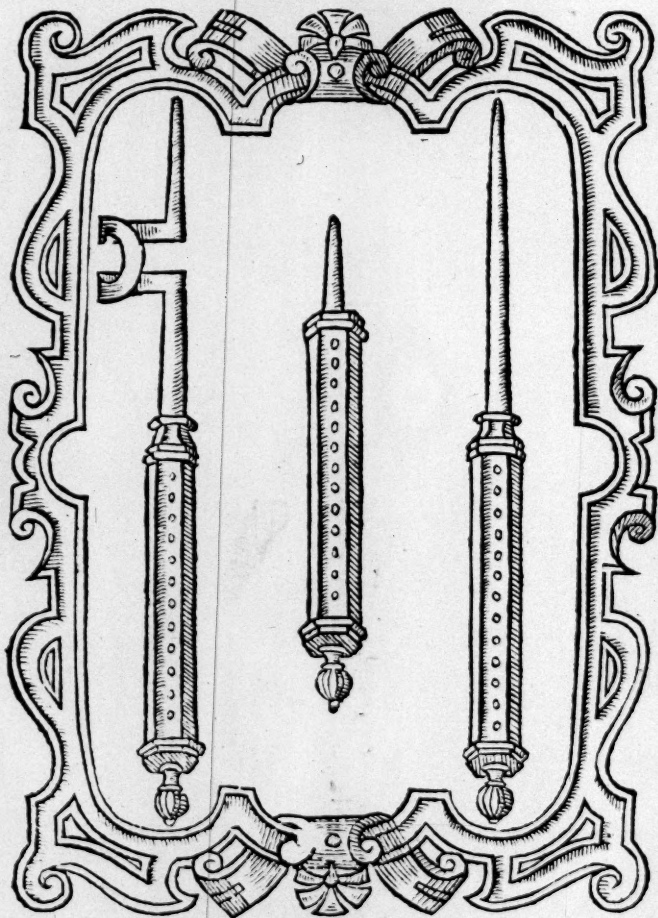
To pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remouing of your hand.

To draw a cord thorough your nose, mouth or hand, which is called the bridle.

¶ To be instructed in the right vse of the said beadstones, read page 337. and 338. As for the bridle, read page 351.

To thrust a bodkin into your head, and
through your tooꝅg, &c.

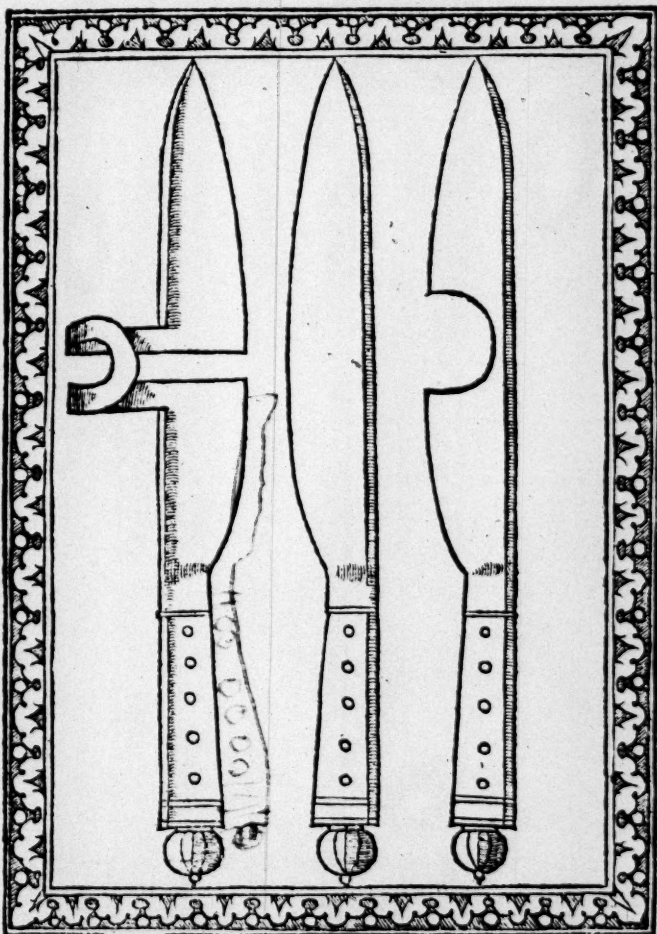
The hether
moſt is the
bodkin w
the bowt: y
midlemoſt
is the bod-
kin with the
holow haſt:
the further-
moſt is the
plaine bod-
kin ſeruing
for thew.



To be instructed and taught in the right vse and readie pra-
ctiſe of theſe bodkins, read page 347.

Hartumim. of Witchcraft. Cap.34.

To thrust a knife through your arme, and to
cut halfe your nose asunder, &c.

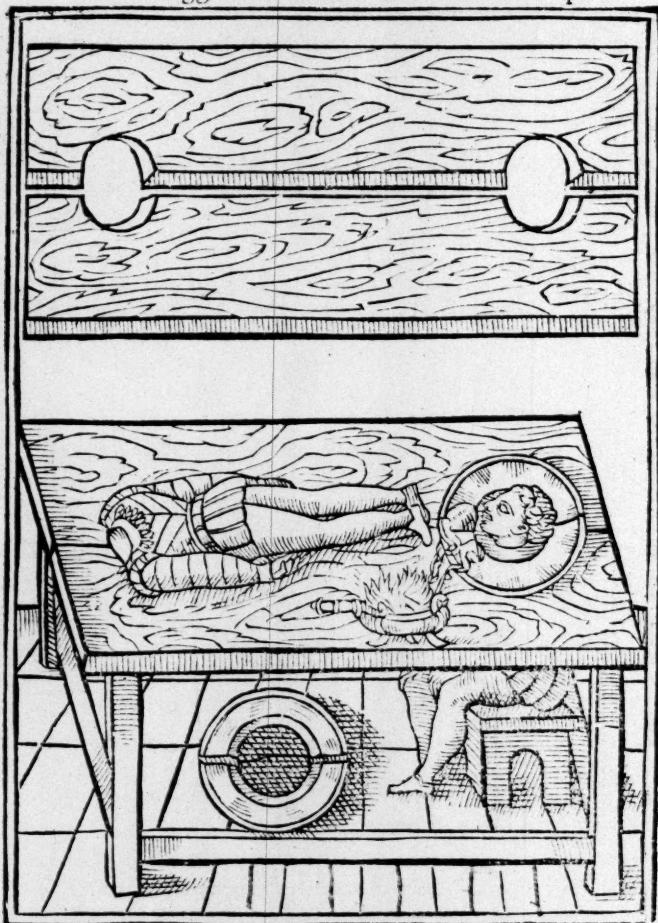


The middlemost
knife is to
serue for
shew; the
other two
be the
kniues of
deuise.

To be readie in the vse and perfect in the practise of these
kniues here portrayed, see page 347. and 348.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter,
which the iugglers call the decollation of Iohn Baptist.

The forme
of y^e planks,
&c.



The order
of the acti-
on, as it is
to be thew-
ed.

What order is to be obserued for the practising hercof
with great admiration, read page 349. 350.

¶ The

¶ *The xiiij. Booke.*

Of the art of Alcumystrie, of their woords of
art and deuises to bleare mens eies, and to procure
credit to their profession.

The first Chapter.



Ere I thought it not
impertinent to saie some-
what of the art or rather
the craft of Alcumystrie,
otherwise called Multipli-
cation; which Chaucer, of
all other men, most liuelie
deciphereth. In the bowels
her of dooth both witchcraft
and coniuration lie hid-
den, as whereby some cou-
sen others, and some are
coufened themselves. For
by this mysterie (as it is

Alcumy-
strie a craft,
not an art.

said in the chanons mans prolog)

They take vpon them to turne vpside downe,
All the earth betwixt Southwarke & Canturburie towne,
And to paue it all of siluer and gold, &c.
But euer they lacke of their conclusion,
And to much folke they doo illusion,
For their stuffe slides awaie so fast,
That it makes them beggers at the last,
And by this craft they doo neuer win,
But make their pursse emptie, and their wits thin.

G. Chaucer
in the Cha-
nons mans
prolog.

And bicause the practisers haereof would be thought wise, lear-
ned, cunning, and their crafts maisters, they haue deuised woords
of art, sentences and epithets obscure, and confectious so innu-

¶ C. s.

merable

The termes
of the art
alcumysti-
cal deuised
of purpose
to bring
credit to
coulenage.

merable (which are also compounded of strange and rare simples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on worke herein, or be brought to behold or expect their conclusions. For that plaine man would not believe, that they are learned and iollie fellowes, that haue in such readinesse so many mysticall termes of art: as (for a task) their subliming, amalgaming, englutining, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, rittination, terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters combust and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. Who is able to conceiue (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrarietie, and multitude of drugs, simples, and confections) the operation and mysterie of their stufte and workmanship. For these things and many more, are of necessitie to be prepared and used in the execution of this indewor; namelie opiment, sublimed Mercurie, iron squames, Mercurie crude, groundlie large, bole armoniake, verdegrece, borace, boles, gall, arsenicke, sal armoniake, brimstone, salt, paper, burnt bones, vnliken lime, claie, saltpeter, bitriall, saltatre, alcalie, sal preparat, claie made with horse dong, mans haire, oile of tartre, allum, glasse, wort, yest, argoll, resagor, gleir of an eie, powders, ashes, dong, piss, &c. Then haue they waters corosiuue and lincall, waters of albisfaction, and waters rubiffing, &c. Also oiles, ablutions, and metals fusible. Also their lamps, their bynalles, discensories, sublimatories, alembicks, viols, crossets, cucurbits, stillatories, and their furnace of calcination: also their soft and subtilt fiers, some of wood, some of cole, composed speciallie of beech, &c. And bicause they will not seeme to want anie point of coulenage to astonish the simple, or to moue admiration to their enterprises, they haue (as they affirme) foure spirits to worke withall, whereof the first is, opiment; the second, quicksiluer; the third, sal armoniake; the fourth, brimstone. Then haue they seuen celestiaall bodies; namelie, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Saturne, Iupiter, and Venus; to whome they applie seuen terrestriall bodies; to wit, gold, siluer, iron, quicksiluer, lead, tinne, and copper, attributing vnto these the operation of the other; speciallie if the terrestriall bodies be qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and daie according to the seats of the celestiaall bodies: with more like vanitie.

The Alcumysters drift, the Chanons ycomans tale,
of alcumysticall stones and waters.

The second Chapter.

Now you must vnderstand that the end and drift of all their worke, is, to attaine vnto the composition of the philosophers stone, called Alixer, and to the stone called Litanus; and to Spagnatia, which is a water made of the foure elements, which (they saie) the philosophers are sworne neither to discover, nor to write of. And by these they mortifie quicke siluer, and make it malleable, and to hold touch: hereby also they conuert any other metall (but speciallie copper) into gold. This science (forsooth) is the secret of secrets; euen as Salomons conituration is said among the conitro:rs to be so likewise. And thus, when they chance to meete with yong men, or simple people, they boast and brag, and saie with Simon Magus, that they can worke miracles, and bring wrightie things to passe. In which respect Chaucer truelie here-
of saith;

Each man is as wise as Salomon,
When they are together euerichone:
But he that seemes wisest, is most foole in preefe,
And he that is truest, is a verie theefe.
They seeme friendlie to them that knowe nought,
But they are feendlie both in word and thought,
Yet many men ride and seeke their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false gouernance.

G. Chaucer
in the Cha-
nons mans
tale.

He also saith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they loke ill fauouredlie, & are alwaies beggerlie attired: his words are these:

These fellowes looke ill fauouredlie,
And are alwaies tired beggerlie,
E c. ij.

Idem. ibid.

So

So as by smelling and thredbare araie,
 These folke are knowne and discerned alwaie.
 But so long as they haue a sheet to wrap them in by
 Or a rag to hang about them in the day light, (night,
 They will it spend in this craft,
 They cannot stint till nothing be left.
 Here one may learne if he haue ought,
 To multiplie and bring his good to naught.
 But if a man aske them priuilie,
 Whie they are clothed so vnthriftilie,
 They will round him in the care and saie,
 If they espied were, men would them slaie,
 And all bicause of this noble science:
 Lo thus these folke beetraien innocence.

The points
 or parts of
 the art Al-
 cumysticall
 which may
 be called
 the mystic
 or smokie
 science.

The tale of the chanons yeoman published by Chaucer, dooth
 make (by waie of erample) a perfect demonstration of the art of
 Alcumystrie or multiplication: the effect whereof is this. A cha-
 non being an Alcumyster or counsener, espied a couetous prest,
 whose purse he knew to be well lined, whome he assaulted with
 flatterie and subtill speech, two principall points belonging to
 this art. At the length he borrowed monie of the prest, which is
 the thirde part of the art, without the which the professors can doe
 no good, nor indure in god estate. Then he at his daie repaid the
 monie, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a rare ex-
 periment. Finallie, to requite the prests courtesie, he promised
 vnto him such instructions, as wherby with expedition he should
 become infinitelic rich, and all through this art of multiplicati-
 on. And this is the most common point in this science; for here-
 in they must be skilfull before they can be famous, or attaine to
 any credit. The prest disliked not his proffer; speciallie because
 it tended to his profit, and embraced his courtesie. Then the cha-
 non willed him forthwith to send for three ounces of quicke sil-
 uer, which he said he would transubstantiate (by his art) into per-
 fect siluer. The prest thought that a man of his profession could
 not dissemble, and therefore with great ioy and hope accompli-
 shed his request.

And

And now (forsooth) goeth this tollie Alcumyst about his bus-
nes and worke of multiplication, and causeth the prest to make
a fier of coles, in the bottome whereof he placeth a croslet; and
pretending onelie to helpe the prest to laie the coles handsome-
lie, he foisteth into the middle ward or lane of coles, a beechen
cole, within the which was conueied an ingot of perfect siluer,
which (when the cole was consumed) slipt downe into the croslet,
that was (I saie) directlie vnder it. The prest perceiued not the
fraud, but receined the ingot of siluer, and was not a little ioyfull
to see such certeine successe proceed from his owne handie worke
wherein could be no fraud (as he surelie conceiued) and therefore
verie willinglie gaue the cannon fortie pounds for the receipt of
this experient, who for that summe of monie taught him a les-
son in Alcumystrie, but he neuer returned to heare repetitions,
or to see how he profited.

The Alcu-
myfts bait
to catch a
foole.

Of a yeoman of the countrie coufened by
an Alcumyst.

The third Chapter.

I Could cite manie Alcumysticall
coufnages wrought by Doctor Burcor,
Feates, and such other; but I will passe
them ouer, and onelie repeate three expe-
riments of that art; the one practised vpon
an honest yeoman in the countie of
Kent, the other vpon a mightie prince,
the third vpon a couetous prest. And first
touching the yeoman, he was ouertaken and vsed in maner and
forme following, by a notable coufening barlot, who professed
Alcumystrie, iuggling, witchcraft, and coniuration: and by
meanes of his companions and confederats discusse the sim-
plicitie and abilitie of the said yeoman, and sound out his estate
and humors to be conuenient for his purpose; and finallie came a
wooing (as they saie) to his daughter, to whome he made loue
cunninglie in words, though his purpose tended to another mat-
ter. And among other illusions and tales, concerning his owne

Note the
couening
conueiance
of this al-
cumystical
practitio-
ner.

A notable
foole.

commendation, for welth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, acti-
uitie, learning, pregnancie, and cunning, he boasted of his
knowledge and experience in Alcumystrie; making the simple
man beleue that he could multiplie, and of one angell make
two or thre. Which seemed strange to the poore man, in so much
as he became willing enough to see that conclusion: whereby the
Alcumyster had more hope and comfort to attaine his desire,
than if his daughter had yielded to haue married him. To be short,
he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a little
ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels; and after certeine cere-
monies and coniuring words he seemed to deliuer the same vn-
to him: but in truth (through legierdemaine) he conueied into the
yeomans hand another ball of the same scantling, wherein were
inclosed manie more angels than were in the ball which he
thought he had receiued. Now (so sooth) the Alcumyster had him
laie by the same ball of wax, and also vse certeine ceremonies
(which I thought good here to omit.) And after certeine daies,
houres, and minuts they returned together, according to the ap-
pointment, and found great gaines by the multiplication of
the angels. Insomuch as he, being a plaine man, was hereby
persuaded, that he should not onelie haue a rare and notable good
somme in laue; but a companton that might helpe to adde vnto
his welth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and fel-
icitie. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to winne his
further fauour; but speciallie to bring his cunning Alcumyster,
or rather his lewd purpose to passe; he told him that it were
sollie to multiplie a pound of gold, when as easilie they might
multiplie a millian: and therefore counselled him to produce all
the monie he had, or could borrowe of his neighbours and
friends; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiplie
the same, and redouble it exceedinglie, euen as he sawe by expe-
rience how he delt with the small summe before his face. This
yeoman, in hope of gaines and preferment, acconsented to this
smaete motion, and brought out and laid before his seete, not the
one halfe of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or bor-
rowe anie maner of waie. Then this iuggling Alcumyster, ha-
uing obtained his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantitie
farre bigger than the other, and conueieng the same into his
bosome

boosome oꝝ pocket, deliuered another ball (as befoze) of the like quantitie vnto the yeoman, to be reserued and safelie kept in his chest; whereof (becaus^e the matter was of importance) either of them must haue a key, and a seuerall locke, that no interruption might be made to the ceremonie, noꝝ abuse by either of them, in defrauding ech other. Now (foꝝ sooth) these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alchymysters purpose therby perfoꝝmed; he told the yeoman that (vntill a certeine daie and houre limited to retorne) either of them might emploie themselves about their busines, and necessarie affaires; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the citie of London, and in the meane time the gold shuld multiplie, &c. But the Alchymyster (belike) hauing other matters of more importance came not iust at the houre appointed, noꝝ yet at the daie, noꝝ within the yeare: so as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, oꝝ bꝛeake the league; yet partlie by the longing he had to see, and partlie the desire he had to enioie the fruit of that excellent experiment, hauing (foꝝ his owne securitie) and the others satisfactiō, some testimonte at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he bꝛake vp the coffer, and lo he soone espied the ball of war, which he himselfe had laid vp there with his owne hand. So as he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall: and whye not as god increase hereof now, as of the other befoze. But alas! when the war was broken, and the metall disconcered, the gold was much abased, and beccame perfect lead.

A counse-
ning deuise
by running
awaie to
saue the
credit of
the art.

Now who so list to vtter his follie,
Let him come foorth, and learne to multiplie;
And euerie man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appeare, and waxe a philosopher,
In learning of this eluish nice lore,
All is in vaine, and pardee much more
Is to learne a lewd man this futtletee,
Fie, speake not thereof it woll not bee:
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.

G. Chaucer
in the tale
of the cha-
nons yeo-
man.

A certeine king abused by an Alcumyst, and of
the kings foole a pretie iest.

The fourth Chapter.

A king cou-
sened by
Alcumy-
strie.



The second example is of another Alcumyst that came to a certeine king, promising to worke by his art manie great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of mettals, as in executing of other exploitcs of no lesse admiration. But before he beganne, he found the meanes to receiue by vertue of the kings warrant, a great summe of monie in prest, assuring the king and his counsell, that he would shortly returne, and accomplish his promise, &c. Some after, the kings soles, among other testes, fell into a discourse and discouerie of soles, and handled that common place so pleasantlie, that the king began to take delight therein, & to like his merrie beine. Whereupon he would needs haue the soles deliuer vnto him a schedull or scroll, containing the names of all the most excellent soles in the land.

A wife
foole.

So he caused the kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of the lords of his priuie counsell. The king seeing him so saucie and malepert, went to haue had him punished: but some of his counsell, knowing him to be a fellowe pleasantlie conceived, besought his maiestie rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c: than to proceed in extremitie against him. When the soles being asked why he so saucilie accused the king and his counsell of principall follie, answered: Because he sawe one foolish knaue beguile them all, and to consen them of so great a masse of monie, and finally to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the counsell) he maie returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the soles) I can helpe all the matter easilie. How (said the king) canst thou do that? Marie sir (said he) then I will blotte out your name, and put in his, as the most soles in the worlde. Marie other practises of the like nature might be here vnto annexed, for the detection of their kna-
uerie

nerie and deceits whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the readers maie be more delighted in reading, than the practisers be nessed in simplie vsing the same. For it is an art consistig wholie of subtiltie and deceit, whereby the ignozant and plaine minded man through his too much credulitie is circumuented, and the humoꝝ of the other sie couener satisfied.

A notable storie written by Erasmus of two Al-
cummyts, also of longation and curtation.

The fift Chapter.

THe thirde example is reported by Erasmus, whose excellent learning and wit is had to this daie in admiration. He in a certeine dialog intituled *Alcummytica* doth finelie betwzaie the knauerie of this craftie art; wherein he propoeth one Balbine, a verie wise, learned, and deuout prest, howbeit such a one as was betwitted, and mad vpon the art of Alcummytrie. Which thing another consenuing prest perceined, and dealt with him in maner and forme following.

*Erasm. in col-
loq. de arce
alcummytica.*

M. Doctor Balbine (said he) I being a stranger vnto you maie seeme verie laucie to trouble your worshipping with my bold sute, who alwaies are busied in great and diuine studies. To whome Balbine, being a man of few words, gaue a nodde: which was more than he vsed to euerie man. But the prest knowing his humor, said; I am sure sir, if you knew my sute, you would pardon mine importunitie. I praise thee god sir Iohn (said Balbine) shew me thy mind, and be briefe. That shall I doe sir (said he) with a god will. You knowe **M.** Doctor, through your skill in philosophie, that euerie mans destinie is not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether I maie be counted happye or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my state, in part I seeme fortunate, and in part miserable. But Balbine being a man of some surlinesse, alwaies willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the prest said

*A flattering
& clawing
preamble.*

said he would doe, and could the better performe; because Balbine himselfe was so learned and expert in the verie matter he had to repeat, and thus he began.

Longation
and curta-
tion in Al-
cumystrie.

I haue had, euen from my childhod, a great felicitie in the art of Alcumystrie, which is the verie marrow of all philosophie. Balbine at the naming of the word Alcumystrie, inclined and yielded himselfe more attentiuely to hearken vnto him: marie it was ohelie in gesture of bodie; for he was spare of speech, and yet he had him proceed with his tale. Then said the priest, Wretch that I am, it was not my lucke to light on the best waie: for you M. Balbine know (being so vniuersallie learned) that in this art there are two waies, the one called longation, the other curtation; and it was mine ill hap to fall vpon longation. When Balbine asked him the difference of those two waies; Wh sir said the priest, you might count me impudent, to take vpon me to tell you, that of all other are best learned in this art, to whome I come, most humble to beseech you to teach me that luckie waie of curtation. The cunninger you are, the more easilie you maie teach it me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath giuen you, from your brother, who maie perish for want of his desire in this behalfe; and doubtlesse Iesus Christ will enrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Note how
the coun-
ner circum-
uenteth
Balbine.

Balbine being abashed partlie with his importunitie, and partlie with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what longation or curtation meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of those words. Well (quoth the priest) since it is your pleasure, I will doe it, though I shall thereby take vpon me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger than my selfe. And thus he began: Wh sir, they that haue spent all the daies of their life in this diuine facultie, doe turne one nature and forme into another, two waies, the one is verie breefe, but somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marie verie safe, sure, and commodious. Howbeit, I thinke my selfe most unhappie that haue spent my time and trauell in that waie which vtterlie misliketh me, and neuer could get one to shew me the other that I so earnestlie desire. And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholie learned and expert herein, hoping that you will (for charities sake) comfort your brother, whose

whose felicitie and well doing now resteth onelie in your hands; and therefore I beseech you relieue me with your counsell.

By these and such other words when this couensing varlot had auoided suspicion of guile, and assured Balbine that he was perfect and cunning in the other waie: Balbine his fingers itched, and his hart tickled; so as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these words: Let this curtation go to the diuell, whose name I did neuer so much as once heare of before, and therefore doe much lesse vnderstand it. But tell me in good faith, doe you readily vnderstand longation? Hea said the priest, doubt you not hercof: but I haue no fanisie to that waie, it is so tedious. Why (quoth Balbine) what time is required in the accomplishment of this worke by waie of longation? Too much said the Alcumyster, euen almost a whole yere: but this is the best, the surest, and the safest waie, though it be for so manie moneths prolonged, before it yeld aduantage for cost and charges expended thereabouts. Set your hart at rest (said Balbine) it is no matter, though it were two yeres, so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Faire words
make cooles
faine, and
large offers
blind the
wife.

Finallie, it was there and then coneluded, that presentlie the priest should go in hand with the worke, and the other should beare the charge, the gaines to be indifferentlie diuided betwixt them both, and the worke to be done priuie in Balbins house. And after the mutuall oth was taken for silence, which is vsuall and requisite alwaies in the beginning of this mysterie; Balbine deliuered monie to the Alcumyster for bolles, glasses, coles, &c: which should serue for the erection and furniture of the forge. Which monie the Alcumyster had no sooner fingered, but he ran merilie to the dice, to the alehouse, & to the stews, and who there so lustie as consening sir Iohn: who indeed this waie made a kind of alchymisticall transformation of monie. Soon Balbine begged him to go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest difficultie.

Well, at length he began to furnish the fornace, but now forsooth a new supplie of gold must be made, as the seed and spawne of that which must be ingendred and grow out of this worke of Alchymistrie. For euen as a fish is not caught without a bait, no:

more:

more is gold multiplied without some parcels of gold : and therefore gold must be the foundation and groundworke of that art, or else all the fat is in the fier. But all this while Balbine was occupied in calculating, and musing upon his account; casting by arithmetike, how that if one ounce yelded fiftene, then how much gaines two thousand ounces might yeld : so; so much he determined to emploie that waie.

When the Alcummyt had also consumed this monie, shewing great travell a moneth or twaine, in placing the bellows, the coles, and such other stufte, and no whit of profit proceeding or comming thereof : Balbine demanded how the world went, our Alcummyt was as a man amazed. Whobett he said at length; Forsooth even as such matters of importance commonlie doe go forward, wherunto there is alwaies verie difficult access. There was (saith he) a fault (which I have now found out) in the choice of the coles, which were of oke, and should have bene of beech. One hundred duckets were spent that waie, so as the dining house and the stews were partakers of Balbines charges. But after a new supplie of monie, better coles were provided, and matters more circumspectly handled. Whobett, when the forge had travelled long, and brought forth nothing, there was another excuse found out; to wit, that the glasses were not tempered as they ought to have bene. But the more monie was disbursed hereabouts, the worse willing was Balbine to give over, according to the disers beine, whome frutelesse hope bringeth into a soles paradise.

Balbine
was bewitched
with
desire of
gold, &c.

The Alcummyt, to cast a good colour upon his knauerie, toke on like a man monesicke, and protested with great words full of forgerie and lies, that he neuer had such lucke before. But having found the error, he would be sure enough neuer hereafter to fall into the like oversight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and throughlie recompensed in the end with large increase. Hereupon the workehouse is now the third time repaired, and a new supplie yet once againe put into the Alcummyts hand; so as the glasses were changed. And now at length the Alcummyt vttered another point of his art and cunning to Balbine; to wit, that those matters would proceed much better, if he sent our Ladie a few French crownes in reward; so; the art being

Notable
cousenage.

being holie, the matter cannot prosperously proceed, without the fauour of the saints. Which counsell exceedingly pleased Balbine, who was so deuout and religious, that no daie escaped him but he said our Ladie matters.

Now our Alcumysster hauing receiued the offering of monie, goeth on his holie pilgrimage, euen to the next village, & there consumeth it euerie penie, among barods and knaues. And at his returne, he told Balbine that he had great hope of good lucke in his businesse; the holie virgine gaue such fauourable countenance, and such attentiu care vnto his praiers and vowes. But after this, when there had bene great trauell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yelded no: leuied from the forge; Balbine began to expostulate and reason some what roundlie with the consenuing fellowe; who still said he neuer had such filthy lucke in all his life before, and could not deuise by what meanes it came to passe, that things went so ouerthwartlie. But after much debating betwixt them vpon the matter, at length it came into Balbines head to aske him if he had not foresworne to heare masse, or to saie his houres: which if he had done, nothing could prosper vnder his hand. Without doubt (said the consener) you haue hot the naile on the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once or twise being at a long feast, I omitted to saie mine *Aue Marie* after dinner. So so (said Balbine) no matuell then that a matter of such importance hath had so euill successe. The Alcumysster promised to doe penance; as to heare twelue masses for: two that he had foresworne; and for euerie *Aue* ouerslipped, to render and re-peate twelue to our Ladie.

Soone after this, when all our Alcumyssters monie was spent, & also his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this deuise, as a man wonderfullie fraied and amazed, pitiouslie crieng and lamenting his misfortune. Whereat Balbine being astonished, desired to knowe the cause of his complaint. Wh (said the Alcumysster) the courtiers haue spied our enterprise; so as I for my part loke for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereat Balbine was abashed, bicause it was flat sellonie to go about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth the Alcumysster) I feare not to be put to death, I would it would fall out so: marrie I feare least I shall be shut vp in some castell

The Alcumysster bringeth Balbin into a fooles paradise.

Here the Alcumysster uttereth a notorious point of consenuing knauerie.

castell or towre, and there shall be forced to tug about this worke and boile in this businesse all the daies of my life.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, Balbine, because he was cunning in the art of rhetorike, and not altogether ignorant in lawe, beat his braines in devising how the accusation might be answered, and the danger avoided. Alas (said the Alcumyster) you trouble your selfe all in vaine, for you see the crime is not to be denied, it is so generallie bruted in court: neither can the fact be defended, because of the manifest lawe published against it. To be short, when manie waies were deuised, and diuerse excuses alledged by Balbine, and no sure ground to stand on for their securitie, at length the Alcumyster hauing present want and need of monie, framed his speech in this sort; Sir (said he to Balbine, we vse slowe counsell, and yet the matter requireth hast. For I thinke they are comming for me per this time to hale me awaie to prison; and I see no remedie but to die balliantlie in the cause. In god faith (said Balbine) I knowe not what to saie to the matter. No more do I said the Alcumyster, but that I see these courtiers are hungrie for monie, and so much the readier to be corrupted & framed to silence. And though it be a hard matter, to giue those rakehels till they be satisfied: yet I see no better counsell or aduise at this time. No more could Balbine, who gaue him thirtie ducats of gold to stop their mouthes, who in an honest cause would rather haue giuen so manie teeth out of his head, than one of those peeces out of his pouch. This coine had the Alcumyster, who for all his pretences & gaie gloses was in no danger, other than for lacke of monie to leese his lemon or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not giue ouer, nor for beare his companie, for all the goods that he was able to get, were it by neuer such indirect dealing and vnlawfull meanes.

Well, yet now once againe doth Balbine newlie furnish the forge, a praier being made before to our Ladie to blesse the enterprise. And all things being provided and made readie according to the Alcumysters owne asking, & all necessities largelie ministered after his owne liking; a whole yeare being likewise now consumed about this bottlesse businesse, and nothing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by this meanes ensuing, as you shall heare.

Marke how
this Alcu-
myster go-
eth fro one
degree of
coufenance
to another.

Our

Our Alcumyster forsooth vsed a little extraordinarie lewd companie with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting the matter, came to the doore vnlooked for, and called to come in, theatning them that he would breake open the doores vpon them. Some present deuise (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be had, but such as the oportunitie offered; to wit, to leape out at a backe window: which he did, not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was some blazed abroad, so as it came to Balbines eare, who shewed in countenance that he had heard hereof, though he said nothing. But the Alcumyster knew him to be deuout, & somewhat superstitious: and such men are easie to be intreated to forgive, how great soeuer the fault be, and deuised to open the matter in maner and forme following.

The mildest and softest nature is commonlie soonest abused

O Lord (saith he before Balbine) how infortunatlie goeth our businesse forward! I marnell what should be the cause. Whereat Balbine, being one otherwise that seemed to haue bowed silence, toke occasion to speake, sayeng; It is not hard to knowe the impediment and stop hereof: for it is sinne that hindereth this matter; which is not to be dealt in but with pure hands. Whereat the Alcumyster fell vpon his knees, beating his breast, & lamentablie cried, sayeng; Oh maister Balbine, you saie most trulie, it is sinne that hath done vs all this displeasure; not your sinne sir, but mine owne, god maister Balbine. Neither will I be ashamed to discouer my filthinesse vnto you, as vnto a most holy and ghostlie father. The infirmitie of the flesh had overcome me, and the diuell had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am! Of a priest I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the monie that erstwhile was lent to our Ladie, was not vtterlie lost: for if she had not bene, I had certeinlie haue slaine. For the good man of the house brake open the doore, and the windowe was lesse than I could get out thereat. And in that extremitie of danger it came into my mind to fall downe prostrate to the virgine; beseeching hir (if our gift were acceptable in hir sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with hir helpe. And to be short, I ran to the windowe, and found it bigge enough to leape out at. Which thing Balbine did not onelie belæue to be true, but in respect therof forgave him, religiouslie admonishing him

En immensa
causa
mendacia
folles.

Balbine is
ashamed
that he
should be
ouershot
and ouer-
scene in a
case of flat
couenage.

him to shew himselfe thankfull to that pittifull and blessed Ladie.
Now once againe more is made a new supplie of monie, and
mutuall promise made to handle this diuine matter hence for-
ward purelie and holilie. To be short, after a great number of
such parts plaid by the Alcumyster; one of Balbins acquaint-
tance espied him, that knew him from his childhood to be but a
coufening merchant; and told Balbine what he was, and that he
would handle him in the end, euen as he had vsed manie others:
for a knaue he euer was, and so he would proue. But what did
Balbine, thinke you? Did he complaine of this counterfet, or
cause him to be punished? No, but he gaue him monie in his
purse, and sent him awaie; desiring him, of all courtessie, not to
blab abroad how he had coufened him. And as for the knaue Al-
cumyster, he needed not care who knew it, or what came of it: for
he had nothing in gods or same to be lost. And as for his cun-
ning in Alcumystrie, he had as much as an asse. By this dis-
course Erasmus would giue vs to note, that vnder the golden
name of Alcumystrie there lieth lurking no small calamitie;
wherin there be such seuerall shifts and sutes of rare subtilties
and deceipts, as that not onelie welthie men are thereby manie
times impouerished, and that with the swaete allurements of
this art, through their owne couetousnesse; as also by the flatter-
ring baits of hoped gaine: but euen wise and learned men
hereby are shamefullie ouershot, partlie for want of due experi-
ence in the wiles and subtilties of the world, and partlie through
the softnesse and pliablenesse of their good nature, which conse-
ning knaues doe commonlie abuse to their owne lust and com-
moditie, and to the others vtter vndwining.

The opinion of diuerse learned men touching
the follie of Alcumystrie.

The sixt Chapter.

The Sub-
stances of
things are
not trans-
mutable.



Libert in his booke of minerals reporteth,
that Auicenna treating of Alcumystrie, saith; Let
the dealers in Alcumystrie vnderstand, that the ve-
rie nature and kind of things cannot be changed,
but

but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likeness: so that they are not the verie things indeed, but seeme so to be in appearance: as castles and towres doe seeme to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations there shewd, are nothing else but the resemblance of certeine objects below, caused in some bright and clere cloud, when the aire is void of thickeness and grossenes. A sufficient p^{ro}ofe hereof maie be the looking glasse. And we see (saith he) that yello^w or greenge colour laid vpon red, seemeth to be gold. Francis Petrarch treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who sanctified the foresaid fond p^{ro}fession and practise, saieing; I hope for prosperous successe in Alchymistrie. Petrarch answereth him; It is a wonder from whence that hope should spring, sith the fruite thereof did neuer yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at anie time chance to anie other; as the report commonlie goeth, that manie rich men, by this vanitie and madnes haue bene brought to beggerie, whiles they haue wearied themselves therewith, weakened their bodies, and wasted their wealth in trieng the means to make gold ingender gold. I hope for gold according to the workemans promise, saith the disciple. He that hath promised thee gold, will runne alwaie with thy gold, and thou neuer the wiser, saith Petrarch. He promiseth me great good, saith the disciple. He will first serue his owne turne, and relæue his private pouertie, saith Petrarch; for Alchymysters are a beggerlie kind of people, who though they confesse themselves bare and needie, yet will they make others rich and welthie: as though others povertie did more molest and pitie them than their owne. These be the words of Petrarch, a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he sawe the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft: so hath there bene no age, since the same hath bene broched, wherein some few wissemen haue not smelt out the euill meaning of these thysing merchants, and bequaied them to the world.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who liued about a thousand yeares since, discovering the diuersities of thesses, after a long enumeration, bringeth in Alchymysters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium*, witches and counterfeters of metals and minerals; and setteth them as deepe in the

Franc. Petrarch. lib. de remed. vii. fol. 1. cap. 10.

Goschalcus Bollordinis S. August. in suo precepto. via. fol. 244. col. b. c. d. & e.

No certain
ground in
the art Al-
cumysticall.

degree of theues, as anie of the rest, whose iniurious dealings are brought to open arraignment. It is demanded (saith he) why the art of Alcumystrie doth neuer proue that in effect, which it pretendeth in precept and promise. The answer is readie; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behouefull to knowe the maner and proceeding of nature in generation; sith art is said to imitate and counterfet nature. Again, it is because of the lamenesse and imperfectnesse of philosophie, speciallie concerning minerals: no such manner of proceeding being set downe by consent and agreement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and vndoubted effect of the same. Where vpon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stuffe this waie, others of another kind of stuffe that waie. And therefore it is a chance if anie attaine to the artificiall applieng of the actiues and passiues of gold and siluer. Moreover, it is certaine, that quicke siluer and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of mettals, and the agent is heate, which directeth: howbeit it is verie hard to knowe the due proportion of the mixture of the materials; which proportion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they attaine to such proportion; yet can they not readilie resume or doe it againe in another worke, because of the hidden diuersities of materials, and the vncerteintie of applieng the actiues and passiues.

Idem ibid.

*Aristotiles
idolorum
culius.*

The same ancient autho; concluding against this baine art, saith, that of all christian lawmakers it is forbidden, and in no case tollerable in anie commonwelth: first because it presumeth to forge idols for couetousnes, which are gold and siluer; where vpon saith the apostle, Couetousnesse is idolworship: secondlie, for that (as Aristotle saith) coine should be skant and rare, that it might be deere; but the same would ware vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alcumystrie gold and siluer might be multiplied: thirdlie, because (as experience proueth) wise men are thereby betwitched, couensers increased, princes abused, the rich impouerished, the poore beggered, the multitude made foles, and yet the craft and craftesmaisters (oh madnes!) credited. Thus far he. Whereby in few words he discountenanceth that profession, not by the imaginations of his owne braine, but by manifold circumstances of manifest proofe. Touching the which practise I thinke

thinke inough hath bene spoken, and moze a great deale than needed; sith so plaine and demonstrable a matter requireth the lesse trauell in confutation.

That vaine and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that there labours therein are bootlesse, &c.

The seuenth Chapter.

Hitherto somewhat at large I haue detected the knauerie of the art Alcumysticall, partlie by reasons, and partlie by examples: so that the thing it selfe maie no lesse appeare to the iudiciall eie of the considerers; than the bones and sinewes of a bodie anatomized, to the corporall eie of the beholders. Now it shall not be amisse nor impertinent, to treat some what of the nature of that vaine and frutelesse hope, which induceth and draweth men forward as it were with choyces, not onelie to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same: in such sort that some are compelled rufullie to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of good or ill lucke, I do not now well remember) *Spes et fortuna valete; Hope and god hap adieu.*

Of vaine hope.

So meruell then though Alcumystrie allure men so sweetlie, and intangle them in snares of follie; sith the baits which it vseth is the hope of gold, the hunger wherof is by the poet termed *Sacra*, which some doe English, *Holie*; not vnderstanding that it is rather to be interpreted, * *Cursed* or detestable, by the figure *Acyron*, when a word of an vnproper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure *Antiphrasis*, when a word importeth a contrarie meaning to that which it commonlie hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holie, the same hauing (as depending vpon it) so manie millions of mischeeses and miseries: as treasons, thesses, adulteries, manslaughterers, trucebrakings, periuries, couenages, and a great trope of other enormities, which were here too long

ff. ij.

to

* I. Cal. in
Comment.
vpon Dent.
serm 127.
pa. 781. col. 1.
number. 40.

A maxime.

to rehearse. And if the nature of euerie action be determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holie, but rather accursed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chaines such a band of outrages and enormities, as of all their laboz, charge, care and cost, as they haue nothing else left them in lieu of lucre, but onlie some few burned byrches of a ruinous fornice, a pecke or two of ashes, and such light stuffe, which they are forced peradventure in fine to sell, when beggerie hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolu'd *in primum materiam*, or rather *In leuem quendam fumulum*, into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than the which nothing is more light, nothing lesse substantiall, spirits onelie excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same.

The eight Chapter.



That which I haue declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by one other example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, maie iudge of vaine hope accordingly, and be no lesse circumspect to auoid the inconueniences thereof, than Vlysses was warte to escape

Erasmus in colloq. cui titulus Comuuium fabulosum.

the incantations of Circes that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawne from Lewes the French king, the eleuenth of that name, who being on a time at Burgundie, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one Conon, a clownish but yet an honest and hartie good fellow. For princes and great men delight much in such plaine clubbutchens. The king oftentimes, by meanes of his game, vsed the countymans house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homelie and course things, so the king did not refuse to eat turnips and rape rootes in Conons cotage. Shortlie after king Lewes being at his pallace, void of troubles and disquietnesse, Conons wife wild

wild him to repaire to the court, to shew himselfe to the king, to put him in mind of the old intertainement which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choicest rape rootes that she had in store. Conon seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour: for princes (saith he) haue other matters in hand, than to intend to thinke of such trifeling courtesies. But Conons wife ouercame him, and perswaded him in the end, chosing a certeine number of the best and goodliest rape rootes that she had: which when she had giuen hir husband to carrie to the court, he set forward on his iournie a good trudging pace. But Conon being tempted by the waie, partlie with desire of eating, and partlie with the toothsomnes of the meate which he bare, that by little and little he deuoured vp all the roots sauing one, which was a verie faire and a goodlie great one indeed. Now when Conon was come to the court, it was his lucke to stand in such a place, as the king passing by, and speng the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. Conon verie cherefully followed his guide hard at the heeles, and no sooner saue the king, but bluntlie comming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his maiestie. The king receiued it with more cherefulness than it was offered, and bad one of those that stood next him, to take it, and laie it vp among those things which he esteemed most, & had in greatest account. Then he bad Conon to dine with him, and after dinner gaue the countreiman great thanks for his rape roote; who made no bones of the matter, but boldlie made challenge and claime to the kings promised courtesie. Whereupon the king commanded, that a thousand crownes should be giuen him in recompense for his roote.

A hungrie
bellie will
nor be bri-
deled.

A princelie
largesse.

The report of this bountifulnes was spred in short space ouer all the kings household: in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gaue the king a verie proper ginnet. Whose distt the king perceiuing, and iudging that his former liberalitie to the clowne, prouoked the courtier to this conetous attempt, tooke the ginnet verie thankfullie: and calling some of his noble men about him, began to consult with them, what mends he might make his seruant for his horse.

Whiles this was a doing, the courtier conceiued passing good

ff. liij.

hope

*Sic ars delu-
ditur ars.*

hope of some princelie largesse, calculatting and casting his cards in this maner; If his maiestie rewarded a sillie clowne so bountifullie for a simple rape roote, what will he doo to a iollie courtier for a gallant gennet? Whiles the king was debating the matter, and one said this, another that, and the courtier travelled all the while in vaine hope, at last saith the king, euen vpon the sudden; I haue now be thought me what to bestowe vpon him: and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the eare, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should find in his chamber wrapped vp in silke. The roote is brought wrapped in silke, which the king with his owne hands gaue to the courtier, vsing these words therewithall, that he sped well, in so much as it was his good hap to haue for his horse a iewell that cost him a thousand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his hart danced for ioy. In due time therefore he vntwapped the silke (a fozt of his fellow courtiers flocking about him to testifie his good lucke) and hauing vnsolded it, he found therein a drie and withered rape roote. Which spectacle though it set the standers about in a lowd laughter, yet it quailed the courtiers courage, and cast him into a shrewd fit of pensifenes. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to banittie, who vpon hope of good speed was willing to part from his horse for had I wist.

The moral of the
promises.

This storie dooth teach vs into what follie and madnes vaine hope may driue vndiscrète and vnerpert men. And therefore no mercuell though Alcumysters dreame and dote after double aduantage, faring like Aelops dog, who graedilie coueting to catch and snatch at the shadowe of the flesh which he carried in his mouth ouer the water, lost both the one and the other: as they do their increase and their principall. But to breake off abruptlie from this matter, and to leaue these hypocrits (for whic may they not be so named, who as Homer, speaking in detestation of such rakehellcs, saith verie diuinelie and trulie;

Homer.

*Odi etenim seu claustra Erebi, quicunque loquuntur
Ore aliud, tacitoque aliud sub pectore claudunt:*

I hate euen as the gates of hell,
Those that one thing with toong doo tell,
And notwithstanding closelie keepe,
Another thing in hart full deepe)

Englisht by
Abraham
Fleming.

To leane these hypocrits (I saie) in the deags of their dishone-
stie, I will conclude against them peremptorie, that they, with
the rable about rehearsed, and the rowt hereafter to be mentio-
ned, are ranke conseners, and consuming cankers to the com-
mon wealth, and therefore to be reiected and excommunicated
from the fellowship of all honest men. For now their art, which
turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into mist and
smoke, is no lesse apparent to the world, than the clere sunnie
raies at none tied; in so much that I may saie with the poet,

*Hos populus ridet, multumque torosa iuuentus
Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos:*

Aut. Pers-
us, act. 3.

All people laugh them now to scorne,
each strong and lustie blood
Redoubleth quauering laughter lowd
with wrinkled nose a good.

Englisht by
Abraham
Fleming.

So that, if anie be so addicted vnto the vanitie of the art Al-
chymistickall (as euerie sole will haue his fanisie) and that (beside
so manie experimented examles of diuers, whose wealth hath
banished like a vapor, whiles they haue bene ouer rash in the
practise hereof, this discourse will not moue to desist from such
extreame dotage, I saie to him or them and that aptlie,

*dicatque facitque quod ipse
Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes:*

Idem, ibid.

He saith and dooth that verie thing,
which mad Orestes might
With oth auerre beecame a man
beereft of reason right.

By Ab. Fle-
ming.

¶ The xv. Booke.

The exposition of lidoni, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of coniuration is deciphered.

The first Chapter.



The large
significati-
on of the
word li-
doni.

His word lidoni is de-
rined of Iada, which proper-
lie signifieth to knowe: it is
sometiimes translated, *Di-*
uinum, which is a diuino: or
soothsaier, as in Deut. 18. Le-
uit. 20: sometiimes *Ariolus*,
which is one that also taketh
vpon him to foietell things
to come, and is found Leuit.
19. 2. Kings. 23. Esai. 19.
To be short, the opinion of
them that are most skillfull
in the tongs, is, that it com-

prehendeth all them, which take vpon them to knowe all things
past and to come, and to giue answers accordinglye. It alwaies
followeth the word *ob*, and in the scriptures is not named seue-
rallie from it, and differeth little from the same in sense, and do
both concerne oracles vntered by spirits, possessed people, or con-
seners. What will not conseners or witches take vpon them to
do: Wherein will they professe ignozance: Aske them anie que-
stion, they will vndertake to resolue you, euen of that which
none but God knoweth. And to bring their purposes the better
to passe, as also to winne further credit vnto the counterfet art
which they professe, they procure confederates, whereby they
worke wonders. And when they haue either learning, eloquence,
or nimble nesse of hands to accompanie their confederacie, or ra-
ther

ther knauerie, then (fo: soth) they passe the degre of witchcs, and intitile themselves to the name of coniurozs. And these deale with no inferiour causes: these fetch diuels out of hell, and angels out of heauen; these raise vp what bodies they list, though they were dead, buried, and rotten long before; and fetch soules out of heauen or hell with much more expedition than the pope bringeth them out of purgatorie. These I saie (among the simple, and where they feare no law nor accusation) take vpon them also the raising of tempests, and earthquakes, and to do as much as God himselfe can do. These are no small soles, they go not to worke with a baggage tode, or a cat, as witchcs do; but with a kind of maiestie, and with authoritie they call vp by name, and haue at their commandement seuentie and nine principall and princelie diuels, who haue vnder them, as their ministers, a great multitude of legions of pettie diuels; as fo: example.

Vide Pbi. l. aff. Brix. episc. herese. on casal. de phisonissa.

L. Wierus in Pseudomarchia demonum.

An inuentarie of the names, shapcs, powers, gouernement, and effects of diuels and spirits, of their feuerall segniories and degrees: a strange discourse worth the reading.

The second Chapter.



Their first and principall king (which is of the power of the east) is called Baell; who when he is conured vp, appeareth with three heads; the first, like a tode; the second, like a man; the third, like a cat. He speaketh with a hoarse boice, he maketh a man go inuisible, he hath vnder his obedience and rule sirtie and six legions of diuels.

Salomons notes of coniuration. Baell.

The first duke vnder the power of the east, is named Agares, *Agares.* he cometh vp milolie in the likenes of a faire old man, riding vpon a crocodile, and carrieng a hatcke on his fist; he teacheth presentlie all maner of twongs, he fetcheth backe all such as runne awaie, and maketh them runne that stand still; he ouerthroweth all dignities supernaturall and temporall, he maketh earthquakes,

quakes, and is of the order of vertues, hauing vnder his regiment thirtie one legions.

Marbas.

Marbas, *alias* Barbasis is a great president, and appeareth in the forme of a mightie lion; but at the commandement of a conuinceth by in the likenes of a man, and answereth fullie as touching anie thing which is hidden or secret: he bringeth diseases, and cureth them, he promoteth wisdom, and the knowledge of mechanickall arts, or handicrafts; he changeth men into other shap, and vnder his presidentie or gouernement are thirtie six legions of diuels contained.

Amon.

Amon, or Aamon, is a great and mightie marques, and cometh abroad in the likenes of a wolfe, hauing a serpents taile, spitting out and breathing flames of fier; when he putteth on the shap of a man, he sheweth out dogs teeth, and a great head like to a mightie rauen; he is the strongest prince of all other, and vnderstandeth of all things past and to come, he procureth fauor, and reconcilith both friends and foes, and ruleth fourtie legions of diuels.

Barbatos.

Barbatos, a great countie or earle, and also a duke, he appeareth in *Signo sagittarij syluestris*, with foure kings, which bring companies and great tropes. He vnderstandeth the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowings of bullocks, and the voice of all lining creatures. He detecteth treasures hidden by magicians and inchanters, and is of the order of vertues, which in part beare rule: he knoweth all things past, and to come, and reconcilith friends and powers; and gouerneth thirtie legions of diuels by his authoritie.

Buer.

Buer is a great president, and is scene in this signe; he abso- lutely teacheth philosophie morall and naturall, and also logicke, and the vertue of herbes: he giueth the best familiars, he can heale all diseases, speciallie of men, and reigneth ouer fiftie legions.

Gusoin.

Gusoin is a great duke, and a strong, appearing in the forme of a *Xenophilus*, he answereth all things, present, past, and to come, expounding all questions. He reconcilith friendship, and distributeth honours and dignities, and ruleth ouer fourtie legions of diuels.

Botis.

Botis, otherwise Otis, a great president and an earle he cometh

meth forth in the shape of an ouglie viper, and if he put on hu mane shape, he sheweth great teeth, and two hornes, carrieng a sharpe sword in his hand: he giueth answers of things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends, and foes, ruling sixtie legions.

Barhin, sometimes called Mathim, a great duke and a strong, *Barhin.* he is seene in the shape of a verie strong man, with a serpents taile, sitting on a pale horse, vnderstanding the vertues of hearbs and pretious stones, transferring men suddennlie from countrie to countrie, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels.

Purson, *alias* Curson, a great king, he commeth forth like a *Purson.* man with a lions face, carrieng a most cruell viper, and riding on a beare; and before him go alwaies trumpets, he knoweth things hidden, and can tell all things present, past, and to come: he bewasleth treasure, he can take a bodie either humane or aerie; he answereth truelie of all things earthlie and secret, of the diuinitie and creation of the world, and bringeth forth the best familiars; and there obeie him two and twentie legions of diuels, partlie of the order of vertues, & partlie of the order of thrones.

Eligor, *alias* Abigor, is a great duke, and appereth as a good *Eligor.* lie knight, carrieng a lance, an ensigne, and a scepter: he answereth fullie of things hidden, and of warres, and how souldiers should meete: he knoweth things to come, and procureth the fauour of lords and knights, gouerning sixtie legions of diuels.

Leraie, *alias* Oray, a great marquesse, shewing himselfe in the *Leraie.* likenesse of a galant archer, carrieng a bowe and a quiner, he is author of all battels, he doth putrishe all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, *Quos optimos obijcit tribus diebus;* and he hath regiment ouer thirtie legions.

Valefar, *alias* Malephar, is a strong duke, comming forth in *Valefar.* the shape of a lion, and the head of a shefe, he is verie familiar with them to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallowes, and ruleth ten legions.

Morax, *alias* Foraij, a great earle and a president, he is seene *Morax.* like a bull, and if he take vnto him a mans face, he maketh man wonderfull cunning in astronomie, & in all the other all sciences: he giueth good familiars and wise, knowing the power & vertue of hearbs and stones which are pretious, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

gions.

Ipos.

Ipos, *alias* *Ayporos*, is a great earle and a prince, appearing in the shape of an angell, and yet indeed more obscure and filthie than a lion, with a lions head, a goses feet, and a hares taile: he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man witty, and bold, and hath vnder his iurisdiction thirtie six legions.

Naberius.

Naberius, *alias* *Cerberus*, is a valiant marquisse, shewing himselfe in the forme of a croowe, when he speaketh with a hoarse voice: he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and speciallic in rhetorike, he procureth the losse of prelacies and dignities: nineteene legions heare and obeie him.

Glasya Labolas.

Glasya Labolas, *alias* *Caacrinolaas*, or *Caassimolar*, is a great president, who cometh forth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffen, he giueth the knowledge of arts, and is the captaine of all mangleiers: he vnderstandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and loue of friends and foes, he maketh a man go inuisible, and hath the rule of six and thirtie legions.

Zepar.

Zepar is a great duke, appearing as a souldier, inflaming women with the loue of men, and when he is bidden he changeth their shape, vntill they maie enioie their beloued, he also maketh them barren, and six and twentie legions are at his obeie and commandement.

Bileth.

Bileth is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horse, before whom go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musicke. When he is called by by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceiue him. When let the exorcist or confuor take heed to himselfe, and to allaiue his courage, let him hold a hazell bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the east and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand vnto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the confuor proceed to reading, and by and by he will submit himselfe, and come in, and doe what soeuer the exorcist commandeth him, and he shalbe safe. If *Bileth* the king be more stubborne, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the confuor shew himselfe fearefull, or if he haue not the chaine of spirits, certeinlie he will neuer feare nor regard him after. Also, if the place be vnapt for a triangle to be made without the circle, then set there a boll of wine, and the ex-

orcist

orcist shall certeinlie knowe when he commeth out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the foresaid Bilech will be his helper, his friend, and obedient vnto him when he commeth forth. And when he commeth, let the exorcist receiue him courteously, and glorifie him in his pride, and therefore he shall adore him as other kings do, because he saith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an exorcist, alwaies a siluer ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the exorcists face, as they do for Amaimon. And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be pretermitted; for there is none vnder the power & dominion of the confutor, but he that deteineth both men and women in doting loue, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the leauenth throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eightie fise legions.

Vide Amaimon.

Sitri, alias Bitru, is a great prince, appering with the face of a leopard, and hauing wings as a griffen: when he taketh humane shape, he is verie beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans loue, and also stirreth vp women to loue men, being commanded he willinglie deteineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriouslie naked, and there obeie him sirtie legions.

Sitri a bawdie diuell.

Paimon is moze obedient to Lucifer than other kings are. Lucifer is heere to be vnderstood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancie was throwne out into destruction, of whome it is said; *Querie pretious stone is thy couering*. Paimon is constrained by diuine vertue to stand before the exorcist; where he putteth on the likenesse of a man: he sitteth on a beast called a dromedarie, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cymbals, and all muscall instruments. At the first he appereth with a great crie and roying, as in *Circulo Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this Paimon speake sometime that the confutor vnderstand him not, let him not therefore be dismayed. But when he hath deliuered him the first obligation, to obserue his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctlie and plainelie to the questions

Paimon.

Ezech. 28.

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Cautions
for the Ex-
orcist or
coniuor.

ons he shall aske you, of all philosophie, wisdome, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will knowe the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it vp in the water, or any other thing, or what is Abyssus, or where the wind is, or from whence it cometh, he will teach you abundantly. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giueth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his owne chaines, and subiecteth them to the coniuro; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the vnderstanding of all arts. Note, that at the calling vp of him, the exorcist must looke towards the north-west, because there is his house. When he is called vp, let the exorcist receiue him constantly without feare, let him aske what questions or demands he list, and no doubt he shall obtaine the same of him. And the exorcist must beware he forget not the creator, for those things, which haue bene rehearsed before of Paimon, some saie he is of the order of dominations; others saie, of the order of cherubim. There followe him two hundred legions, partlie of the order of angels, and partlie of potestates. Note that if Paimon be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings followe him; to wit, Beball & Abalam, & other potentates: in his host are twentie five legions, because the spirits subiect to them are not alwaies with them, except they be compelled to appeere by diuine vertue.

The fall of
Beliall.

Some saie that the king Beliall was created immediatlie after Lucifer, and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them which fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the woorthier and wiser sort, which went before Michael and other heauenlie angels, which were lacking. Although Beliall went before all them that were throwne downe to the earth, yet he went not before them that tarried in heauen. This Beliall is constrained by diuine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may giue vnto the offerers true answers. But he tarrieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the diuine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a fire chariot; he speaketh faire, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the fauour of friends, and excellent familiars: he hath rule ouer eighty legions, partlie of the order of vertues, partlie of angels; he is

is found in the forme of an erocist in the bonds of spirits. The erocist must consider, that this Beliall doth in euerie thing assist his subjects. If he will not submit himselfe, let the bond of spirits be read: the spirits chaine is sent for him, wherewith wise Salomon gathered them together with their legions in a brasen vessel, where were inclosed among all the legions seuentie two kings, of whome the chiefe was Bileth, the second was Beliall, the third Asmoday, and aboue a thousand thousand legions. With out doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my maister Salomon; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them vp so: but I beleue it was for the pride of this Beliall. Certaine nigromancers doe saie, that Salomon, being on a certaine daie seduced by the craft of a certaine woman, inclined himselfe to prate before the same idoll, Beliall by name: which is not credible. And therefore we must rather thinke (as it is said) that they were gathered together in that great brasen vessel for pride and arrogancie, and throwne into a deepe lake or hole in Babylon. For wise Salomon did accomplish his workes by the diuine power, which neuer forsooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image Beliall; for then he could not haue constrained the spirits by diuine vertue: for this Beliall, with three kings were in the lake. But the Babylonians wondering at the matter, supposed that they should find therein a great quantitie of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and diuined and brake the vessel, out of the which immediatlie flew the capteine diuels, and were deliuered to their former and proper places. But this Beliall entred into a certaine image, and there gaue answer to them that offered and sacrificed vnto him: as Tocz. in his sentences reporteth, and the Babylonians did worship and sacrifice there vnto.

Salomon gathered all the diuels together in a brasen vessel.

The Babylonians disappointed of their hope.

Bune is a great and a strong Duke, he appeareth as a dragon *Bune.* with three heads, the third whereof is like to a man; he speaketh with a diuine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and diuels to assemble vpon the sepulchers of the dead: he greatlie enricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answering trulie to all demands, and thirtie legions obeye him.

Forneus is a great marquisse, like vnto a monster of the sea, *Forneus.* he maketh men wonderfull in rhetorike, he adozneth a man with

with a good name, and the knowledge of tongues, and maketh one beloued as well of foes as friends: there are vnder him nine and twentie legions, of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels.

Ronoue.

Ronoue a marquesse and an earle, he is resembled to a monaster, he bringeth singular vnderstanding in rhetorike, faithfull seruants, knowledge of tongues, fauour of friends and foes; and ninetene legions obeye him.

Berish a golden diuell.

Berish is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of some he is called Beall; of the Ieiues Berich; of pigromancers Bolfray: he cometh forth as a red souldier, with red clothing, and vpon a horse of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth trulie of things present, past, and to come. He is compelled at a certeine houre, through diuine vertue, by a ring of art magicke. He is also a lier, he turneth all mettals into gold, he adorneeth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a cleare and a subtill voice, and six and twentie legions are vnder him.

Alaroth.

Alaroth is a great and a strong duke, coming forth in the shape of a fowle angell, sitting vpon an infernall dragon, and carrieng on his right hand a viper: he answereth trulie to matters present, past, and to come, and also of all secrets. He talketh willingly of the creator of spirits, and of their fall, and how they sinned and fell: he saith he fell not of his owne accord. He maketh a man wonderfull learned in the liberall sciences, he ruleth fourtie legions. Let euerie exorcist take heed, that he admit him not too nere him, because of his stinking breath. And therefore let the confessor hold nere to his face a magicall ring, and that shall defend him.

Foras.

Foras, *alias* Forcas is a great president, and is sene in the forme of a strong man, and in humane shape, he vnderstandeth the vertue of hearbs and pretious stones: he teacheth fullie logicke, ethicke, and their parts: he maketh a man inuisible, witty, eloquent, and to liue long; he recouereth things lost, and discouereth treasures, and is lord ouer nine and twentie legions.

Furfur.

Furfur is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a fire taste, he lieth in euerie thing, except he be brought by within a triangle; being bidden, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh with

with a hoarse voice, and willinglie maketh loue betwoene man and wife; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of diuine things, and hath rule and dominion ouer six and twentie legions.

Marchosias is a great marquesse, he sheweth himselfe in the shape of a cruell three wolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and spetting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape, he is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions trulie, he is faithfull in all the coniurozs businesse, he was of the order of dominations, vnder him are thirtie legions: he hopeth after 1200. yeares to returne to the seuerith throne, but he is deceiued in that hope.

Malphas is a great president, he is scene like a crowe, but being cloathed with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth houses and high towres wonderfullie, and quicklie bringeth artificers together, he throweth downe also the enimies edifications, he helpeth to good familiars, he receiueth sacrifices willinglie, but he deceiueth all the sacrificers, there obiect him fourtie legions.

Vepar, alias Separ, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, he is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour; he bringeth to passe (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shalbe rough and stormie, and shall appeare full of shippes; he killeth men in three daies, with putrifying their wounds, and producing maggots into them; howbeit, they maie be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twentie legions.

Sabnacke, alias Salmac, is a great marquesse and a strong, he cometh forth as an armed soldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale horse, he doth maruelouslie change mans forme and fauor, he buildeth high towres full of weapons, and also castles and cities; he inflicteth men thirtie daies with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists commandement, he prouideth good familiars, and hath dominion ouer fiftie legions.

Sidonay, alias Asmoday, a great king, strong and mightie, he is scene with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath sexe like a gosse, he sitteth

on an infernall dragon, he carrieth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which are vnder the power of Amaymon. When the coniuroꝝ exerciseth this office, let him be abroad, let him be warie and standing on his fete; if his cap be on his head, he will cause all his dowings to be betwraied, which if he do not, the exorcist shalbe deceiued by Amaymon in euerie thing. But so soone as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his name, saieing; Thou art Alimoday: he will not denie it, and by and by he botweth downe to the ground; he giveth the ring of vertues, he absolutelie teacheth geometrie, arithmetike, astronomie, and handicrafts. To all demands he answereth fullie and trulie, he maketh a man inuisible, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardeth it, if it be among the legions of Amaymon, he hath vnder his power seuentie two legions.

Caap.

Who was
the first ne-
cromancer.

Gaap, *alias* Tap, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a meridionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of the foure principall kings, as mightie as Bilech. There were certeine necromancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings vnto him; and to call him by, they exercised an art, saieing that Salomon the wise made it. Which is false: for it was rather Cham, the sonne of Noah, who after the flood began first to inuocate wicked spirits. He inuocated Bilech, and made an art in his name, and a booke which is knowne to manie mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts giuen, and much wickednes wrought by the exorcists, who mingled therewithall the holie names of God, the which in that art are euerie where expessed. Marie there is an epistle of those names written by Salomon, as also write Helias Hierosolymitanus and Helisæus. It is to be noted, that if anie exorcist haue the art of Bilech, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not betwraie how and declare the meanes to conteine him, bicause it is abhominacion, and for that I haue learned nothing from Salomon of his dignitie and office. But yet I will not hide this; to wit, that he maketh a man wonderfull in philosophie and all the liberall sciences: he maketh loue, hatred, insensibilitie, inuisibilitie, consecration, and consecration of those things that are belonging vnto the domination of Amaymon, and deliuereth familiars out of the possession of o-
ther

ther coniuroꝝ, answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, & to come, & transferreth men most speedilie into other nations, he ruleth firtie six legions, & was of the order of potestats.

Shax, *alias* Scox, is a darke and a great marquette, like unto *Shax.* a storke, with a hoarse and subtil voice: he doth maruellouslie take awaie the sight, hearing, and vnderstanding of anie man, at the commandement of the coniuroꝝ: he taketh awaie monie out of euerie kings house, and carrieth it backe after 1200. yeares, if he be commanded, he is a horsestealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandements: and although he promise to be obedient to the coniuroꝝ in all things; yet is he not so, he is a lier, except he be brought into a triangle, and there he speaketh diuinelie, and telleth of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he promisseth god familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceiuers, he hath thirtie legions.

Procell is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape *Procell.* of an angell, but speaketh verie darklie of things hidden, he teacheth geometrie and all the liberall arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to roze, where are none, he warmeth waters, and disempereth bathes at certeine times, as the erocist appointeth him, he was of the order of potestats, and hath fourtie eight legions vnder his power.

Furcas is a knight and cometh forth in the similitude of a *Furcas.* cruell man, with a long beard and a hoarie head, he sitteth on a pale horse, carrieng in his hand a sharpe weapon, he perfectlie teacheth practike philosophie, rhetorike, logike, astronomie, chiromancie, pyromancie, and their parts: there obeye him twentie legions.

Murmur is a great duke and an earle, appearing in the shape *Murmur.* of a souldier, riding on a griphen, with a dukes crowne on his head: there go before him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophie absolutelie, he constraineth soules to come before the erocist, to answer what he shall aske them, he was of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions.

Caim is a great president, taking the forme of a thurst, but *Caim.* when he putteth on mans shape, he answereth in burning ashes, carrieng in his hand a most sharpe sword, he maketh the best
 G. y. disputers,

disputers, he giueth men the vnderstanding of all birds, of the lowing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth best of things to come, he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels.

Raim.

Raim, or Raim is a great earle, he is seene as a crowe, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the crozicist, he stealeth wonderfullie out of the kings house, and carrieth it whether he is assigned, he destroieth cities, and hath great despite vnto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends and foes, he was of the order of thrones, and gouerneth thirtie legions.

Halphas.

Halphas is a great earle, and cometh abroad like a storke, with a hoarse voice, he notable buildeth vp towncs full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of warre to places appointed, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Focalor.

Focalor is a great duke coming forth as a man, with wings like a griphen, he killeth men, and downdeth them in the waters, and ouerturneth ships of warre, commanding and ruling both winds and seas. And let the coniuroz note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willinglie consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. yeares to returne to the seuenth throne, but he is deceived, he hath three legions.

Vine.

Vine is a great king and an earle, he sheweth himselfe as a lion, riding on a blacke horse, and carrieth a viper in his hand, he gladlie buildeth large towres, he throweth downe stone walles, and maketh waters rough. At the commandement of the crozicist he answereth of things hidden, of witches, and of things present, past, and to come.

Bifrons.

Bifrons is seene in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the image of a man, he maketh one wonderfull cunning in astrology, absolutelie declaring the mansions of the planets, he doth the like in geometrie, and other admesurements, he perfectly vnderstandeth the strength and vertue of hearbs, pretious stones, and woods, he changeth dead bodies from place to place, he seemeth to light candles vpon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Gamigin.

Gamigin is a great marquesse, and is seene in the forme of a little horse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a hoarse

hoarse voice, disputing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatorie (which is called Cartagra, that is, affliction of soules) shall take aierie bodies, and euidentlie appeare and answer to interrogatories at the coniurores commandement; he tarrieth with the exorcist, untill he haue accomplished his desire, and hath thirtie legions vnder him.

Zagan is a great king and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull, with griphens wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men wittie, he turneth all mettals into the coine of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also turneth bloud into wine, & wine into bloud, & a soile into a wise man, he is head of thirtie and three legions.

Orias is a great marquisse, and is seene as a lion riding on a strong horse, with a serpents taile, and carrieth in his right hand two great serpents hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectlie teacheth the vertues of the starres, he transformeth men, he giueth dignities, prelacies, and confirmations, and also the fauour of friends and foes, and hath vnder him thirtie legions.

Valac is a great president, and cometh abroad with angels wings like a boie, riding on a twoheaded dragon, he perfectlie answereth of treasure hidden, and where serpents may be seene, which he deliuereth into the coniurores hands, void of anie force or strength, and hath dominion ouer thirtie legions of diuels.

Gomory a strong and a mightie duke, he appeareth like a faire woman, with a duchesse crownet about hir midle, riding on a camell, he answereth well and truelie of things present, past, and to come, and of treasure hid, and where it lieth: he procureth the loue of women, especiallie of maids, and hath six and twentie legions.

Decarabia or Carabia, he cometh like a starre and knoweth the force of herbes and pretious stones, and maketh all birds die before the exorcist, and to tarrie with him, as though they were tame, and that they shall drinke and sing, as their maner is, and hath thirtie legions.

Amduscias a great and a strong duke, he cometh forth as an vnicoene, when he standeth before his maister in humane

G. ij.

shape,

shape, being commanded, he easilie bringeth to passe, that trumpets and all muscall instruments may be heard and not seene, and also that trees shall bend and incline, according to the con-
furoz will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and
twentie legions.

Andras.

Andras is a great marquesse, and is seene in an angels shape with a head like a blacke night rauē, riding vpon a blacke and a verie strong wolfe, flourishing with a sharpe sword in his hand, he can kill the maister, the seruant, and all assistants, he is
author of discords, and ruleth thirtie legions.

*Andreal-
phus.*

Andrealphus is a great marquesse, appearing as a perocke, he raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectlie teacheth ge-
ometrie, and all things belonging to admeasurements, he maketh a man to be a subtill disputer, and cunning in astronomie, and transformeth a man into the likenes of a bird, and there are
vnder him thirtie legions.

Ose.

Ose is a great president, and commeth forth like a leopard, and counterfeting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the
liberall sciences, he answereth truelie of diuine and secret things, he transformeth a mans shape, and bringeth a man to
that madnes, that he thinketh himselfe to be that which he is not; as that he is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crowne on
his head, *Durâsque id regnum ad boram.*

Aym.

Aym or Haborim is a great duke and a strong, he commeth
forth with three heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a
man haping two * the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper,
carrieng in his hand a light fier byand, with the flame whereof
castels and cities are fiered, he maketh one wittie euerie kind
of waite, he answereth truelie of priuie matters, and reigneth
ouer twentie six legions.

Orobas.

Orobas is a great prince, he commeth forth like a horse, but
when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of diuine vertue,
he giueth true answers of things present, past, and to come, and
of the diuinitie, and of the creation, he deceiuet none, nor suffe-
reth anie to be tempted; he giueth dignities and prelacies, and
the fauour of friends and foes, and hath rule ouer twentie le-
gions.

Vapula.

Vapula is a great duke and a strong, he is seene like a lion
with

with griphens wings, he maketh a man subtil and wonderfull in handicrafts, philosophie, and in sciences contained in bookes, and is ruler ouer thirtie six legions.

Cimeries is a great marquesse and a strong, ruling in the parts of Aphrica; he teacheth perfectlie grammar, logicke, and rhetorike, he discouereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seme with expedition to be turned into a soldier, he rideth vpon a great blacke horse, and ruleth twentie legions. *Cimeries.*

Amy is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fier, but hauing taken mans shape, he maketh one maruelous in astrologie, and in all the liberall sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he betraieeth treasures preserved by spirits, he hath the gouernement of thirtie six legions, he is partlie of the order of angels, partlie of potestats, he hopeth after a thousand two hundred yeares to returne to the seuenth throne: which is not credible. *Amy.*

Flauros a strong duke, is seme in the forme of a terrible strong leopard, in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fierie eies, he answereth trulie and fullie of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle, he lieth in all things and deceiueth in other things, and beguileth in other busines, he gladly talketh of the diuinitie, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by diuine vertue, and so are all diuels or spirits, to burne and destroe all the coniurozs aduersaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the coniuroz not to be tempted, and he hath twentie legions vnder him. *Flauros.*

Balam is a great and a terrible king, he cometh forth with three heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpents taile, and flaming eies, riding vpon a furious beare, and carrieng a hawke on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering perfectlie of things present, past, and to come, he maketh a man inuisible and wise, he gouerneth fourtie legions, and was of the order of dominations. *Balam.*

Alloer is a strong duke and a great, he cometh forth like a soldier, riding on a great horse, he hath a lions face, verie red, and with flaming eies, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a

man wonderfull in astronomie, and in all the liberall sciences, he byingeth god familiars, and rulcth thirtie six legions.

Saleos.

Saleos is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant soldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaceable, &c.

Vuall.

Vuall is a great duke and a strong, he is scene as a great and terrible Dromedarie, but in humane forme, he soundeth out in a base voice the Egyptian tong. This man about all other procurerth the especiall loue of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, procuring the loue of friends and foes, he was of the order of potestats, and gouerneth thirtie seven legions.

Haagenti.

Haagenti is a great president, appearing like a great bull, hauing the wings of a griphen, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh a man wise in euerie thing, he changeth all mettals into gold, and changeth wine and water the one into the other, and commandeth as manie legions as Zagan.

Phoenix.

Phoenix is a great marquesse, appearing like the bird Phoenix, hauing a childes voice: but before he standeth still before the coniuro, he singeth manie sweet notes. Then the erorcist with his companions must beware he giue no eare to the melodie, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake maruellouslie of all wonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seventh throne after a thousand two hundred yeares, and gouerneth twentie legions.

Stolas.

Stolas is a great prince, appearing in the forme of a nighttrauen, before the erorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astronomie, absolutelie vnderstanding the vertues of herbes and pretious stones; there are vnder him twentie six legions.

¶ Note that a legion is 6666. and now by multiplication count how manie legions doo arise out of euerie particular.

✠ Secretum secretorum,

The secret of secrets;

Tu operans sis secretus horum,

Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

The houres wherein principall diuels may be bound,
to wit, raised and restrained from dooing of hurt.

The third Chapter.



Maymon king of the east, Gorson king of the south, Zimimar king of the north, Goap king and prince of the west, may be bound from the third houre, till noone, and from the ninth houre till evening. Marqueses may be bound from the ninth houre till compline, and from compline till the end of the daie. Dukes may be bound from the first houre till noone; and cleare wether is to be obserued. Prelates may be bound in anie houre of the daie. Knights from daie dawning, till sunne rising; or from evening, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in anie houre of the daie, except the king, whome he obeith, be inuocated; nor in the shutting of the evening. Counties or erles may be bound at anie houre of the daie, so it be in the woods or fields, where men resort not.

The forme of adiuring or citing of the spirits
aforesaid to arise and appeare.

The fourth Chapter.



When you will haue anie spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast, and be cleane from all pollution, three or foure daies before; so will the spirit be the more obedient vnto you. Then make a circle, and call by the spirit with great intention, and holding a ring in your hand, rehearse in your owne name, and your companions (for one must alwaies be with you) this
prayer

This was the work of one T. R. written in faire letters of red & blacke vpō parchment, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenance of his liuing, the edifying of the poore, and the glorie of gods holie name: as he himselfe saith.

praier following, and so no spirit shall annoie you, and your purpose shall take effect. And note how this agreeth with popish charmes and coniurations.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ the ✠ father ✠ and the sonne ✠ and the Holie-ghost ✠ holie trinitie and vnseparable vnitie, I call vpon thee, that thou maiest be my saluation and defense, and the protection of my bodie and soule, and of all my goods through the vertue of thy holie crosse, and through the vertue of thy passion, I beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by the merits of thy blessed mother S. Marie, and of all thy saints, that thou giue me grace and diuine power ouer all the wicked spirits, so as which of them soeuer I doe call by name, they may come by and by from euerie coast, and accomplish my will, that they neither be hurtfull nor fearefull vnto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through thy vertue streightlie commanding them, let them fulfill my commandements, Amen. Holie, holie, holie, Lord God of sabboth, which wilt come to iudge the quicke and the dead, thou which art A and Ω, first and last, King of kings and Lord of lords, Ioth, Aglanabrath, El, Abiel, Anathiel, Amazim, Sedomel, Gayes, Heli, Messias, Tolimi, Elias, Iſchiros, Athanatos, Imas. By these thy holie names, and by all other I doe call vpon thee, and beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by thy natiuitie and baptisme, by thy crosse and passion, by thine ascension, and by the comming of the Holie-ghost, by the bitterness of thy soule when it departed from thy bodie, by thy five wounds, by the bloud and water which went out of thy bodie, by thy vertue, by the sacrament which thou gauest thy disciples the daie before thou sufferedst, by the holie trinitie, and by the inseparable vnitie, by blessed Marie thy mother, by thine angels, archangels, prophets, patriarchs, and by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I doe worship and beseech thee, I blesse and desire thee, to accept these praiers, coniurations, and words of my mouth, which I will vse. I require thee O Lord Iesus Christ, that thou giue me thy vertue & power ouer all thine angels (which were throwne downe from heauen to deceine mankind) to drawe them to me, to tie and bind them, & also to loose them, to gather them together before me, & to command them to doe all that they can, and that by no meanes they contemne

Note what names are attributed vnto Christ by the coniuor in this his exorcising exercise.

kenne my voice, or the words of my mouth; but that they obeie me and my sayings, and feare me. I beseech thee by thine humanity, mercie and grace, and I require thee Adonay, Amay, Horta, Vege dora, Mitai, Hel, Suranat, Ysion, Yfely, and by all thy holie names, and by all thine holie he saints and the saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and vertues, and by that name that Salomon did bind the diuels, and shut them vp, Elhrad, Ebanher, Agle, Godi, Iodh, Odhie, Venodh, Nabrat, and by all thine holie names which are witten in this booke, and by the vertue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits throwne downe from heauen, that they may giue me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfie all my requests, without the hurt of my bodie or soule, or any thing else that is mine, through our Lord Iesus Christ thy sonne, which liueth and reigneith with thee in the unitie of the Holie-ghost, one God world without end.

What wonderfull force conuincors doe beleeue consisteth in these forged names of Christ.

Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holie-ghost, the searcher of harts, oh you three in persons, one true godhead in substance, which didst spare Adam and Eue in their sins; and oh thou sonne, which diedst for their sinnes a most filthy death, suffering it vpon the holie crosse; oh thou most mercifull, when I flie vnto thy mercie, and beseech thee by all the means I can, by these the holie names of thy sonne; to wit, A and Q, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were throwne downe from heauen, & that they may speake with me, & dispatch by & by without delaie, & with a good will, & without the hurt of my bodie, soule, or gods, &c: as is contained in the booke called *Annulus Salomonis*.

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to iudgement, Vaicheon, Stimulaton, Esphares, Tetragrammaton, Olioram, Cryon, Elytion, Existion, Eriona, Onela, Brasim, Noyim, Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabboth, Adonay, I worship thee, I inuocate thee, I imploie thee with all the strength of my mind, that by thee, my present prayers, consecrations, and coniurations be halloved: and whosoever wicked spirits are called, in the vertue of thy names, they may come together from euerie coast, and diligentlie fulfill the will of me the exorcist. *Eiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

A confutation of the manifold vanities contained in the precedent chapters, speciallie of commanding of diuels.

The fift Chapter.

THat can be perswaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the assertion of coufeners, or according to the supposition of witchmongers & papists, may sone be brought to beleue that the mone is made of greene cheese. You see in this which is called Salomons coniuration, there is a perfect inuentarie registred of the number of diuels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdomes, of their gouernments, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their subiection, of their submission, and of the waies to bind or loose them; with a note what wealth, learning, office, commoditie, pleasure, &c: they can giue, and may be forced to yeld in spight of their harts, to such (so sooth) as are cunning in this art: of whome yet was neuer seene any rich man, or at least that gained any thing that waie; or any vnlearned man, that became learned by that meanes; or any happie man, that could with the helpe of this art either deliuer himselfe, or his friends, from aduersitie, or adde vnto his estate any point of felicitie: yet these men, in all worldly happinesse, must needs exceed all others; if such things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. For if they may learne of Marbas, all secrets, and to cure all diseases; and of Furcas, wisdom, and to be cunning in all mechanicall arts; and to change anie mans shape, of Zepar: if Bune can make them rich and eloquent, if Beroth can tell them of all things, present, past, and to come; if Asmodaie can make them go inuisible and shew them all hidden treasure; if Salmacke will afflict whom they list, & Allocer can procure them the loue of any woman; if Amy can prouide them excellent familiars, if Caym can make them vnderstand the voice of all birds and beasts, and Buer and Bifrons can make them liue long; and finallie, if Orias could

This is contrary to the scripture, which saith that euerie good gift cometh from the father of light, &c.

A breuiarie of the inuentarie of spirits.

The disposition of the planets.

planets good, ♄ ♀ Indifferent, ☉ ☿ Evil, h ♁						
♄ h	←←	♄	☉	☿	II	☾
☾	☾ ♄	☾ ♀	☾ ☉	☾ ☿	☾ ♁	☾ ☾
Asterie Triplie: tie.	☿	♂	☾	☿	☿	An asterie Triplie: tie.
	☉	☉	☾	☿	☿	
	☿	☾	☉	☿	☿	
A waterie Triplie: tie.	☉	☉	☾	☿	☿	An aerie Triplie: tie.
	☉	☉	☾	☿	☿	
	☉	☉	☾	☿	☿	

The aspects of the planets.

The five
planetarie
aspects:
Coniunct.
Sextil.
Trine.
Quartil.
Opposit.

- ♂ Is the best aspect, with good planets, and worst with euill.
 * Is a meane aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
 △ Is verie good in aspect to good planets, & hurteth not in euill.
 □ This aspect is of enimitie not full perfect.
 s This aspect is of enimitie most perfect.

How the daie is diuided or distinguished.

A daie naturall is the space of foure and twentie houres, ac-
counting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke
after midnight.

An artificall daie is that space of time, which is betwixt the
rising and falling of the ☉ &c. All the rest is night, & beginneth at
the ☉ rising.

Hereafter followeth a table, shewing how the daie and the night is di-
uided by houres, and reduced to the regement of the planets.

The diuision of the daie, and the
planetarie regiment.

day	Lord	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
day	Lord	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂
day	Lord	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉
day	Lord	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾
day	Lord	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂
day	Lord	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂
day	Lord	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	♂	☾	♂
day	Lord	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	♂	☾	♂
day	Lord	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	♂	☾	♂

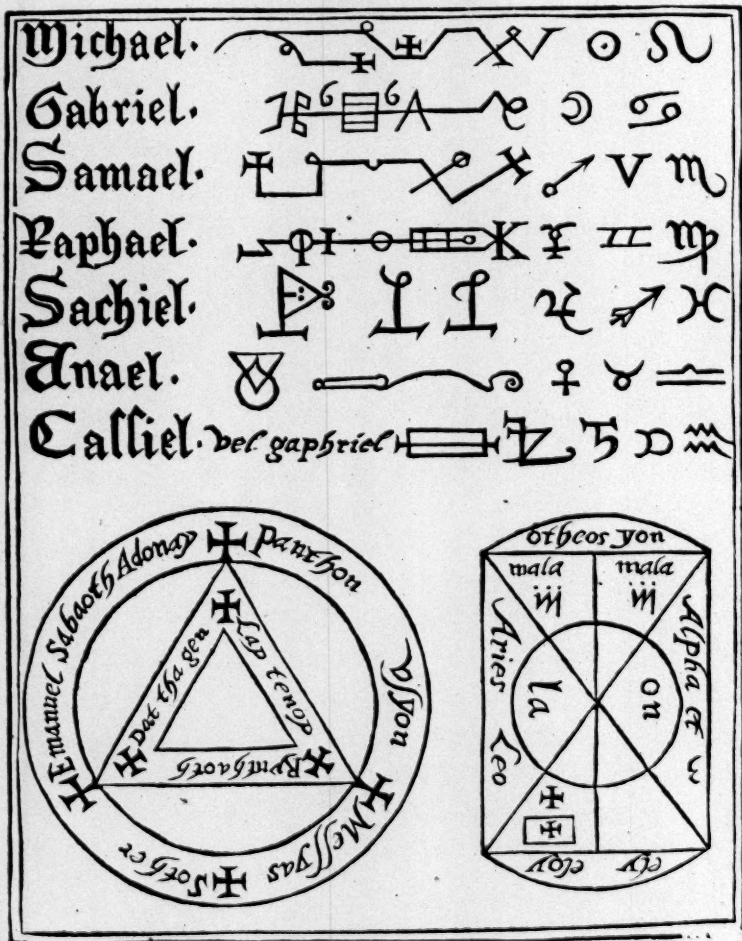
The diuision of the night, and the
planetarie regiment.

night	Lord	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
night	Lord	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂
night	Lord	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂
night	Lord	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂
night	Lord	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂
night	Lord	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	☉
night	Lord	♂	☉	♂	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	☾	♂	♂
night	Lord	♂	☾	♂	♂	♂	♂	☉	♂	♂	♂	☾	♂

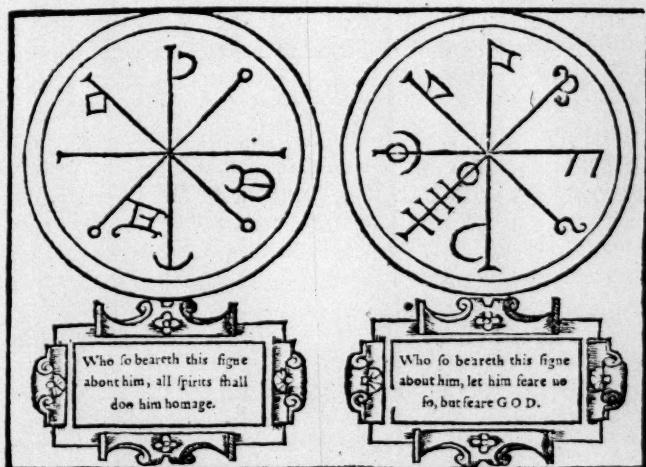
The

The characters of the angels of the seauen daies, with
their names: of figures, seales and periapts.

The seuenth Chapter.



{ These figures are called the seales of the earth, without the }
{ which no spirit will appeere, except thou haue them with thee. }



An experiment of the dead.

The eight Chapter.

First fast and praie three daies, and abstaine thee from all filthinesse; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himselfe, or destroyed himselfe wilfully: or else get thee promise of one that shalbe hanged, and let him sweare an oth to thee, after his bodie is dead, that his spirit shall come to thee, and doe thee true service, at thy commandements, in all daies, houres, and minutes. And let no persons see thy doings, but thy fellow. And about eleven a clocke in the night, go to the place where he was buried, and saie with a bold faith & hartie desire, to haue the spirit come that thou dost call for, thy fellow hauing a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a chisell stone, and saie these words following, the maister hauing a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God written therevpon, Tetragrammaton I H V S

Coniuring
for a dead
spirit.

*For the
coulenor
(the coniu-
ror I should
saie) can
do nothing
to any pur-
pose with-
out his co-
federate.

H. j.

Ado-

Note that
numerus
ternarius,
which is
counted
mysticall,
be obserued

Adonay ✚ Agla ✚ Craton ✚ Then strike thrē strokes on the ground, and saie; Arise N. Arise N. Arise N. I coniure thē spirit N. by the resurrection of our Lord Iesu Christ, that thou do obey to my words, and come vnto me this night verelie and trulie, as thou belieuest to be saued at the daie of iudgement. And I will sweare to thē an oth, by the perill of my soule, that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this chrystall stone, and fetch me the fairie Sibylla, that I may talke with hir visiblie, and she may come before me, as the coniuration leadeth: and in so doing, I will giue thē an almeste deed, and praie for thē N. to my Lord God, wherby thou maiest be restored to thy saluation at the resurrection daie, to be receiued as one of the elect of God, to the euerlasting glorie, Amen.

*Ex inferno
nulla redem-
ptio, saith
the scrip-
ture: Ergo
you lie
quothe Nota*

The maister standing at the head of the graue, his fellow hauing in his hands the candle and the stone, must begin the coniuration as followeth, and the spirit will appeare to you in the chrystall stone, in a faire forme of a child of twelue yeares of age. And when he is in, seke the stone, and it will be hot; and feare nothing, for he or she will shew manie delusions, to driue you from your worke. Feare God, but feare him not. This is to constrain him, as followeth.

I coniure thē spirit N. by the liuing God, the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers which haue created both thē and me, and all the world. I coniure thē N. by these holie names of God, Tetragrammaton ✚ Adonay ✚ Algramay ✚ Saday ✚ Sabaoth ✚ Planaboth ✚ Panthon ✚ Craton ✚ Neupmaton ✚ Deus ✚ Homo ✚ Omnipotens ✚ Sempiternus ✚ Ysus ✚ Terra ✚ Vnigenitus ✚ Saluator ✚ Via ✚ Vita ✚ Manus ✚ Fons ✚ Origo ✚ Filius ✚ And by their vertues and powers, and by all their names, by the which God gaue power to man, both to speake or thinke; so by their vertues and powers I coniure thē spirit N. that now immediatlie thou do appeare in this chrystall stone, visiblie to me and to my fellow, without anie tarrieng or deceit. I coniure thē N. by the excellent name of Iesus Christ A and Ω. the first and the last. For this holie name of Iesus is aboue all names: for in this name of Iesus elerie kinē doth bow and obeie, both of heauenlie things,

Note what
these great
words may
doe.

things, earthlie things, and infernall. And euerie tong doth confesse, that our Lord Iesus Christ is in the glorie of the father: neither is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby he must be saued. Therefore in the name of Iesus of Nazareth, and by his natiuitie, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that appertained vnto his passion, and by their vertues and powers I coniure thee spirit N. that thou doe appeare visiblie in this christall stone to me, and to my fellow, without anie dissimulation. I coniure thee N. by the blood of the innocent lambe Iesus Christ, which was shed for vs vpon the crosse: for all those that ^{* Demones} doe beleue in the vertue of his blood, shalbe saued. I coniure thee N. ^{credendo} by the vertues and powers of all the riall names and words of ^{contremis-} the liuing God of me pronounced, that thou be obedient vnto me and to my words rehearsed. If thou refuse this to doe, I by the holie trinitie, and their vertues and powers doe condemne thee thou spirit N. into the place where there is no hope of remedie or rest, but euerlasting horror and paine there dwelling, and a place where is paine vpon paine, dailie, horrible, and lamentable, thy paine to be there augmented as the starres in the heauen, and as the grauell or sand in the sea: except thou spirit N. doe appeare to me and to my fellow visiblie, immediatlie in this christall stone, and in a faire forme and shape of a child of twelue yeares of age, and that thou alter not thy shape, I charge thee vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation. I coniure thee spirit N. by the golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Iesus Christ: so thou spirit N. be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fier, for thy disobedience and vnrerent regard, that thou hast to the holie names and words, and his precepts. I coniure thee N. by the two edged sword, which Iohn sawe proceed out of the mouth of the almightie; and so thou spirit N. be torne and cut in peeces with that sword, and to be condemned into euerlasting paine, where the fier goeth not out, and where the woorme dieth not. I coniure thee N. by the heauens, and by the celestiaall citie of Ierusalem, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things contained in them, and by their vertues & powers. I coniure thee spirit N. by the obedience that thou dost owe vnto the principall prince. And except thou spirit N. doe come and appeare in this christall stone visiblie in my presence, here in mine

A heauie
sentence
denounced
of the con-
iuror a-
gainst the
spirit in case
of disobe-
dience, con-
tempt, or
negligence.

How can
that be,
when a spi-
rit hath
neither
flesh, blood,
nor bones?

V h. ij.

diatlie

diatlie as it is aforesaid. Let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of death, and of eternall condemnation be vpon thee spirit N. for euer and euer; bicause thou hast denied thy faith, thy health, and saluation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthe to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemne thee for euer, and be a witnesse against thee at the daie of iudgement, bicause of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Iesus Christ, saie therevnto; *Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.*

*The con-
iuror impu-
teth the ap-
pearing of
a spirit by
constraint
vnto words
quoth Nota

And when he is appeared in the christall stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth; to wit, I coniure thee spirit N. that art appeared to me in this christall stone, to me and to my fellow; I coniure thee by all the riall words aforesaid, the which did constrainne thee to appeare therein, and their vertues; I charge thee spirit by them all, that thou shalt not depart out of this christall stone, vntill my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I coniure and bind thee spirit N. by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell S. Michael to digne Lucifer out of the heauens with a sword of vengeance, and to fall from ioy to paine; and for dread of such paine as he is in, I charge thee spirit N. that thou shalt not go out of the christall stone; nor yet to alter thy shape at this time, except I command thee otherwise; but to come vnto me at all places, and in all houres and minuts, when and wheresoeuer I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Iesus Christ, or by anie coniuration of words that is written in this booke, and to shew me and my frends true visions in this christall stone, of anie thing or things that we would see, at anie time or times: and also to go and to fetch me the faire Sibylla, that I may talke with hir in all kind of talke, as I shall call hir by anie coniuration of words contained in this booke. I coniure thee spirit N. by the great wisdom and diuinitie of his godhead, my will to fulfill, as is aforesaid: I charge thee vpon paine of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come, *Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.*

This done, go to a place fast by, and in a faire parlor or chamber, make a circle with chalker, as hereafter followeth: and make another

another circle for the faire Sibyllia to appeare in, soure fote from the circle thou art in, & make no names therein, nor cast anie holie thing therein, but make a circle round with chalke; & let the maister and his fellowe sit downe in the first circle, the maister hauing the booke in his hand, his fellowe hauing the christall stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the faire doth appeare. The maister also must haue vpon his brest this figure



here written in parchment, and beginne to worke in the new of the γ and in the houre of γ the \circ and the γ to be in one of inhabiteurs signes, as $\text{S} \text{I} \text{X}$. This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the christall stone, to fetch vnto thee the faire Sibyllia. All things fulfilled, beginne this bond as followeth, and be bold, for doubtles they will come before thee, before the coniuration be read seuen times.

I coniure thee spirit N. in this christall stone, by God the father, by God the sonne Iesus Christ, and by God the Holie-ghost, thee persons and one God, and by their vertues. I coniure thee spirit, that thou do go in peace, and also to come againe to me quicklie, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, Sibyllia faire, that I may talke with hir in those matters that shall be to hir honour and glorie; and so I charge thee declare vnto hir. I coniure thee spirit N. by the blond of the innocent lambe, the which redeemed all the worlde; by the vertue thereof I charge thee thou spirit in the christall stone, that thou do declare vnto hir this message. Also I coniure thee spirit N. by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubin and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure thee N. that thou do depart with speed, and also to come againe with speed, and to bring with thee the faire Sibyllia, to appeare in that circle, before I do read the coniuration in this booke seuen times. Thus I charge thee my will to be fulfilled, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat; Amen.*

And whie
might not
he doo it
himselfe, as
well as ma-
dam Sibyllia.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and saie, ✕ Sorthie ✕ Sorthia ✕ Sorthios ✕ then beginne your coniuration as followeth here, and saie; I

The faire
Sibyllia
coniured
to appeare,
&c.

coniure the Sibyllia, O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercie of the Holie-ghost, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by their vertues and powers; I coniure the Sibyllia, O gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of 4 and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of 4 and 2 and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament, and by the king and quene of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest vnto them. I coniure the Sibyllia by the blood that ranne out of the side of our Lord Iesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darkenes of the sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising vp of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by the vspeakeable name of God, Tetragrammaton. I coniure the Sibyllia, O blessed and beautifull virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid; I coniure the Sibyllia by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the forme and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and besture white, adorned and garnished most faire, and to appeare to me quicklie without deceit or tarrieng, and that thou faile not to fulfill my will & desire effectuallie. For I will chose thee to be my blessed virgine, & will haue common copulation with thee. Therefore make hast & speed to come vnto me, and to appeare as I said before: to whome be honour and glozie for euer and euer Amen.

The which done and ended, if shee come not, repeate the coniuration till they doe come: for doubtles they will come. And when she is appeared, take your censers, and incense hir with frankincense, then bind hir with the bond as followeth. ¶ I do conjure the Sibyllia, by God the Father, God the sonne, and God the Holie-ghost, three persons and one God, and by the blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by all the whole and holie companie of heauen, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I coniure thee, and bind thee Sibyllia, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape, except I giue thee licence to depart. I coniure thee Sibyllia by the blood that ranne out of the side of

The maner
of binding
the faire
Sibyllia at
hir appea-
ring.

of our Lord Iesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I coniure the Sibylia to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visiblie, as the coniuration of words leadeth, written in this booke. I coniure the Sibylia, O blessed virgine of fairies, by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darknes of the sunne at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection, and by the vnspcakable name of God I Tetragrammaton I and by the king and quene of fairies, & by their vertues I comure the Sibylia to appeare, before the coniuration be read ouer foure times, and that visiblie to appeare, as the coniuration leadeth written in this booke, and to giue me god counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to do me pleasure, and to fulfill my will; without anie deceit or tarrieng; nor yet that thou shalt haue anie power of my bodie or soule, earthlie or ghostlie, nor yet to perishe so much of my bodie as one haire of my head. I coniure the Sibylia by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and bind the by the vertue thereof, to be obedient vnto me, and to all the words aforesaid, and this bond to stand betwene the and me, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

If all this
will not
fetch hir
vp the di-
uell is a
knaue.

A licence for Sibylia to go and come
by at all times.

The ninth Chapter.

I Coniure the Sibylia, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt haue no powers in thy going or comming vnto me, imagining anie euill in anie maner of waies, in the earth or vnder the earth, of euill doings, to anie person or persons. I coniure and command the Sibylia by all the riall words and vertues that be written in this booke, that thou shalt not go to the place from whence thou camest, but shalt remaine peaceablie inuisiblie, and loke thou be readie to come vnto me, when thou art called by anie coniuration of words that be written in this booke, to come (I saie) at my commandement, and to answer vnto me truelie

Wh. liij.

and

andduelie of all things, my will quicklie to be fulfilled. *Vade in pace, in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti.* And the holie ✠ crosse ✠ be betwene thee and me, or betwene vs and you, and the lion of Iuda, the roote of Iesse, the kindred of Dauid, be betwene thee & me ✠ Christ commeth ✠ Christ commandeth ✠ Christ giueth power ✠ Christ defend me ✠ and his innocent blood ✠ from all perils of bodie and soule, sleeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

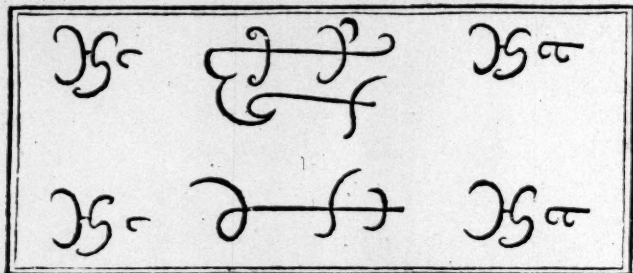
To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

The tenth Chapter.

This would
be much
practised if
it were not
a coufening
knacke.



Write in paper these characters following, on the saturdaye, in the houre of 9, and laie it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be anie, the paper will burne, else not. And these be the characters.



This is the waie to go inuisible by these
three filters offairies.

In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holie
Ighost. First go to a faire parlor or chamber, & an euen ground,
and in no loft, and from people nine daies; for it is the better:
and let all thy clothing be cleane and swete. Then make a candle
of virgine ware, and light it, and make a faire fier of charcoles,
in a faire place, in the muddle of the parlor or chamber. Then take
faire cleane water, that runneth against the east, and set it vpon
the fier: and yer thou waldest thy selfe, saie these words, going a-
bout the fier, three times, holding the candle in the right hand ✠
Panthon ✠ Craton ✠ Muriton ✠ Bifecognaton ✠ Sifton ✠
Diaton.

Diacon ✕ Maton ✕ Tetragrammaton ✕ Agla ✕ Agarion ✕
Tegra ✕ Pentessaron ✕ Tendicata ✕ Then reherse these names

✕ Sorthic ✕ Sorthia ✕ Sorthios ✕ Milia ✕ Achilia ✕ Sibylia

✕ *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.* I coniure you

thre sisters of fairies, Milia, Achilia, Sibylia, by the father, by the

sonne, and by the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues and powers,

and by the most mercifull and lining God, that will command

his angell to blowe the trumpe at the daie of iudgement; and he

shall saie, Come, come, come to iudgement; and by all angels,

archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtu-

tes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I

coniure you thre sisters, by the vertue of all the riall words afore-

said: I charge you that you doe appeare before me visiblie, in

forme and shape of faire women, in white bestures, and to bring

with you to me, the ring of inuisibilitie, by the which I may go in-

uisible at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all houres

and minuts: *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.* ¶ See-

ing appeared, saie this bond following.

¶ Blessed virgins ✕ Milia ✕ Achilia ✕ I coniure you in the

name of the father, in the name of the sonne, and in the name of

the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues I charge you to depart

from me in peace, for a time. And Sibylia, I coniure thee, by the

vertue of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by the vertue of his

flesh and pretious blood, that he toke of our blessed ladie the vir-

gine, and by all the holie companie in heauen: I charge thee Si-

bylia, by all the vertues afore said, that thou be obedient vnto me,

in the name of God; that when, and at what time and place I

shall call thee by this foresaid coniuration written in this booke,

loke thou be readie to come vnto me, at all houres and minuts,

and to bring vnto me the ring of inuisibilitie, whereby I may go

inuisible at my will and pleasure, and that at all houres and mi-

nuts; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

The three
sisters of
the fairies,
Milia, A-
chilia, and
Sibylia.

The ring of
inuisibilitie.

And if they come not the first night, then doe the same the second
night, and so the third night, vntill they doe come: for doubtles
they will come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or cham-
ber. And laie thy right hand out of the bed, and loke thou haue a
faire silken kercher bound about thy head, and be not afraid, the y
will doe thee no harime. For there will come before thee three faire
women,

* Such a
ring it was
that aduan-
ced Giges
to the king-
dome of
Lydia:
Plato, lib. 2.
de iuris.

women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put * a ring vpon thy finger, wherewith thou shalt go inuisible. Then with speed bind them with the bond aforesaid. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, loke in a glasse, and thou shalt not see thy selfe. And when thou wilt go inuisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and euerie new D renew it againe. For after the first time thou shalt euer haue it, and euer beginne this worke in the new of the D and in the houre of 4 and the D in S T X.

An experiment following, of Citrael, &c:
angeli dei dominici.

The eleuenth Chapter.

¶ Saie first the praiers of the angels euerie daie, for the space of seauen daies.

Michael. O

Gabriel. D

Samael. J

Raphael. Z

Sadiel. 4

Anael. F

Cassiel. H



¶ Ye gloriozious angels wzitten in this square, be you my coadiutors & helpers in all questions and demands, in all my busines, and other causes, by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier. O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote coadiutores & auxiliares in omnibus questionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotijs, ceterisque causis, per eum qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & mundum per ignem.

¶ Saie this praier fasting, called
* Regina lingua.

* O queene
or gouer-
nell of the
reong.

✠ Lemaac ✠ solmaac ✠ elmay ✠ gezagra ✠ raomaasin ✠ ezierego ✠
mial ✠ egziephiaz ✠ Iosamin ✠ sabach ✠ tha ✠ aem ✠ re ✠ b ✠ e
sepha ✠ sephar ✠ ramar ✠ semoit ✠ lemaio ✠ pheralon ✠ amic ✠ phin
✠ gergoin ✠ letos ✠ Amin ✠ amin ✠.

In the name of the most pitifullest and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heauen and of earth, of the seas and of the

the infernalles, by thine omnipotent helpe may performe this worke, which liuest and reigneſt euer one God worlde without end, Amen.

¶ Most ſtrongeſt and mightieſt God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemencie and knowledg I deſire, that my queſtions, worke, and labour may be fullie and trulie accompliſhed, through thy worthines, god Lord, which liueſt and reigneſt, euer one God, worlde without end, Amen.

¶ Holie, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worſhipped, the Lord of all wiſedome, cleare and iuſt; I moſt hartlie deſire thy holines and clemencie, to fulfill, performe and accompliſh this my whole worke, thorough thy worthines, and bleſſed power: which liueſt and reigneſt, euer one God, *Per omnia ſacula ſeculorum, Amen.*

How to encloſe a ſpirit in a
chriſtall ſtone.

The twelſe Chapter.

THis operation following, is to haue a ſpirit incloſed into a chriſtall ſtone or berill glaſſe, or into anie other like inſtrument, &c. ¶ Firſt thou in the new of the being clothed with all new, and freſh, & cleane arate, and ſhauen, and that day to faſt with bread and water, and being cleane confeſſed, ſaie the ſeauen pſalmes, and the letanie, for the ſpace of two daies, with this praier following.

Obſeruations of cleaneſſe, abſtinenſe, and deuotion.

I deſire thee O Lord God, my mercifull and moſt louing God, the giuer of all graces, the giuer of all ſciences, grant that I thy welbeloued N. (although unworthie) may knowe thy grace and power, againſt all the deceipts and craftines of diuels. And grant to me thy power, god Lord, to conſtraine them by this art: for thou art the true, and liuelie, and eternall GOD, which liueſt and reigneſt euer one GOD through all worlds, Amen.

Thou muſt do this ſixe daies, and the firſt daie haue in a redines, ſixe bright ſwords: and in ſome ſecret place make one circle, with one of the ſaid ſwords. And then write this name, Sitracel: which done, ſtanding in the circle, thruſt in thy ſword into that name. And write againe Malanthon, with another ſword; and

An obſeruation touching the uſe of the ſixe ſwords.

Thamaor,

Thamaor, with another ; and Falaur, with another ; and Sitrami, with another : and do as ye did with the first. All this done, turne thee to Sitrael, and kneeling saie thus, hauing the christall stone in thine hands.

O Sitrael, Malantha, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami, witten in these circles, appointed to this worke, I do coniure and I do exorcise you, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holy-ghost, by him which did cast you out of paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, that all you siue infernall maisters and princes do come vnto me, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I coniure you diuels, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Iesus Christ, the sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and glorious virgine Marie, and by all the saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the angels, archangels, patriarches, and prophets, apostles, euangelists, martyrs, and confessors, virgins, and widowes, and all the elect of God. Also I coniure you, and euerie of you, ye infernall kings, by heauen, by the starres, by the ☉ and by the ☿ and by all the planets, by the earth, fier, aier, and water, and by the terrestrialall paradise, and by all things in them contained, and by your hell, and by all the diuels in it, and dwelling about it, and by your vertue and power, and by all thatsoeuer, and with thatsoeuer it be, which maie constreine and bind you. Therefore by all these foresaid vertues and powers, I do bind you and constreine you into my will and power ; that you being thus bound, may come vnto me in great humilitie, and to appeare in your circles before me visiblie, in faire forme and shape of mankind kings, and to obeye vnto me in all things, whatsoeuer I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you do against my precepts, I will promise vnto you that you shall descend into the profound deepenesse of the sea, except that you do obeye vnto me, in the part of the liuing sonne of God, which liueth and reigneth in the vnitie of the Holy-ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

A weightie charge of coniuration vpon the siue K. of the north.

A penaltie for not appearing, &c.

Saie this true coniuration siue courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the northpart siue kings, with a maruelous companie :

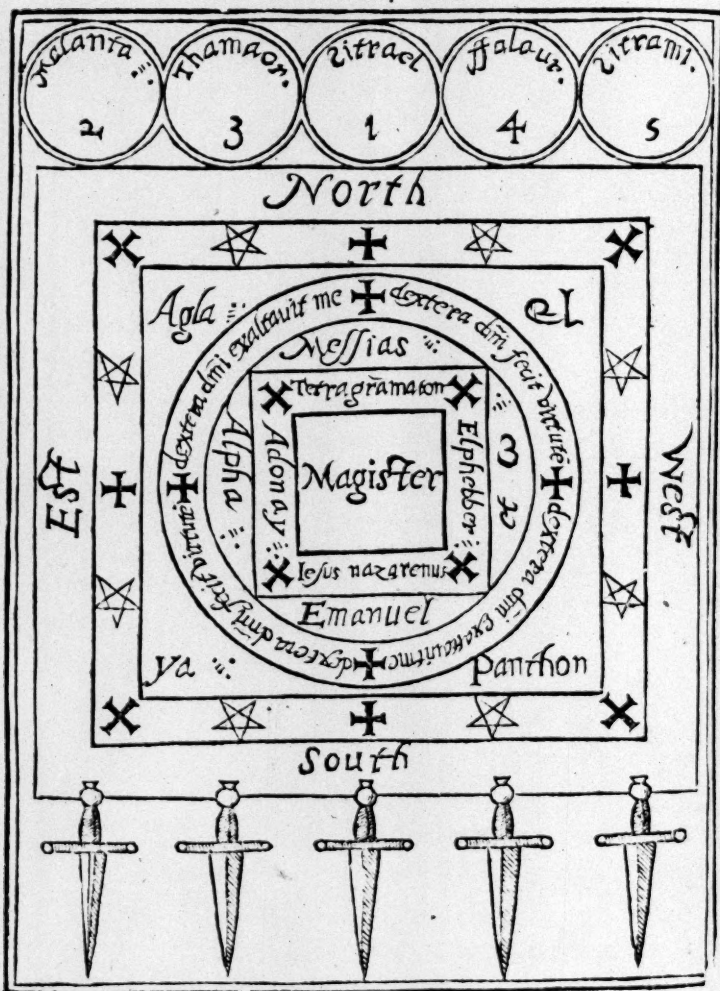
panie: which when they are come to the circle, they will allight
downe off from their horses, and will kneele downe before thee,
saieing: Paister, command vs what thou wilt, and we will out
of hand be obedient vnto thee. Vnto whome thou shalt saie; See
that ye depart not from me, without my licence; and that which
I will command you to do, let it be done trulie, surelie, faithfullie,
and essentiallie. And then they all will sweare vnto thee to
do all thy will. And after they haue swoyne, saie the coniuration
immediatlie following.

I coniure, charge, and command you, and euerie of you, Si-
rrael, Malanthan, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sicrami, you infernall
kings, to put into this christall stone one spirit learned and ex-
pert in all arts and sciences, by the vertue of this name of God
Tetragrammaton, and by the crosse of our Lord Iesu Christ, and
by the blood of the innocent lambe, which redeemed all the world,
and by all their vertues & powers I charge you, ye noble kings,
that the said spirit may teach, shew, and declare vnto me, and to
my frends, at all houres and minuts, both night and daie, the
truth of all things, both bodilie and ghostlie, in this world, what-
soeuer I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my verie
name. And this I command in your part to do, and to obeie
therevnto, as vnto your owne lord and maister. That done, they
will call a certeine spirit, whom they will command to enter
into the centre of the circled or round christall. Then put the chri-
stall betweene the two circles, and thou shalt see the christall
made blacke.

The five
spirits of
the north:
as you shall
see in the
type expres-
sed in pag.
414. next
following.

Then command them to command the spirit in the christall,
not to depart out of the stone, till thou giue him licence, & to ful-
fill thy will for euer. That done, thou shalt see them go vpon the
christall, both to answer your requests, & to tarrie your licence.
That done, the spirits will craue licence: and say; Go ye to your
place appointed of almightie God, in the name of the father, &c.
And then take vp thy christall, and loke therein, asking what thou
wilt, and it will shew it vnto thee. Let all your circles be nine
foote euerie waie, & made as followeth. Worke this worke in
5 mo or 6 in the houre of the D or 4. And when the spirit is inclo-
sed, if thou feare him, bind him with some bond, in such sort as is
elsewhere expressed alreadie in this our treatise.

A figure or type proportionall, shewing what forme must be obserued and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in christall is to be accomplished, &c.



The names written within the five circles doo signifie the five infernall kings: See pag. 411, 412, 413.

An experiment of Bealphares.

The xiiij. Chapter.

This is proued the noblest carrier that euer did serue anie man vpon the earth, & here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, & how to haue a true answer of him, without anie craft or harme; and he will appeare vnto thee in the likenesse of a faire man, or faire woman, the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or siluer, he will bring it thee: or if thou wilt go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule. Therefore * he that will do this worke, shall abstaine from lecherousnes and dzonkennesse, and from false swearing, and do all the abstinence that he may do; and namelie three daies before he go to worke, and in the third daie, when the night is come, and when the starres do shine, and the element faire and cleare, he shall bath himselfe and his fellows (if he haue anie) all together in a quicke wel spring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must haue another priuie place, and beare with him inke and pen, where with he shall write this holy name of God almighty in his right hand ✠ Agla ✠ & in his left hand this name ✠ Π Ε Δ Ε ✠ And he must haue a drie thong of a lions or of a harts skin, and make thereof a girdle, and write the holie names of God all about, and in the end ✠ Α and Ω ✠ And vpon his brest he must haue this present figure or marke The coniu-
rors brest-
plate. written in virgine parchment, as it is here shewed. And it must be solued vpon a peece of new linnen, and so made fast vpon thy brest. And if thou wilt haue a fellow to worke with thee, he must be appointed in the same manner. You must haue also a bright knife that was neuer occupied, and he must write on the one side



*Memorandum with what vices the coniuor (the coniuor I should saie) must not be polluted: therefore he must be no knaue, &c.

Salomons
circle.

side of the blade of the knife ✠ Agla ✠ and on the other side of the knives blade ✠ II E V E ✠ And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called Salomons circle. When that he is made, go into the circle, and close againe the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and saie; *Per crucis hoc signum ✠ fugiat procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum ✠ saluetur quodque benignum*, and make suffumigations to thy selfe, and to thy fellowe or fellowes, with frankincense, massike, *linum aloes*: then put it in wine, and saie with good deuotion, in the worship of the high God almightie, all together, that he may defend you from all euils. And when he that is maister will close the spirit, he shall saie towards the east, with meeke and deuout deuotion, these psalmes and praers as followeth here in order.

¶ The two and twentieth psalme.

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51. psalmes all ouer: or else rehearse them by hart: for these are counted necessarie, &c.

O My God my God, looke vpon me, whie hast thou forsaken me, and art so farte from my health, and from the words of my complaint? ¶ And so forth to the end of the same psalme, as it is to be found in the booke.

This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times ouer, &c.

HAue mercie vpon me, O God, after thy great goodnes, according to the multitude of thy mercies, doe alwaie mine offenses. ¶ And so forth to the end of the same psalme, concluding it with, Glorie to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the Holie ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now, and euer shall be, world without end, Amen. Then saie this verse: O Lord leaue not my soule with the wicked; nor my life with the bloudthirstie. Then saie a *Pater noster* an *Aue Maria*, and a *Credo*, & me nos inducas. O Lord shew vs thy mercie, and we shall be saued. Lord heare our praier, and let our crie come vnto thee. Let vs praise.

O Lord God almightie, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the three kings of Cullen, Iasper, Melchior, and Balthasar, when they came with worshipfull presents towards Bethleem: Iasper brought myrrh; Melchior, incense; Balthasar, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Iesus Gods sonne of bea-
uen,

acn, the second person in trinitie, being borne of the holie and cleane virgine S. Marie, quene of heauen, emperesse of hell, and ladie of all the world: at that time the holie angell Gabriel warned and bad the foresaid thre kings, that they should take another waie, for dread of perill, that Herod the king by his ordinance would haue destroyed these thre noble kings, that make lic sought out our Lord and sauour. As wittlie and truelie as these thre kings turned for dread, and toke another waie: so wiselie and so truelie, O Lord G M D, of thy mightifull mercie, blesse vs now at this time, for thy blessed passion saue vs, and keepe vs all together from all euill; and thy holie angell defend vs. Let vs praie.

Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior, who followed the starre, wherein was y image of a litle babe bearing a crosse: if Longa legē da Colonie lie not.

O Lord, King of all kings, which conteinest the throne of heauen, and beholdest all deepes, weighest the hilles, and shuttest vp with thy hand the earth; heare vs, most merkeſt G M D, and grant vnto vs (being vnworthie) according to thy great mercie, to haue the veritie and vertue of knowledge of hidden treasures by this spirit inuocated, through thy helpe O Lord Iesus Christ, to whome be all honour and glorie, from worlds to worlds euerlastinglie. Amen. Then saie these names ✠ Helie ✠ helyon ✠ effeiere ✠ Deus aternus ✠ eloy ✠ clemens ✠ helyoy ✠ Deus sanctus ✠ sabaoth ✠ Deus exercituum ✠ adonay ✠ Deus mirabilis ✠ iao ✠ verax ✠ anepheneton ✠ Deus ineffabilis ✠ sodoi ✠ dominator dominus ✠ on fortissimus ✠ Deus ✠ qui, the which wouldest be praied vnto of sinners: receiue (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our make prayers, which we vnworthie do offer vnto thy diuine maiestie. Deliuer vs, and haue mercie vpon vs, and prouent with thy holie spirit this worke, and with thy blessed helpe to followe after; that this our worke begunne of thee, may be ended by thy mightie power, Amen. Then saie this anon after ✠ Homo ✠ succarus ✠ muscolameas ✠ cheruborca ✠ being the figure vpon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blesse the circle with holie water, and sit downe in the midst, and read this coniuration as followeth, sitting backe to backe at the first time.

Ierorcise and coniure Bealphares, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heauens and of earth, and by his vertue, and by his vnspokeable name Tetragrammaton, and by all

* Which
must be
enuiro-
ned with
a goodlie
companie
of crosses.

the holie sacraments, and by the holie maiestie and deitie of the living God. I coniure and exorcise thee Bealphares by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your maister, that you do come vnto vs, in faire forme of man or womankind, here visiblie before this circle, and not terrible by anie manner of waies. This * circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodnes of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, and that you do make answer truelie, without craft or deceit, vnto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to lose him againe.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Now when he is appeared, bind him with these words which followe. ¶ I coniure thee Bealphares, by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the Holie-ghost, and by all the holie companie in heauen; and by their vertues and powers I charge thee Bealphares, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet to alter thy bodilie shape, that thou art appeared in, nor anie power shalt thou haue of our bodies or soules, earthlie or ghostlie, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my conuersion, that be written in this booke. I coniure thee Bealphares, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure and charge, bind and constreine thee Bealphares, by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues, that thou be obedient vnto me, and to come and appeare visiblie vnto me, and that in * all daies, houres, and minuts, whersoever I be, being called by the vertue of our Lord Iesu Christ, the which words are written in this booke. Loke readie thou be to appeare vnto me, and to giue me good counsell, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dignitie and knowledge of all things, that is to saie, of the magike art, and of grammar, dialectike, rhetorike, arithmetike, musike, geometrie,

* On sun-
daies, festi-
uall daies,
and holie
daies, none
excepted.

metrie, and of astronomie, and in all other things my will quick, lie to be fulfilled: I charge thee vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, *Fiat fiat fiat, Amen.*

When he is thus bound, aske him what thing thou wilt, and he will tell thee, and giue thee all things that thou wilt request of him, without anie sacrifice doing to him, and without forsaking thy God, that is, thy maker. And when the spirit hath fulfilled thy will and intent, giue him licence to depart as followeth.

He dares
doe no o-
ther being
so conured
I trowe.

A licence for the spirit to depart.

¶ Vnto the place predestinated and appointed for thee, where thy Lord God hath appointed thee, vntill I shall call thee againe. Be thou readie vnto me and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, vpon paine of euerlasting damnation. And if thou wilt, thou maiest recite, two or three times, the last coniuration, vntill thou doo come to this tearme, In throno. If he will not depart, and then say In throno, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of any bodie, or of anie deed to be doone; that all creatures may knowe, that our Lord is of all power, most mightiest, and that there is none other God but he, which is thee, and one, liuing for euer and euer. And the malediction of God the father omnipotent, the sonne and the holie ghost, descend vpon thee, and dwell alwaies with thee, except thou doo depart without damage of vs, or of any creature, or anie other euill deed to be doone: & thou to go to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Iesus Christ I doo else send thee to the great pit of hell, except (I saie) that thou depart to the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee. And see thou be readie to me and to my call, at all times and places, at mine owne will and pleasure, daie or night, without damage or hurt of me, or of anie creature, vpon paine of euerlasting damnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen, Amen.* ¶ The peace of Iesus Christ bee betwene vs and you; in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holie ghost: *Amen.* Per crucis hoc ✕ signum, &c. Saie In principio erat verbum, & verbum erat apud Deum; In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word: and so forthward, as followeth in the first chapter of saint Iohns Gospell, stateng at these wordes, Full of grace and truth: to whom be all ho- nour and glorie without end, *Amen.*



And on the other side
this name H E T E

The fashion
or forme of
the coniu-
ring knife,
with the
names ther-
on to bee
grauen or
written.

A type or figure of the circle for the maister
and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how
and after what fashion it
should be made.



This is the circle for the maister to sit in, and his fellowe
or fellowes, at the first calling, sit backe to backe, when
he calleth the spirit ; and for the fairies make this circle
with chalke on the ground, as is said before. This spi-
rit Bealphares being once called and found, shall ne-
uer haue power to hurt thee. Call him in
the houre of 4 or 8 the day
creasing.

The

The making of the holie water.

The xv. Chapter.



Exorciso te creaturam salis, per Deum vivum ✠ per Deum Absque ex-
✠ verum ✠ per Deum sanctum ✠ per Deum qui te per Elizeum orcisimo sal
prophetam in aquam mitti iussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aque, ut non fit san-
efficiaris sal exorcisatus in salutem credentium; ut sis omnibus te etus.
sumentibus sanitas anime & corporis, & effugiat atque discedat
ab eo loco, qui aspersus fuerit omnis phantasia & nequitia, vel
verjusia diabolice fraudis, omnisq; spiritus immundus, adiutus per eum, qui ventu-
rus est iudicare vivos & mortuos, & seculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Immen[sam] clementiam tuam, omnipotens aterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, ut
hanc creaturam salis, quam in usum generis humani tribuisti, bene ✠ dicere & san-
ctis ✠ ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sis omnibus sumentibus salus mentis & corporis,
ut quicquid ex eo tactum fuerit, vel respersum, careat omni immundicia, omnisq; in-
pugnatione spiritalis nequitiæ, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum,
qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia secula seculo-
rum, Amen.

To the water saie also as followeth.

Exorciso te creaturam aque in nomine ✠ patris ✠ & Iesu Christi filij eius Domi-
ni nostri, & in virtute spiritus ✠ sancti ✠ ut sis aqua exorcisata, ad effugien-
dam omnem potestatem inimici, & ipsam inimicam eradicare & explantare valeas,
cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui
venturus est iudicare vivos & mortuos, & seculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima queque sacramenta in aquarum
substantia condidisti, adesto propitius inuocationibus nostris, & elemento huic multi-
modis purificationibus preparato, virtutem tue bene ✠ dictionis infunde, ut creatu-
ra tua mysterijs tuis seruens, ad abigendos demones, morbosq; pellendos, diuine gratie
sumat effectum, ut quicquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium; hec unda resperserit, ca-
reat omni immundicia, liberetur à noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aua-
corrumpens, discedant omnes insidie latentis inimici, & si quid est, quod aut incolomi-
tati habitantium inuadet aut quærit, aspersione huius aque effugiat, ut salubritas per
inuocationem sancti tui nominis exposita ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa,
per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat, in
unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.

Then take the salt in thy hand, and saie putting it
into the water, making in the maner of a Crosse.

Conmixtio salis & aque pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti,
Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo, Oremus: ¶ Deus inuictæ vir-
tutis auctor, & insuperabilis imperij rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui ad-
uerse dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis seuitiam superas, qui hosti-
les nequitias potens expugnas, te Domine trementes & supplices deprecamur ac peti-
mus, ut hanc creaturam salis & aque aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tue rore
sancti fices, ubicumq; fuerit aspersa, per inuocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis in-
festatio immundi spiritus abiciatur, terrorq; venenosus serpentis procul pellatur, &
presentia

presentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubiq; adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum uiuit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.

Then sprinkle vpon anie thing, and saie as followeth.

*Oratio, in
qua dicenda,
exorcista se-
se sacri-
tatis asper-
gine debet
perterritus.*

A Sperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor, Lauabis me, & supra nixem dealbabor. Misere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra nixem dealbabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in secula seculorum, Amen. Et supra nixem dealbabor, asperges me, &c. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis; exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, eterne Deus, & mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de caelis, qui custodiat, foueat, uisitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

To make a spirit to appeare in a christall

The xvj. Chapter.

I Do coniuere thee N. by the father, and the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, the which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, that thou N. do appeare, in this christall stone, or anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my felow, gentlie and beautifullie, in faire forme of a boy of twelue yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules; and certeinlie to informe and to shew me, with out anie guile or craft, all that we do desire or demand of thee to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen.

*Marke how
consonant
this is with
poperie, &c.*

Also I coniuere and exorcise thee N. by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance therof, by the wisdom of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, & by all things that are aboue the earth, and by their vertues, by the O and the D by H 4 S and P and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widowes, and the chaste, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principals, potestats, virtues, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, & by the holie names of God, Tetragrammaton, El, Ousion, Agla, and by all the other holie names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the heauines of our ladie the virgine, and by the loy which she had when

when the satwe hir some rise from death to life, that thou N. do appeare in this chistall stone, or in anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my felow, gentlie, and beautifullie, and visiblie, in faire forme of a childe of twelue yeres of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew vnto me & to my felow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oth and promise to me, whatsoener I shall demand or desire of thee, without anie hinderance or tarieng, and this coniuration be read of me thre times, vpon paine of eternall condemnation, to the last daie of iudgment: *Fiat fiat, fiat, Amen.*

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead aboue written: then saie as followeth. ¶ I charge thee N. by the father, to shew me true visions in this chistall stone, if there be anie treasure hidden in such a place N. & wherein it lieth, and how manie foot from this peece of earth, east, west, north, or south.

For hidden
treasure.

An experiment of the dead.

The xvij. Chapter.



First go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare an oth vnto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the daies of thy life, and will do thee true seruice, as it is contained in the oth and promise following. Then laie thy hand on thy booke, and sweare this oth vnto him. I N. do sweare and promise to thee N. to giue for thee an almesse euerie moneth, and also to praeie for thee once in euerie weeke, to saie the Lords praier for thee, and so to continue all the daies of my life, as God me helpe and holie dwine, and by the contents of this booke, Amen.

Promises &
oths inter-
changea-
ble made
betweene
the coniu-
rator & the
spirit.

Then let him make his oth to thee as followeth, and let him saie after thee, laieing his hand vpon the booke. ¶ I N. do sweare this oth to thee N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Iesus Christ, and by his pretious blood which hath redeemed all the world, by the which blood I do trust to be saued at the generall daie of iudgment, and by the vertues thereof, I N. do sweare this oth to thee N. that my spirit that is within my bodie now,

I i. iiii.

shall

shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to anie place of rest, but shall come to the N. and be verie well pleased to remaine with the N. all the daies of thy life, and so to be bound to the N. and to appeare to the N. in anie christfall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my bodie, streightwaie to be at your commandements, and that in and at all daies, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient vnto the N. being called of the by the vertue of our Lord Iesu Christ, & out of hand to haue common talke with the at all times, and in all houres & minuts, to open and declare to the N. the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to worke the magike art, and all other noble sciences, vnder the throne of God. If I do not performe this oth and promise to the N. but do flie from anie part thereof, then to be condemned for euer and euer, Amen.

Note the
penaltie of
breaking
promise
with the
spirit.

Also I N. do sweare to thee by God the Holie-ghost, and by the great wisdom that is in the diuine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all the holie angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their vertues do I N. sweare, and promise thee to be obedient as is rehearsed. And here, for a witnesse, do I N. giue thee N. my right hand, and do plight thee my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holiedome. And by the holie contents in this booke do I N. sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true seruant, all the daies of thy life, as is before rehearsed. And here for a witnesse, that my spirit shall be obedient to thee N. and to those bonds of words that be written in this N. before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thise; else to be damned for euer: and thereto saie all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

*Three
times, in
reuerence
(peraduene-
ture) of the
Trinitie, P.
F. S. S.

Then let him sweare this oth * three times, and at euerie time kisse the booke, and at euerie time make marks to the bond. Then perceiuing the time that he will depart, get auaie the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and saie the *Pater noster*, *Aue*, and *Credo*, and this prayer as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words; and in the end of euerie bond, saie often times; Remember thine oth and promise. And bind him strongly to thee, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, read-
ding

ding thy bond 24. times. And euerie daie when you do call him by your other bond, bind him stronglie by the first bond: by the space of 24. daies applie it, & thou shalt be made a man for euer.

Now the Pater noster, Aue, and Credo must be said, and then the praiser immediatlie following.

God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of Tobias; the which diddest deliuer the three chldzen from the hot burning ouen, Sidrac, Misac, and Abdenago, and Susanna from the false crune, and Daniel from the lions power: euen so O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee, for thy great mercie sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliuer me this spirit of N. that he may be a true subiect to me N. all the daies of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N. all the daies of my life. O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holie-ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to giue me power by thine holie name, merits and vertues, wherby I may coniuere & constreine this spirit of N. that he may be obedient vnto me, and may fulfill his oth and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holines. This grant O Lord God of hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine euertasting kingdoms, & in the diuinitie of thine euertasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glorie, now and for euer and euer, Amen, Amen.

A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy
N. as followeth.

The xviij. Chapter.

IN.coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. by the liuing God, by the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers I coniuere and constreine the spirit of the N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy bodie, to no place of rest, but onelie to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the daies of my life, according to thine oth and promise. I coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. by these holie names of God **Tetragrammaton** ✞ *Adonay* ✞ *Agla* ✞ *Saday* ✞ *Sabaoth* ✞ *planaborhe* ✞ *panthon* ✞ *craton* ✞ *neupmaton* ✞ *Deus* ✞ *homo* ✞ *omnipotens* ✞ *sempiternus* ✞ *ysus* ✞ *terra* ✞ *unigenitus* ✞ *saluator* ✞ *via* ✞ *vita* ✞ *manus* ✞ *sons* ✞ *origo* ✞ *filius* ✞ and by their vertues and powers I coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not rest nor remaine in the fier, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in anie priuie place of the earth, but onelie with me N. and with this N. all the daies

Note the summe of this obligation or bond.

*Scripture
as well ap-
plied of the
coniuror,
as that of
satan in
tempting
Christ,
Matth. 4. 6.

daies of my life. I charge the spirit of N. vpon paine of euerla-
sting condemnation, remember thine oth and promise. Also I
coniure the spirit of N. and constreine thee by the excellent name
of Iesus Christ, A and Ω, the first and the last; for this holie name
of Iesus is aboue all names, for vnto it all knēs do bow and
obey, both of heauenlie things, earthlie things, and infernalles.
For is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby we haue
anie saluation, but by the name of Iesus. Therefore by the name,
and in the name of Iesus of Nazareth, and by his natiuitie, re-
surrection and ascension, and by all that apperteineth to his pas-
sion, and by their vertues and powres, I do coniure and con-
streine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take anie resting place
in the O nor in the D nor in H nor in V nor in J nor in Q nor in Z
nor in anie of the twelue signes, nor in the concavities of the
clouds, nor in anie other priuie place, to rest or staie in, but onelic
with me N. or with this N. all the daies of my life. If thou be not
obedient vnto me, according to thine oth and promise, I N. do
condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for ever, Amen.

I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the blood of the
innocent lambe Iesus Christ, the which was shed vpon the crosse,
for all those that do obeie vnto it, and beleue in it, shall be saued
and by the vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names
and words of the liuing God by mee pronounced, I do coniure
and constreine the spirit of N. that thou be obedient vnto me, ac-
cording to thine oth and promise. If thou do refuse to do as is
aforesaid, I N. by the holie trinitie, and by his vertue and pow-
er do condemne the spirit of N. into the place whereas there is
no hope of remedie, but euerlasting condemnation, and horro-
r, and paine vpon paine, dailie, horrible, & lamentable the paines
there to be augmented, so thicke as the starrs in the firmament,
and as the grauell sand in the sea: except thou spirit of N. obeie
me N. as is aforesaid rehearsed; else I N. do condemne the spirit
of N. into the pit of euerlasting condemnation; Fiat, fiat, Amen.
Also I coniure thee, and constreine the spirit of N. by all angels,
archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtues,
cherubim & seraphim, & by the foure euangelists, Matthew,
Marke, Luke, and Iohn, and by all things contained in the old
lawe and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelue apo-
stles,

Note what
fore penal-
ties the spi-
rit is inioi-
ned to suf-
fer for dis-
obedience.

files, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen, is, and shall be, which followeth the lambe of God; and by their vertues and powers I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. Stronglie, to haue common talke with me, at all times, and in all daies, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother tong plainelic, that I may heare it, and vnderstand it, declaring the truth vnto me of all things, according to thine oth and promise; else to be condemned for euer; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the * golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Iesus Christ, so thou spirit of N. be thou bound, and cast into the pit of euerlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and vnreuerent regard that thou hast to the holie names and words of God almightie, by me pronounced: *Fiat, Amen.*

* There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was worth a golden girdle.

Also I coniure, constreine, command, and bind the spirit of N. by the two edged sword, which Iohn saw proceed out of the mouth of God almightie: except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in peces, and condemne thee into the pit of euerlasting paines, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Bugs words

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heauens vnder him, and by the celestiall citie new Ierusalem, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all things created and contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all the infernalles, and by their vertues and powers, I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that now immediatlly thou be obedient vnto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced, according to thine oth and promise: * else let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of euerlasting condemnation be vpon thee thou spirit of N. for euer and euer, because thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and saluation, for thy great disobedience thou art worthy to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Iesus Christ,

Is it possible to be greater than S. A. delberts curse? See in Habar. lib. 12. ca. 17. pag. 263, 264, 265.

Christ, at the generall daie of iudgement, condemne the spirit of N. for euer and euer, and be a witnesse against the, bicause of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient vnto the, whether he will or no: proue this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of H to bind or inchant anie thing, and in the houre of 4 for peace and concord, in the houre of 3 to marre, to destroye, and to make sicke, in the houre of the O to bind tongues and other bonds of men, in the houre of 2 to increase loue, joy, and good will, in the houre of 9 to put atwaie enimitie or hatred, to know of thess, in the houre of the D for loue, goodwill and concord, H lead 4 tinne 3 iron O gold 2 coppar 9 quicksiluer D siluer, &c.

These planetarie
houres
must in
anie case
be obser-
ued.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your christall stone, or glasse, &c.

The xix. Chapter.



Also I doe coniure the spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holie-ghost, A and O, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, of them which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, and by their vertues and powers I constrain the spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the christall stone in his hand, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter foloweth. Also I coniure the spirit N. by these holie names of God ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Adonay ✠ El ✠ Ousion ✠ Agla ✠ Iesus ✠ of Nazareth ✠ and by the vertues thereof, and by his natiuitie, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things appertaining vnto his passion, and by the * blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesu Christ, and by all the joy which she had when she saw hir sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers thereof I constrain the spirit N. to come into the christall stone, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter shalbe declared. Also I coniure the N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the O D H 4 3 2 9, and by the twelue signes, and by their vertues and powers, and

*A popish
supple-
ment.

and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues & powers I conſtreine thee ſpirit N. to appeare viſible in that chriſtall ſtone, in faire forme and ſhape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boie, a maiden virgine, a white grehound, a diuell with great hornes, without anie hurt or danger of our bodies or ſoules, and trulie to inſorme and ſhew vnto vs, true viſions of all things in that chriſtall ſtone, according to thine oth and promiſe, and that without anie hinderance or tarrieng, to appeare viſible, by this bond of words read ouer by mee three times, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Then being appeared, ſaie theſe words following.

I Coniure thee ſpirit, by God the father, that thou ſhew true viſions in that chriſtall ſtone, where there be anie N. in ſuch a place or no, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee ſpirit N. by God the ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, that thou doe ſhew true viſions vnto vs, whether it be gold or ſiluer, or anie other metalls, or whether there were anie or no, vpon paine of condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee ſpirit N. by God the Holie-ghoſt, the which dooth ſanctifie all faithfull ſoules and ſpirits, and by their vertues and powers I conſtreine thee ſpirit N. to ſpeake, open, and to declare, the true waie, how we may come by theſe treaſures hidden in N. and how to haue it in our cuſtodie, & who are the keepers thereof, and how manie there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to ſhew me true viſions of what ſort and ſimilitude they be, and how long they haue kept it, and to knowe in what daies and houres we ſhall call ſuch a ſpirit, N. to bring vnto vs theſe treaſures, into ſuch a place N. vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation. Alſo I conſtreine thee ſpirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, poſteſtats, virtutes, cherubim & ſeraphim, that you doe ſhew a true viſion in this chriſtall ſtone, who did conuie or ſteale away ſuch a N. and where it is, & who hath it, and how farre off, and what is his or her name, and how and when to come vnto it, vpon paine of eternall condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee ſpirit N. by the O D H V S Q Q and by all the characters in the firmament, that thou doe ſhew vnto me a true viſion in this chriſtall ſtone, where ſuch N. and in what ſtate he is, and how long he hath bene there, and what time he will be in ſuch a place, what daie and houre: and this and all other things to declare plainlie, in paine of hell fier; *Fiat, Amen.*

A licence to depart.

Depart out of the ſight of this chriſtall ſtone in peace for a time, and readie to appeare therein againe at anie time or times I ſhall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeare viſible, as the words be rehearſed. I conſtreine thee ſpirit N. by the diuinitie of the Godhead, to be obedient vnto theſe words rehearſed, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

When

*Belike he had the gift to appeare in ſundry ſhapes, as it is ſaid of Proteus in Ouid lib. metamor. 8. ſub. 10. and of V. rummus; lib metamor. 14. ſub. 16.

Note that the ſpirit is tied to obedience vnder paine of condemnation and this hell fier.

When to talke with spirits, and to haue true
answers to find out a theefe.

The xx. Chapter.

This is con-
demned for
ranke follie
by the do-
ctors: as by
Chrysost. sup.
Marth. Gre-
gor. in homil.
sup. Epiphan.
Dominij; and
others.



The daies and houres of $\text{h} \delta \varphi$ and the D is
best to doe all crafts of necromancie, & for to speake
with spirits, and for to find theff, and to haue true an-
swer thereof, or of anie other such like. ¶ And in the
daies and houres of $\text{O} \psi \varphi$ is best to doe all experiments of loue,
and to purchase grace, and for to be inuisible, and to doe anie ope-
ration, whatsoeuer it be, for anie thing, the D being in a conueni-
ent signe. ¶ As when thou laborest for theff, see the moone be in an
earthie signe, as $\text{v} \text{m} \text{v}$, or of the aier, as $\text{II} \text{m} \text{m}$. ¶ And if it be
for loue, fauor, or grace, let the D be in a signe of the fier, as $\text{v} \text{N} \text{z}$,
and for hatred, in a signe of the water, as $\text{S} \text{m} \text{x}$. ¶ For anie other
experiment, let the D be in v . ¶ And if thou findest the O & the D in
one signe that is called in euen number, then thou maiest write,
consecrate, coniure, and make readie all maner of things that
thou wilt doe, &c.

To speake with spirits.

All these names, Orimoth, Belimoth, Lymocke, and say thus: **I** con-
iure you by the names of the angels Satur and Azimor, that you in-
tend to me in this houre, and send vnto me a spirit called Sagrigrit, that he
do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can vnderstand my
wordes for one or two yeares, or as long as **I** will, &c.

A confutation of coniuration, especiallye of the raising, bin-
ding and dismissing of the diuell, of going inuisible, and other lewd
practises.

The xxj. Chapter.

All the for-
mer practi-
ses breeflie
confuted.



Thus farre haue we waded in shewing at
large the banitie of necromancers, coniuroers, and
such as pretend to haue reall conference and consul-
tation with spirits and diuels: wherein (**I** trust) you
see what notozious blasphemie is committed, besides other blind
superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from
building by the endeuors of these blacke art practitioners, that
they do altogether ruinate & ouerthrow them, making them in
their follies and falthoods as bare and naked as an anatomie.
As for these ridiculous confutations, last rehearsed, being of no
small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part
made by T. R. (for so much of his name he beſwæieth) and Iohn

Cokars,

Cokars, inuented and deuised for the augmentation and maintenance of their liuing, for the edifying of the poore, and for the propagating and enlarging of Gods glorie, as in the beginning of their booke of coniurations they protest; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impietie, and of the witchmongers follie and credulitie, I thought good to insert, whereby the residue of their proceedings may be indged, or rather detected. For if we seriously behold the matter of coniuration, and the drift of coniurors, we shall find them, in mine opinion, more faultie than such as take vpon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the maiestie of God, and his holie lawe, and as apparent violators of the lawes and quietnesse of this realme: although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised and vjged by credulous persons, conserners, liers, and witchmongers. For these are alwaies learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselues by others abused.

See the title of the booke, with the authors intent, in a marginall note, pag. 393.

But let vs see what appearance of truth or possibilitie is wrapped within these mysteries, and let vs vnfold the deceit. They haue made choice of certeine words, whereby they saie they can worke miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call diuels & soules out of hell (though we find in the scriptures manifest proofes that all passages are stopped concerning the egressse out of hell) so as they may go thither, but they shall neuer get out, for *Ab inferna nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they haue gotten them vp, they shut them in a circle made with chalke, which is so stronglie beset and inuironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their liues get out; which is a verie probable matter. Then can they bind them, and lose them at their pleasures, and make them that haue bene liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: yea, they can compell them to doe anie thing. And the diuels are forced to be obedient vnto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience vnto God their creator. This done (I saie) they can worke all maner of miracles (sauiug blew miracles) and this is belieued of manie to be true:

Luk. 16. &c.

An ironi-
call con-
futation.

Tam credula mens hominis, & arrepta fabulis aures,

So light of beleefe is the mind of man,
And attentive to tales his eares now and then.

Engliſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.

But if Christ (one lie for a time) lest the power of working miracles

2. Pet. 2.
Ephel. 5.
Pl. 72, & 78.

Sap. 16.
Ecclus. 43.

racles among his apostles and disciples for the confirmation of his gospel, and the faith of his elect: yet I denie altogether, that he left that power with these knaues, which hide their coufening purposes vnder those lewd and foolish words, according to that which Peter saith; With feined words they make merchandize of you. And therefore the counsell is good that Paule giueth vs, when he biddeth vs take heed that no man deceiue vs with vaine words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great wonders, and bringeth mightie things to passe. It is also written, that Gods word, and not the words of coniuers, or the charmes of witches, healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.

To denie
the substi-
tence or
naturall
being of a
thing ma-
teriall and
visible is
impudencie.

But put case the diuell could be fetched by and fettered, and loosed againe at their pleasure, &c: I maruell yet, that anie can be so bewitched, as to be made to beleue, that by vertue of their words, anie earthlie creature can be made inuisible. We thinke it a lie, to saie that white is blacke, and blacke white: but it is a more shamelesse assertion to affirme, that white is not, or blacke is not at all; and yet more impudencie to hold that a man is a horse; but most apparent impudencie to saie, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantitie, as therby he may be inuisible, and yet remaine in life and health, &c: and that in the cleare light of the daie, euen in the presence of them that are not blind. But surelie, he that cannot make one haire white or blacke, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall prouidence, can neuer bring to passe, that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powred therinto by God the creator of all things.

Ezec. 8. & 9.
Isai. 6, & 26.
and 30.

* Iohn Iau-
reguier-
uant to
Gasper A-
nastro both
Spaniards.
Ann. Dom.
1582. March

If they saie that the diuell couereth them with a cloud or veile, as M. Mal. Bodin, & manie other doe affirme; yet (me thinks) we should either see the couer, or the thing couered. And though perchance they saie in their hart; Tush, the Lord seeth not, who indeed hath blinded them so as seeing, they see not: yet they shall neuer be able to persuaade the wise, but that both God and man doth see both them and their knauerie in this behalfe. I haue heard of a sole, who was made beleue that he should go inuisible, and naked; while he was well whipped by them, who (as he thought) could not see him. Into which soles paradise they saie he was brought, that enterprised to kill the prince of Orenge. 18. after dinner vpon a fundaine this mischeefe was doone. Read the whole discourse here-
of printed at London for Tho: Chard and Will: Brome booke-sellers.

A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other
coniuors, a popish coniuration published by a great
doctor of the Romish church, his rules and cautions.

The xxij. Chapter.

LSee no difference betwene these
and popish coniurations; for they agree
in order, words, and matter, differing in
no circumstance, but that the papists doe
it without shame openlie, the other doe it
in hugger mugger secretlie. The papists
I saie haue officers in this behalfe, which
are called exorcists or coniuors, and they
loke narrowlie to other conuors, as hauing gotten the vpper
hand ouer them. And bicause the papists shall be without excuse
in this behalfe, and that the world may see their couenage, impi-
etie, and follie to be as great as the others, I will cite one coniu-
ration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by Iaco- *Iac. de Chusa*
bus de Chusa, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serueth *in lib. de ap-*
to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumbling in houses, *paritionib.*
churches, or chappels, and to coniuor walking spirits: which euer *quorundam*
more is knauerie and couenage in the highest degre. Marke *spirituum.*
the conuening deuise hereof, and conferre the impietie with the
others.

First (for sooth) he saith it is expedient to fast thre daies, and to *Observati-*
celebrate a certeine number of masses, and to repeate the seuen *ons for the*
psalmes penitentiall: then foure or fve priests must be called *exorcising*
to the place where the haunt or noise is, then a candle hallowed *preest.*
on candlemas daie must be lighted, and in the lighting thereof
also must the seuen psalmes be said, and the gospell of S. Iohn.
Then there must be a crosse and a censur with frankincense, and
therewithall the place must be censured or perfumed, holie water
must be sprinkled, and a holie soale must be used, and (after di-
uerse other ceremonies) a praier to God must be made, in ma-
ner and forme following:

Alord Iesus Christ, the knowler of all secrets, which alwaies

is h. j.

reuea

reuealest all hoalsome and profitable things to thy faithfull children, and which sufferest a spirit to shew himselfe in this place, we beseech thee for thy bitter passion, &c: vouchsafe to command this spirit, to reueale and signifie vnto vs thy seruants, without our terroꝝ oꝝ hurt, what he is, to thine honour, and to his comfort;

In nomine patris, &c. And then proceed in these wordes: We beseech thee, for Christs sake, O thou spirit, that if there be anie of vs, oꝝ among vs, whom thou wouldest answer, name him, oꝝ else manifest him by some signe. Is it frater P. oꝝ doctor D. oꝝ doctor

Memorandum that he must be the veriest knaue or foole in all the company.

Burc. oꝝ sir Feats, oꝝ sir Iohn, oꝝ sir Robert: *Et sic de ceteris circumstantibus.* For it is well tried (saith the glosse) he will not answer euerie one. If the spirit make anie sound of voice, oꝝ knocking, at the naming of anie one, he is the cousener (the coniueroꝝ I would saie) that must haue the charge of this coniuration oꝝ ex-amination. And these forsooth must be the interrogatoꝝies, to wit: Whose soule art thou: Wherefore comest thou: What wouldest thou haue: Wanst thou anie suffrages, masses, oꝝ almes: How manie masses will serue thy turne, three, sir, ten, twentie, thirtie, &c: By what priest: Must he be religious oꝝ secular: Wilt thou haue anie fasts: What: How manie: How great: And by what persons: Among hospitalles: Lepers: Or beggers: What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliuerance: Wherefore liest thou in purgatorie: And such like. This must be done in the night.

These spirits are not so cunning by daie as by night.

* For so they might be bewraied.

For so the cousenage may be best handled.

If there appeare no signe at this houre, it must be deferred vntill another houre. Holie water must be left in the place. There is no feare (they saie) that such a spirit will hurt the coniueroꝝ: for he can sinne no moze, as being in the meane state betwene good and euill, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. * If the spirit do hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. Euerie man may not be present hereat, speciallie such as be weak of completion. They appeare in diuerse manners, not alwaies in bodie, oꝝ bodilie shape (as it is read in the life of S. Martine, that the diuell did) but sometimes inuisible, as onelie by sound, voice, oꝝ noise. Thus farre Iacobus de Chusa.

But because you shall see that these be not emptie words, nor flanders; but that in truth such things are commonlie put in practise in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance, latelie

latelie and truelie, though letwolde performed: and the same in effect as followeth.

A late experiment, or coufening coniuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscane Friers, how it was detected, and the iudgement against the authors of that comedie.

The xxij. Chapter.

In the yeare of our Lord 1534. at Orleance in France, the Maiors wife died, willing and desiring to be buried without anie pompe or noise, &c. Her husband, who reuerenced the memoriall of hir, did even as she had willed him. And bicause she was buried in the church of the Franciscans, besides hir father and grandfather, and gaue them in reward onelie six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater pzeie; shortly after it chanced, that as he felled certeine woods and sold them, they desired him to giue them some part thereof frelie without monie: which he flatlie denied. This they toke verie grauouslie. And whereas before they mistlied him, now they conceived such displeasure as they deuised this meanes to be reuenged; to wit, that his wife was damned for euer. The chiefe workemen and framers of this tragedie were Colimannus, and Stephanus Aterbatensis, both doctors of diuinitie; this Colimian. was a great coniuroz, & had all his implements in a readines, which he was wont to vse in such busines. And thus they handled the matter. They placed euer the arches of the church, a yong novice; who about midnight, when they came to mumble their praers, as they were wont to do, maketh a great rumbling, and noise. Out of hand the monks beganne to coniure and to charme, but he answered nothing. Then being required to giue a signe, whether he were a diuine spirit or no, he beganne to rumble againe: which thing they toke as a certeine signe. Hauing laid this foundation, they go vnto certeine citizens, chiefe men, and such as fauoured them, decla-

A coufening coniuration.

Note how the Franciscans cannot coniure without a confederate.

As k. ij.

ring

O notorious
impuden-
cie! with
such shame-
lesse faces
to abuse so
worship-
full a com-
panie.

* The con-
federate
Spirit was
taught that
lesson be-
fore.

ring that a heantie chance had happened at home in their mona-
strie; not shewing what the matter was, but desiring them to
come to their mattens at midnight. When these citizens were
come, and that praiers were begunne, the counterfet spirit be-
ginneeth to make a maruellous noise in the top of the church. And
being asked what he meant, and who he was, gaue signes that it
was not lawfull for him to speake. Therefore they commanded
him to make answer by tokens and signes to certeine things
they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the
wall, through the which he might heare and vnderstand the
voice of the coniuroz. And then had he in his hand a litle boord,
which at euerie question, he strake, in such sort as he might easilie
be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of
them that had bene buried in the same place. Afterwards they
reckoning manie by name, which had bene buried there; at the
last also they name the Maiors wife: and there by and by the spi-
rit gaue a signe that he was hir soule. He was further asked,
whether he were damned or no; and if he were, for what cause,
for what desert, or fault; whether for couetousnes, or wanton lust,
for pride, or want of charitie; or whether it were for heresie, or for
the sect of Luther newlie sprung vp: also what he meant by that
noise and stirre he kept there; whether it were to haue the bodie
now buried in holie ground to be digged by againe, and laid in
some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as
he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied anie
thing, according as he strake the boord twise or thrise together.
And when he had thus giuen them to vnderstand, that * the verie
cause of his damnation was Luthers heresie, and that the bodie
must needs be digged by againe: the monks requested the citi-
zens, whose presence they had vsed or rather abused, that they
would beare witnesse of those things which they had seene with
their eies; and that they would subscribe to such things as were
done a few daies before. The citizens taking good aduise on the
matter, least they should offend the Maior, or bring themselves
in trouble, refused so to do. But the monks notwithstanding
take from thence the swete bread, which they called the host and
bodie of our Lord, with all the reliques of saints, and carrie them
to another place, and there saie their masse. The bishops sub-
tute

tute iudge (whome they called Officiall) vnderstanding that matter, cometh thither, accompanied with certeine honest men, to the intent he might knowe the whole circumstance more exactly: and therefore he commandeth them to make coniuration in his presence; and also he requireth certeine to be chosen to go by into the top of the batot, and there to see whether any ghost appeared or not. Stephanus Aterbatensis himselfe denied that to be lawfull, and maruellouslie perswading the contrarie, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Officiall bzged them verie much, that there might be some coniuring of the spirit; yet could he nothing preuaile.

For so
might the
confederate
be
found.

Whilist these things were doing, the Patoz, when he had heard the other Iustices of the citie, what he would haue them to do, toke his iourne to the king, and opened the whole matter vnto him. And bicause the monks refused iudgement vpon plea of their owne lawes and liberties, the king choosing out certeine of the aldermen of Paris, giueth them absolute and full authoritie to make inqurie of the matter. The like doth the Chancelor maister Anthonius Pratenfis cardinall and legat for the pope throughout France. Therefore, when they had no exception to alledge, they were conueied vnto Paris, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wrong out of them by confession, wherevpon they were put apart into diuers prisons: the novice being kept in the house of maister Fumanus, one of the aldermen, was oftentimes examined, and earnestlie requested to vtter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing; bicause he feared that the monks would afterwards put him to death for staining their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the iudges had made him sure promise that he should escape punishment, and that he should neuer come into their handling, he opened vnto them the whole matter as it was done: and being brought before his fellows, auouched the same to their faces. The monks, albeit they were conuicted, and by these meanes almost taken tarde with the deed doing; yet did they refuse the iudges, bragging and vaunting themselves on their pinnledges, but all in vaine. For sentence passed vpon them, and they were condemned to be carried backe againe to Orleance, and there to be cast in prison, and so should finally be

An obstinate and wilfull persisting in the denying or not confessing of a fault committed.

brought forth into the chiefe church of the citie openlie, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their trespasses.

A parecuafis or trans-
fusion of the
author to
matter fur-
ther purpo-
sed.

Surelie this was most common among monks and friers, who mainteined their religion, their lust, their liberties, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knauerie by such conuening practises. Now I will shew you more speciall orders of popish coniurations, that are so shameleslie admitted into the church of Rome, that they are not onelie suffered, but comman- ded to be vsed, not by night secretlie, but by daie impudentlie. And these forsooth concerne the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed; to wit, such as haue a diuell put into them by witches inchantments. And herewithall I will set downe certeine rules deliuered vnto vs by such popish doctors, as are of greatest reputation.

Who may be coniuors in the Romish church be- sides priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be vsed and not vsed in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to coniure any thing, differences betweene holie water and coniuration.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

In 4. di. ff.
23. sent.



Thomas Aquinas saith, that anie bodie, though he be of an inferior or su- perior order, yea though of none order at all (and as Gulielmus Durandus glossa- tor Raimundi affirmeth, a woman so the blesse not the girdle or the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exorcise the order of an exorcist or coniu- ro, euen as well as any priest may saie masse in a house uncon- secrated. But that is (saith M. Mal.) rather through the goodnesse and licence of the pope, than through the grace of the sacrament. Paie, there are examples set downe, where some being be wit- ched were cured (as M. Mal. taketh it) without any coniuration at all. Sparrie there were certeine *Pater nosters*, *Aues*, and *Credas* said,

said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they saie, and no coniuurations. For they saie that such charmes are lawfull, because there is no superstition in them, &c.

And it is worth my labour, to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. *Superstition* (saie they) is a religion obserued beyond measure, a religion practised with euill and vnperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoeuer vsurpeth the name of religion, through humane tradition, without the popes authoritie, is superstitious: as to adde or ioine anie hymnes to the masse, to interrupt anie diriges, to to abridge anie part of the creed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs go, and not when the quier singeth, not to haue one to helpe the priest to masse: and such like, &c.

Et glos. super. illo ad coll. 2.

These popish exorcists doe manie times forget their otone rules. For they should not directlie in their coniuurations call by on the diuell (as they doe) with intreatie, but with authoritie and commandement. Neither should they haue in their charmes and coniuurations anie vnknowne names. Neither should there be (as alwaies there is) anie falshood contained in the matter of the charme of coniuuration, as (saie they) old women haue in theirs, when they saie; The blessed virgine passed ouer Iordan, and then S. Steuen met hir, and asked hir, &c. Neither should they haue anie other vaine characters, but the crosse (for those are the words:) and manie other such cautions haue they, which they obserue not, for they haue made it lawfull elswhere.

Mendaces debent esse memores, nulla magis affuit exorcisse.

But Thomas their chiefe pillar proueth their coniuuring and charmes lawfull by S. Marke, who saith; *Signa eos qui crediderunt;* And, *In nomine meo demonia eijciunt, &c.* whereby he also proueth that they maie coniuure serpents. And there he taketh paines to proue, that the words of God are of as great holinesse as reliques of saints, whereas (in such respect as they meane) they are both alike, and indeed nothing worth. And I can tell them further, that so they maie be carried, as either of them maie doe a man much harme either in bodie or soule.

Tho. Aquin. super. Marc. ultim. Mark, 16, 17

But they proue this by S. Augustine, saieing; *Non est minus* A trimme verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi: whereupon they conclude thus; consequent By all mens opinions it is lawfull to carrie about reuerentlie the reliques of saints; Ergo it is lawfull against euill spirits, to in-

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. quæ. 2.*

ocate the name of God euerie waie; by the *Pater noster*, the *Aue*, the *mattheie*, the *passion*, the *five wounds*, the *title triumphant*, by the *seuen words* spoken on the *croffe*, by the *nailles*, &c: and there maie be hope reposed in them. *Yea*, they saie it is lawfull to coniure all things, bicause the diuell maie haue potuer in all things. And first alwaies the person or thing, wherein the diuell is, must be exorcised, and then the diuell must be coniured. Also they affirme, that it is as expedient to consecrate and coniure porrage and meate, as water and salt, or such like things.

Rites, ceremonies, and reliques of exorcisme in rebaptizing of the possessed or bewitched.

The right order of exorcisme in rebaptisme of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exufflation and abrenunciation be done toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation and unction, with holie oile after baptism, communion, and induition of the surplis. But they saie that this needeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised: but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in stead of a surplis to tie about his bare bodie a holie candle of the length of Christ, or of the croffe whereupon he died, which for monie maie be had at Rome. *Ergo* (saith M. Mal.) this maie be said; I coniure thee Peter or Barbara being sicke, but regenerate in the holie water of baptism, by the living God, by the true God, by the holie God, by the God which redeemed thee with his pretious blood, that thou maiest be made a coniured man, that euerie fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceit do auoid and depart from thee, and that euerie vnckeane spirit be coniured through him that shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen: *Oremus*, &c. And this coniuration, with *Oremus*, and a praier, must be thise repeated, and at the end alwaies must be said; *Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam*, &c. And this order must alwaies be followed. And finally, there must be diligent search made, in euerie corner, and vnder euerie cornerlet and pallet, and vnder euerie threshold of the doores, for instruments of witchcraft. And if anie be found, they must straightwaie be throwne into the fier. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation. And if nothing be found, the partie that is to be exorcised or coniured, must come to the church rath in the morning: and the holier the daie is, the better,

Memorandum that this is for one bewitched.

better, speciallie our Ladie daie. And the priest, if he be shynen himselfe and in perfect state, shall do the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holie candle in his hand, &c. Alwaies provided, that the holie water be throwne vpon him, and a stole put about his necke, with *Deus in adiutorium*, and the Letanie, with invocation of saints. And this order maie continue thise a weeke, so as (saie they) through multiplication of intercessions, or rather intercessions, grace maie be obtained, and savor procured.

Note the
prouiso.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be receiued before or after the exorcisme. Item in this, the confessor must learne whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endure this veration. Thomas Helweth the difference betwixt holie water and coniuration, saing that holie water driueth the diuell awaie from the externall and outward parts; but coniurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore vnto the bewitched partie both are to be applied.

Tho. Aquin.
supr. diff. 6.

The seuen reasons why some are not rid of the diuell with all their popish coniurations, why there were no coniurors in the primitiue church, and why the diuell is not so soone cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

The xxv. Chapter.

The reason why some are not remedied for all their coniurations, the papists say is for seuen causes. First, for that the faith of the standers by is naught; secondlie, for that theirs that present the partie is no better; thirdlie, because of the finnes of the bewitched; fourthlie, for the neglecting of mete remedies; fifthlie, for the remouance of vertues going out into others; sixthlie, for the purgation; seuenthlie, for the merit of the partie bewitched. And so, the first foure are proued by Matthew the 7. and Marke the 4. when

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Proper
proofes of
the former
seuen rea-
sons.

When one presented his sonne, and the multitude wanted faith, & the father said, Lord helpe mine incredulitie or unbeliefe. Whereupon was said, Oh faithlesse and peruerse generation, how long shall I be with you? And where these words are written; And Iesus rebuked him, &c. That is to saie, saie they, the possessed or bewitched for his finnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appereth, that there were not with Christ god and perfect men: for the pillars of the faith; to wit, Peter, James, and Iohn were absent. Neither was there fasting and prayer, without the which that kind of diuels could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith maie appeare; for that afterwards the disciples asked the cause of their impotence therein. And Iesus answered, it was for their incredulitie; saieing that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should moue mountaines, &c. The fifth is proued by *Vitas patrum*, the liues of the fathers, where it appereth that S. Anthonie could not doe that cure, when his scholar Paule could doe it, and did it. For the profe of the first excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken awaie thereby; yet it followeth not that alwaies the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the diuell was not coniuured out of the partie before baptisme by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptised him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any object that there were no exorcists in the primitive church, it is answered, that the church cannot now erre. And saint Gregorie would neuer haue instituted it in vaine. And it is a generall rule, that who or whatsoeuer is newlie exorcised, must be rebaptised: as also such as walke or talke in their sleepe; for (saie they) call them by their names, and presentlie they wake, or fall if they cline: whereby it is gathered, that they are not trulie named in baptisme. Item they saie, it is somewhat more difficult to confute the diuell out of one bewitched, than out of one possessed: because in the bewitched, he is double; in the other single.

They haue a hundred such beggerlie, foolish, and frivolous notes in this behalfe.

Why there
were no
coniuers
in y^e primi-
tiue church
with other
subill
points.

Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers
in this matter of coniurations.

The xxvj. Chapter.

Surelie I cannot see what difference or distinction the witchmongers do put betwene the knowledge and power of God and the diuell; but that they think, if they praie, or rather talke to God, till their hearts ake, he neuer heareth them; but that the diuell doth knowe euerie thought and imagination of their minds, and both can and also will do any thing for them. For if anie that meaneth god saith with the diuell read certeine coniurations, he commeth vp (they saie) at a trice. Marrie if another that hath none intent to raise him, God or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet I. Bodin confesseth, that he is afraid to read such coniurations, as Iohn Wierus reciteth; least (belike) the diuell would come vp, and scratch him with his fowle long nailes. In which sort I wonder that the diuell dealeth with none other, than twitches and coniurores. I for my part haue read a number of their coniurations, but neuer could see anie diuels of theirs, except it were in a plaie. But the diuell (belike) knoweth my mind; to wit, that I would be loth to come within the compasse of his clauies. But lo what reason such people haue. Bodin, Bartholomeus Spineus, Sprenger, and Infortior; &c: do constantlie affirme, that twitches are to be punished with more extremitie than coniurores; and sometimes with death, when the other are to be pardoned doing the same offense: because (say they) the twitches make a league with the diuell, & so do not coniurores. Now if coniurores make no league by their owne confession, and diuels indeed knowe not our cogitations (as I haue sufficientlie proued) then would I woe of our witchmongers the reason, (if I read the coniuration and performe the ceremonie) why the diuell will not come at my call: But oh absurd credulitie! Euen in this point manie wise & learned men haue bene & are abused:

whereas

A coniuror
then belike
must not be
timorous or
fearefull.

Where a
witch cu-
reth by in-
cantation,
and the
coniuror
by coniu-
ration.

ther as, if they would make experience, or dultie expend the cause, they might be soone resolued; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrarie to Gods word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may vnderstand, that the papists do not onlie by their doctrine, in bookes & sermons teach & publish coniu-
rations, & the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to be-
stolt, or rather cast awaie their monie vpon masses and suffra-
ges for their soules; but they make it also a parcell of their sacra-
ment of orders (of the which number a coniuro: is one) and in-
sert manie formes of coniuurations into their diuine seruite, and
not onelie into their pontificals, but into their masse bookes; yea
into the verie canon of the masse.

Certaine coniuurations taken out of the pon-
tificall and out of the missall.

The xxvij. Chapter.

**Tit. de ec-
clesie dedi-
catione.*

*Ibidem, fol.
108.*

*Durand. de
ecclesie de-
dicatione lib.
1. fol. 12.*

BUt say yet a little more of popish
coniuurations, and conferre them with
the other. In the *pontificall you shall
find this coniuuration, which the other con-
iurors vse as solemnelie as they: I con-
iure thee thou creature of water in the
name of the fa-ther, of the so-
ne, and of the Holie-ghost, that thou daine
awaie the diuell from the bounds of the iust, that he remaine not
in the darke corners of this church and altar. * You shall find
in the same title, these words following, to be vsed at the hallow-
ing of churches. There must a crosse of ashes be made vpon the
pauement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull
broad: and one of the prests must write on the one side thereof
the Græke alphabet, and on the other side the Latin alphabet. Du-
randus yeldeth this reason thereof; to wit, It representeth the
union in faith of the Iewes and Gentiles. And yet well agré-
ing to him selfe he saith euen there, that the crosse reaching from
the one end to the other, signifieth that the people, which were in
the head, shalbe made the taile.

¶ A coniuration written in the masse
booke, Fol. i.

I Coniure thee O creature of salt by God, by the God ✠ that *In Missal.*
liueth, by the true ✠ God, by the holie ✠ God, which by Elizeus *fol. i.*
the prophet commanded, that thou shouldest be throwne into the
water, that it thereby might be made whole and sound, that thou
salt [here let the priest looke vpon the salt] *The maner*
maist be conured for *of coniur-*
the health of all beleeuers, and that thou be to all that take thee, *ring salt.*
health both of bodie and soule; and let all phantasies and wicked-
nesse, or diabolicall craft or deceipt, depart from the place where-
on it is sprinkled; as also euerie vncleane spirit, being conured
by him that iudgeth both the quicke and the dead by Iher. Resp:
Amen. Then followeth a prayer to be said, without *Dominus vobis-*
cum; but yet with *Oremus*; as followeth:

¶ Oremus.

A mightie and euerlasting God, we humbly desire thy cle-
mency [here let the priest looke vpon the salt] that thou woul-
dest vouchsafe, through thy pietie, to bl-esse and sanc-tifie
this creature of salt, which thou hast giuen for the vse of mankind;
that it may be to all that receiue it, health of mind and bodie; so
as whatsoeuer shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith,
may be void of all vncleannesse, and all resistance of spirituall
iniquitie, through our Lord, Amen.

A prayer to
be applied
to the for-
mer exor-
cisme.

What can be made but a contrarition of these words also,
which are written in the canon, or rather in the saccring of
masse: This holie commixtion of the bodie and blood of
our Lord Iesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to
all the receiuers thereof, health of mind and
bodie, and a wholesome preparatiue for
the deserving and receiuing of
euerlasting life, through
our Lord Iesus,
Amen.

That

That popish priests leaue nothing vnconiuured,
a forme of exorcisme for incense.

The xxviij. Chapter.



A coniuration of frankincense set forth in forme.

Although the papists haue manie coniurations, so as neither water, no: fier, no: bread, no: wine, no: wax, no: tallowe, no: church, no: churchyard, no: altar, no: altar cloath, no: albes, no: coles, no: belles, no: bell ropes, no: copes, no: vestments, no: oile, no: salt, no: candle, no: candlesticke, no: beds, no: bedstauces, &c. are without their forme of coniuration: yet I will for breuitie let all passe, and end here with incense, which they do coniure in this sort ✠. I coniure thee most filthy and horrible spirit, and euerie vision of our enemie, &c.: that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceit and wickednes, that this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord ✠ Iesus ✠ Christ ✠ that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receive the vertue and assistance of the Holie-ghost; so as wheresoever this incense or frankincense shall remaine, that there thou in no wise be so bold as to approach or once presume or attempt to hurt: but what uncleane spirit so euer thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtiltie auoid and depart, being coniured by the name of God the father almighty, &c. And that wheresoever the fume or smoke thereof shall come, euerie kind and sort of diuels may be drinen awaie, and expelled, as they were at the increase of the liuer of sith, which the archangell Raphaell made,
 &c.

The

The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other
coniurors all one, with a confutation of their whole
power, how S. Martine coniured the diuell.

The xxix. Chapter.



The papists you see, haue their cer-
teine generall rules and lawes, as to ab-
steine from sinne, and to fast, as also o-
therwise to be cleane from all pollutions,
ec: and euen so likewise haue the other
coniurors. Some will saie that papists
vse diuine seruice, and prayers; euen so doe
common coniurors (as you see) euen in the
same papistlicall forme, no whit swaruing from theirs in faith
and doctrine, no; yet in brigoblie and vntreasonable kinds of pe-
titions. He thinks it may be a sufficient argument, to ouerthrow
the calling vp and miraculous works of spirits, that it is writ-
ten; God onelie knoweth and searcheth the harts, and onelie
worketh great wonders. The which argument being prosecuted
to the end, can neuer be answered: insomuch as that diuine
power is required in that action.

Papists and
coniurors
couensing
compere.

1. Sam. 16, 7.
1. Reg. 8, 39.
1. Eccl. 17, 10.
Psal. 44, 21.
Psal. 72, 18.

And if it be said, that in this coniuration we speake to the spi-
rits, and they heare vs, & therefore need not know our thoughts
and imaginations: I first aske them whether king Baell, or A-
moimon, which are spirits reigning in the furthest regions of the
east (as they saie) may heare a coniurors voice, which calleth for
them, being in the extreamest parts of the west, there being such
noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be busie, and set
to worke on the like affaires. Secondlie, whether those spirits
be of the same power that God is, who is euerie where, filling all
places, and able to heare all men at one instant, ec. Thirdlie,
thence commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and
command diuels. If sound doe it, then may it be done by a taber
or pipe, or any other instruments that haue no life. If the voice
doe it, then may it be done by any beasts or birds. If words,
then a parret may doe it. If in mans words onlie, there is the
force,

force, in the first, second, or third syllable? If in syllables, then not in words. If in imaginations, then the diuell knoweth our thoughts. But all this stufte is vaine and fabulous.

Sap. 1. 14.
Ecclesi. 9.
Gen. 1.

Act. 19.

It is written; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and there is no poison of destruction in them. Why then doe they coniure holosome creatures; as salt, water, &c: where no diuels are? God looked vpon all his works, and saue they were all good. What effect (I praye you) had the 7. sonnes of Sceua; which is the great obiection of witchmongers? They would needs take vpon them to coniure diuels out of the possessed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilst God suffered miracles commonlie to be wrought. By that you may see what coniuers can doe.

Mark. 16. 17.

Where is such a promise to coniuers or witches, as is made in the Gospell to the faithfull? where it is written; In my name they shall cast out diuels, speake with new tongues: if they shall drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take awaie serpents, they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall recover. According to the promise, this grant of miraculous working was performed in the primitive church, for the confirmation of Christs doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospell.

*Isai. 43. 11.
b verse. 13.
cap. 44.
verse. 7.
verse. 25.

But as in another place I haue proued, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now ceased; neither was it ever made to papist, witch, or coniuers. They take vpon them to call vp and cast out diuels; and to vnderstand with one diuell, that which another diuell hath done. If one diuell could cast out another, it were a kingdome diuided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh; and therefore I maie the more boldly saie euen with Christ, that they haue no such power. For besides him, there is no saviour, none can deliuer out of his hand. Who but hee can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come? He destroyeth the tokens of soothsaiers, and maketh the coniecturers soles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

Isai. 46. 10.
cap. 47. verse.
12. 13, &c.
Luke. 11. 20.
Matt. 12. 28.
Acts, 8. 19.

There is no helpe in inchanters and soothsaiers, and other such vaine sciences. For diuels are cast out by the finger of God, which Matthew calleth the spirit of God, which is the mightie power of God, and not by the vertue of the bare name onelie, being spoken or pronounced: for then might euerie wicked man

do it. And Simon Magus needed not then to haue proffered monie to haue bought the power to do miracles and wonders: for he could speake and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indeed they make some throwe out all the diuels that are in frankincense, and such like creatures, wherein no diuels are: but neither they, nor all their holie water can indeed cure a man possessed with a diuell, either in bodie or mind; as Christ did. Saie, why do they not cast out the diuell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare anie of them all speake with new tongues, let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laieing on of hands (though witches take it vpon them, and witchmongers beleue it) and then I will subscribe vnto them. But if they, which repose such certaintie in the actions of witches and coniurors, would diligentlie note their deceit, and how the scope whereat they shote is monie (I meane not such witches as are falselie accused, but such as take vpon them to giue answers, &c: as mother Bungie did) they should apparentlie see the coulénage. For they are abused, as are manie beholders of iugglers, which suppose they do miraculoulie, that which is done by slight and subtiltie.

Monie is
the marke
whereat
al witches
& coniurors
doe
aime.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and coniurations, if men would rather trust their owne eyes, than old times tales and lies, I dare undertake this matter would soone be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceiued than iuggling. But I must needs confesse, that it is no great maruell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are maintained by such persons of account, and thrust into their diuine seruice. As for example: It is written that S. Martine thrust

his fingers into ones mouth that had a diuell within him,
and bled to bite folke; and then did bid him deuour
them if he could. And because the diuell could
not get out at his mouth, being stoppt
with S. Martins fingers, he was
faine to run out at his sun-
dament. O kin-
king lie!

S. Martins
cōiuration:
*In die sancti
Martini.*
lect. 1.

That is a shame for papists to beleue other coniu-
rors doings, their owne being of so litle force, Hippo-
crates his opinion herein.

The xxx. Chapter.



And still me thinks papists (of all others) which indeed are most credulous, and doe most mainteine the force of witches charmes, and of coniuers conu-
rages, should perceiue and iudge coniu-
ers doings to be void of effect. For when they see their owne stuffe, as holie water, salt, candles, &c: coniu-
ered by their holie bishop and priests; & that in the words of consecration or coniu-
ration (for so* their owne doctors terme them) they aduise the wa-
ter, &c: to heale, not onelie the soules infirmitie, but also euerie
maladie, hurt, or ach of the bodie; and doe also command the can-
dles, with the force of all their authoritie and pow-
er, and by the effect of all their holie words, not to consume: and yet neither
soule nor bodie anie thing recouer, nor the candles last one mi-
nute the longer: with what face can they defend the others mira-
culous workes; as though the witches and coniuers actions
were more effectuell than their owne? Hippocrates being but
a heathen, and not hauing the perfect knowledge of God, could
see and perceiue their coulenage and knauerie well enough, who
saith; They which boast so, that they can remoue or helpe the in-
fections of diseases, with sacrifices, coniuations, or other magi-
call instruments or meanes, are but needie fellows, wanting
liuing; and therefore referre their words to the diuell: bicause
they would seeme to know somewhat more than the common
people. It is maruell that papists doe affirme, that their holie
water, crosses, or bugges words haue such vertue and violence,
as to driue awaie diuels: so as they dare not approach to anie
place or person belinered with such stuffe; when as it appeareth
in the gospell, that the diuell presumed to assault and tempt
Christ himselfe. For the diuell indeed most earnestlie busieth him-
selfe

* To wit,
*Vincens do-
minica in al-
bis: in octa-
pasch. sermo-
ne. 15.
Durand. de
exorcist.*

selfe to seduce the godlie: as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and lust account of them, as of his owne alreadye. But let vs go forward in our refutation.

How coniurors haue beguiled witches, what bookes they carie about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Ioseph.

The xxxj. Chapter.

THUS you see that coniurors are no small foles. For whereas witches being poore and needie, go from doore to doore for reliefe, haue they neuer so manie todes or cats at home, or neuer so much hogs dung and charuill about them, or neuer so manie charmes in store: these coniurors (I saie) haue gotten them offices in the church of Rome, wherby they haue obtained authoritie & great estimation. And further, to adde credit to that art, these

coniurors carrie about at this daie, bookes intituled vnder the names of Adam, Abel, Tobie, & Enoch; which Enoch they repute the most diuine fellow in such matters. They haue also among them bookes that they saie Abraham, Aaron and Salomon made. Item they haue bookes of Zacharie, Paule, Honorius, Cyprian, Ierome, Ieremie, Albert, and Thomas: also of the angels, Riziel, Razael, and Raphael; and these doubtlesse were such bookes as were said to haue bene burnt in the lesser Asia. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be and are skilfull and learned in these arts; to wit, *Ars Almadel*, *ars Notoria*, *ars Bulaphia*, *ars Arthephij*, *ars Pomena*, *ars Reuelationis*, &c. Yea, these coniurors in corners sticke not (with Iustine) to report and affirme, that Ioseph, who was a true figure of Christ that deliuered and redeemed vs, was learned in these arts, and thereby prophesied and expounded dreames: and that those arts came from him to Moses, and finallie from Moses to them: which thing both Plinie and Tacitus affirme of Moses. Also Strabo in his cosmographie maketh the verie like blasphemous report. And likewise Apollonius,

A fowle offense to backbite & to belie the dead.

Ars. 19.

Iust. lib. 16.

Plin. lib. 30.

cap. 2.

Strab. lib. 16.

¶ I. ij.

Molon,

Molon, Possidonius, Lifimachus, and Appian terme Moses both a magician and a coniuroꝝ: whom Eusebius confuteth with manie notable arguments. For Moses differed as much from a magician, as truth from falshood, and pietie from vanitie: for in truth, he confounded all magicke, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confesse, that their owne doings were but illusions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poore old witches knowledge reacheth thus farre (as Danæus affirmeth it dooth) is vnttrue: for their furthest fetches that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milke, &c: from their neighbors house, halfe a mile distant from them.

Dan, in dialog de sortis.

All magicall arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus haue left written thereof, and prooued by experience.

The xxxij. Chapter.



Surelie Nero prooued all these magicall arts to be vaine and fabulous lies, and nothing but couzenage and knauerie. He was a notable prince, hauing gifts of nature enow to haue conceiued such matters, treasure enough to haue employed in the search thereof, he made no conscience therein, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would haue giuen halfe his kingdome to haue learned those things, which he heard might be wrought by magicians; he procured all the cunning magicians in the world to come to Rome, he searched for bookes also, and all other things necessarie for a magician; and neuer could find anie thing in it, but couzenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one Tiridates, the great magician, who hauing with him all his companions, and fellowe magicians, witches, coniuroꝝ, and couzeners, inuited Nero to certeine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when Nero required to learne, he

Tiridates the great magician biddeth the emperor Nero to a banquet, &c.

he (to hide his consenage) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would haue giuen him his kingdome. The matter of his refusall (I saie) was, least Nero should espie the consening deuises thereof. Which when Nero conceiued, and saue the same, and all the residue of that art to be vaine, lieng and ridiculous, hauing onelie shadowes of truth, and that their arts were onelie beneficall; he prohibited the same vtterlie, and made good and strong lawes against the vse and the practisers thereof: as Plinie and others doe report. It is maruell that anie man can be so much abused, as to suppose that sathan may be commanded, compelled, or tied by the power of man: as though the diuell would yeld to man, beyond nature; that will not yeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confesse) good angels as well as bad; I would know whie they call by the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heauen. But this they answer (as Agrippa saith.) God angels (for sooth) doe hardlie appeare, and the other are readie at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how Cor. Agrippa bewaileth, detesteth, and defaceth this art of coniuration, who in his youth trauelled into the bottome of all these magicall sciences, and was not onelie a great coniuro: and practiser thereof, but also wrote cunninglie *De occulta philosophia*. Howbeit, afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and discovereth the impietie and vanities of magicians, and inchanters, which boast they can doe miracles: which action is now ceased (saith he) and assigneth them a place with Iannes and Iambres, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vaine toies for a shew. Carolus Gallus also saith; I haue tried oftentimes, by the witches and coniuro:rs themselves, that their arts (especiallie those which doe consist of charmes, impossibilities, confurations, and witchcrafts, wherof they were wont to boast) to be mere foolishnes, doting lies,

Nero made
lawes a-
gainst con-
iurors and
coniura-
tions.

*C. Agrip. lib.
de vanitas.
scient.*

and dreames. I for my part can saie as much, but that

I delight not to alledge mine owne proofes and
authorities; for that mine aduerlaries
will saie they are parciall, and not
indifferent.

Of Salomons coniurations, and of the opinion conceiued of his cunning and practise therein.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

IT is affirmed by sundrie authozs, that Salomon was the first inuenter of those coniurations; and thereof Iosephus is the first reporter, who in his fifth booke *De Iudeorum antiquitatibus*, cap. 22. rehearseth soberlie this storie following; which Polydore Virgil, and manie other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seeme to credit the fable, whereof there is scant a true word.

Probatum est vpon a patient before witness: Ergo no lie.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophie about all things, and had the full and perfect knowlege of all their proprieties: but he had that gift giuen from aboue to him, for the profit and health of mankind: which is effectuell against diuels. He made also inchantments, wherewith diseases are diuen awaie; and left diuerse maners of coniurations written, wherevnto the diuels giuing place are so diuen awaie, that they neuer returne. And this kind of healing is very common among my countrymen: for I sawe a neighbour of mine, one Eleazar, that in the presence of Vespasian and his sonnes, and the rest of the souldiers, cured many that were possessed with spirits. The maner and order of his cure was this. He did put vnto the nose of the possessed a ring, vnder the seale wherof was inclosed a kind of rose, whose vertue Salomon declared, and the saueur thereof drewe the diuell out at his nose; so as downe fell the man, and then Eleazar conured the diuell to depart, & to returne no more to him. In the meane time he made mention of Salomon, reciting incantations of Salomons owne making. And then Eleazer being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacie of his art, did set not farre from thence, a pot or basen full of water, & commanded the diuell that went out of the man, that by the ouerthrowing thereof, he would giue a signe to the beholders, that he had vtterlie forsaken and leaft the man.

Which

Which thing being done, none there doubted how great Salomons knowledge and wisdom was. Wherin a iugling knacke was produced, to confirme a cogging cast of knauerie or cow senage.

Another storie of Salomons coniuration I find cited in the first lesson, read in the church of Rome vpon S. Margarets daie, far more ridiculous than this. Also Peter Lombard maister of the sentences, and Gracian his brother, the compiler of the golden decrees; and Durandus in his *Rationale diuinarum*, doe all soberlie affirme Salomons cunning in this behalfe; and speciallie this tale; to wit, that Salomon inclosed certaine thousand diuels in a brasen bowle, and left it in a deepe hole or lake, so as afterwards the Babylonians found it, and supposing there had bene gold or siluer therein, brake it, and out flew all the diuels, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceiue, in that it is thought worthy to be read in the Romish church as parcell of their diuine seruice. Loke in lessons of the daie of S. Margaret the virgin, and you shall find these words verbatim: which I the rather recite, because it serueth me for diuers turnes; to wit, for Salomons coniurations, for the tale of the brasen vessel, and for the popes coniurations, which extended both to faith and doctrine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefullie is stained with lies and fables.

*Lib. 4. dist. 14.
Decret. au-
renum. dist. 22.
Rub. de ex-
orcism.*

Leet. 5. & 6.

Lessons read in all churches, where the pope hath authoritie, on S. Margarets daie, translated into English word for word.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Hence Margaret required of GOD, that she might haue a conflict face to face with hir secret enimie the diuell; and rising from praier, she saue a terrible dragon, that would haue deuoured hir, but she made the signe of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the midst.

*Leet in die
sanctissime
Marg. viij. 5.*

Afterwards, she saue another man
A liij. sitting

Leet. 6.

sitting like a peger, hauing his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the haire of the head, threw him to the ground, and set his foote on his head; and his praers being made, a light shined from heauen into the prison where she was, and the crosse of Christ was seene in heauen; with a dowe sitting thereon, who said; Blessed art thou O Margaret, the gates of paradise attend thy coming. Then she giuing thanks to God, said to the diuell, Declare to me thy name. The diuell said; Take awaie thy foote from my head, that I may be able to speake, and tell thee: which being done, the diuell said, I am Veltis, one of them whose Salomon shut in the brazen vessel, and the Babylonians coming, and supposing there had bene gold therein, brake the vessel, and then we flew out: ever since lieng in wait to annoie the iust. But seeing I haue recited a part of his storie, you shall also haue the end thereof: for at the time of his execution this was his praier following.

Looke in
the word
Ildoni,
pag. 383.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoener writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memorie of me, may deserue pardon for all his sinnes: whosoener calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliuer him out of the hands of his aduersaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoener shall build a church in the honor of me, or ministreth vnto me anie candles* of his iust labour, let him obtaine whatsoever he asketh for his health. Deliuier all women in trauell that call vpon me, from the danger thereof.

* For the
preests profit,
I warrant you.

This is common (they saie) when a witch or coniuror dieth.

His praier ended, there were manie great thunderclaps, and a dowe came downe from heauen, saieing; Blessed art thou O Margaret the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted vnto thee; therefore come thou into euerlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though he did bid him) refused to cut off his head: to whom she said; Except thou do it, thou canst haue no part with me, and then so he did it, &c. But sithen I haue bene, and must be tedious, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable storie, depending vpon the matter precedent, reported by manie graue authors, word for word, in maner and forme following.

A delicate storie of a Lombard, who by S. Margarets
example would needs fight with a reall diuell.

The xxxv. Chapter.

Here was (after a sermon made,
wherein this storie of S. Margaret was re-
cited, for in such stufte consisted not onelie
their seruice, but also their sermons in the
blind time of poperie:) there was (I saie) a
certeine yong man, being a Lombard,
whose simplicitie was such, as he had no
respect vnto the commoditie of worlde
things, but did altogether affect the saluation of his soule, who
hearing how great S. Margarets triumph was, began to consi-
der with himselfe, how full of sights the diuell was. And among
other things thus he said; Oh that God would suffer, that the di-
uell might fight with me hand to hand in visible forme! I would
then surelie in like maner ouerthrow him, and would fight with
him till I had the victorie. And therefore about the twelue houre
he went out of the towne, and finding a conuenient place where
to praie, secretlie kneeling on his knees, he praied among other
things, that God would suffer the diuell to appeare vnto him in
visible forme, that according to the example of S. Margaret, he
might overcome him in battell. And as he was in the midst of
his praiers, there came into that place a woman with a hoke in
hir hand, to gather certeine hearbs which grew there, who was
dumme bozne. And when she came into the place, and saw the
yong man among the hearbs on his knees, she was afraid, and
waxed pale, and going backe, she cored in such sort, as hir voice
could not be vnderstood, and with hir head and fists made threat-
ning signes vnto him. The yong man seeing such an illfauoured
soule queane, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinkles,
with a long bodie, leane of face, pale of colour, with ragged
cloathes, crieng verie lowd, and hauing a voice not vnderstand-
able, threatening him with the hoke which she carried in hir hand,
he thought surelie she had bene no woman, but a diuell appear-
ring

Kakozelia.

Mutual
error by
meanes
of sudden
sight.

ring vnto him in the shape of a woman, and thought God had heard his praiers. For the which causes he fell vpon hir lastilie, and at length threw hir downe to the ground, saieing; Art thou come thou cursed diuell, art thou come? No no, thou shalt not ouerthrow me in visibie sight, whome thou hast often ouercome in inuisibie temptation.

S. Vincent
raiseth the
dead wo-
man to life.

And as he spake these words, he caught hir by the haire, and drew hir about, beating hir sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his heeles, and sometimes with the hoke so long, and wounded hir so sore, that he left hir a dieng. At the noise wherof manie people came running vnto them, and seeing what was done, they apprehended the yong man, and thrust him into a vile prison. S. Vincent by vertue of his holines vnderstanding all this matter, caused the bodie that seemed dead to be brought vnto him, and there vpon (according to his maner) he laid his hand vpon hir, who immediatlie reuiued, and he called one of his chaplines to heare hir confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it were altogether in vaine so to do, for that she had bene from hir natiuitie dumbe, and could neither heare nor vnderstand the priest, neither could in words confesse hir sinnes. Notwithstanding, S. Vincent bad the priest heare hir confession, affirming that she should verie distinctlie speake all things vnto him. And therefore, whatsoeuer the man of God commanded, the priest did confidentlie accomplish and obeie: and as soone as the priest approached vnto hir, to heare hir confession, she, whome all Cathalonia knew to be dumbe borne, spake, and confessed hir selfe, pronouncing euerie word as distinctlie, as though she had neuer bene dumbe. After hir confession she requited the eucharist and extreame unction to be ministred vnto hir, and at length she commended hir selfe to God; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as she had anie bzeath in hir bodie. The yong man that killed hir being saued from the gallowes by S. Vincents meanes, and at his intercession, departed home into Italie. This storie last rehearsed is found in *Speculo exemplorum*, and repeated also by Robert Carocul: bishop of Aquinas, and manie others, and preached publikelie in the church of Rome.

S. Vincent
maketh the
dumbe to
speake.

Dist. 8. ex-
empl. 17.
serm. 59.
cap. 20.

The storie of Saint Margaret prooued to be both
ridiculous and impious in euerie point.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

First, that the storie of S. Margaret
is a fable, may be prooued by the incredi-
ble, impossible, foolish, impious, and blas-
phemous matters contained therein, and
by the ridiculous circumstance thereof.

Though it were cruellie done of hir to
beat the diuell, when his hands were
bound; yet it was courtesoulie done of
hir, to pull awaie hir foot at his desire. He could not speake so long
as she trod on his head, and yet he said; Tread off, that I may
tell you what I am. She saue the heauens open, and yet she was
in a close prison. But hir sight was verie cleare, that could see a
little done sitting vpon a crosse so farre off. For heauen is high-
er than the sunne; and the sunne, when it is nearest to vs, is
3966000. miles from vs. And she had a god paire of eares,
that could heare a doue speake so farre off. And she had god
lucke, that S. Peter, who (they saie) is porter, or else the pope, who
hath more doings than Peter, had such leisure as to staie the
gates so long for hir. Salomon prouided no good place, neither
toke god order with his brazen bolule. I maruell how they el-
caped that let out the diuels. It is maruell also they melted it not
with their breath long before: for the diuels carrie hell and hell
fier about with them alwaies; in so much as (they saie) they leaue
ashes euermore where they stand. Surelie she made in hir prater
an unreasonable request. But the date of hir patent is out: for
I beleue that whosoever at this date shall burne a pound of god
candle before hir, shall be neuer the better, but three pence the
woorse. But now we may find in S. Margarets life, who it is that
is Christs wife: whereby we are so much wiser than we were
before. But looke in the life of S. Katharine, in the golden legend,
and you shall find that he was also married to S. Katharine, and
that our ladie made the marriage, &c. An excellent authoritie for
bigamie.

*Secundum
Bordinum
Corrigens
Questi.
Mash. vrack
1. sect. 77.*

*T'fellus de
operazione
demonum.*

bigamie. Here I will also cite other of their notable stories, or miracles of authoritie, and so leaue shaming of them, or rather troubling you the readers thereof. Neither would I haue written these fables, but that they are authentike among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of conuictees and witches miracles, as of the others: for the one is as grosse as the other.

A pleasant miracle wrought by a
popish preest.

The xxxvij. Chapter.

*In speculo
exemplorum,
dist. 6. ex lib.
exemplorum,
Cesaris, ex-
empl. 69.*



What time the Waldenses heresies beganne to spring, certeine wicked men, being vpheld and maintained by diabolicall vertue, shewed certeine signes and wonders, whereby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies, and peruerted in faith many faithfull men; for they walked on the water and were not drowned.

Memorandum, it is confessed in poperie that true miracles cannot be ioyined with false doctrine: Ergo neither papist, witch, nor conuicteur can worke miracles.

But a certeine catholike preest seeing the same, and knowing that true signes could not be ioined with false doctrine, brought the bodie of our Lord, with the pix, to the water, where they shewed their power and vertue to the people, and said in the hearing of all that were present: I confute thee Diuell, by him, whom I carrie in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the preest in a rage threw the bodie of our Lord, with the pix into the riuer, and by and by, so sone as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasie gaue place to the veritie; and they being proued and made false, did sinke like lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediatlie was taken awaie by an angell. The preest seeing all these things, was verie glad of the miracle, but for the losse of the sacrament he was verie pensiue, passing awaie the whole night in teares and mourning: in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament vpon the altar.

The

The former miracle confuted, with a strange
 storie of saint Lucie.

The xxxviii. Chapter.

How glad Sir John was now
 it were solite for me to saie. How would
 he haue plagued the diuell, that threw his
 god in the riuer to be drowned : But if
 other had had no more power to destroe
 the Waldenses with sword and fier, than
 this priest had to drowne them with his
 coniuring bore & coufening sacraments,
 there should haue bene many a life saued. But I may not omit
 one fable, which is of authoritie, wherein though there be no con-
 furation exprested, yet I warrant you there was coufenance both
 in the doing and telling thereof. ¶ You shall read in the les-
 son on saint Lucies daie, that she being condemned, could not be
 remoued from the place with a tème of open, neither could any
 fier burne hir, insomuch as one was faine to cut off hir head with
 a sword, and yet she could speake afterwards as long as she list.
 And this passeth all other miracles, except it be that which Bodin
 and M. Mal. recite out of Nider, of a witch that could not be bur-
 ned, till a scroll was taken a waie from where she hid it, betwixt
 hir skin and flesh.

*Left in die
 sancte Luci
 7 & 8.*

Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds,
 and of other illusions, of wandering soules : with a con-
 futation thereof.

The xxxix. Chapter.

Manie thorough melancholie doe
 imagine, that they see or heare visions,
 spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c : as
 I haue already proued before, at large.
 Manie againe thorough feare procé-
 ding from a cowardlie nature and com-
 plexion, or from an effeminate and fond
 bringing vp, are timorous and afraid of
 spirits

*See the sto-
 rie of Simô
 Dauid and
 Ade his
 wife, lib. 3.
 cap. 10. pag.
 55, 56, 57.*

Spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their owne shadowes, and (as Aristotle saith) see themselves sometimes as it were in a glasse. And some through weakenesse of bodie haue such vnperfect imaginations. Drunken men also sometimes suppose they see trees walke, &c: according to that which Salomon saith to the drunkards; Thine eyes shall see strange visions, and meruellous appearances.

Against the
counterfet
visions of
popish
preests, &
other cou-
sening de-
uises.

In all ages monks and preests haue abused and bewitched the world with counterfet visions; which proceeded through idleness, and restraint of marriage, whereby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore deuised such meanes to compass and obtaine their loues. And the simple people being then so superstitious, would neuer seeme to mistrust, that such holie men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in that case, and gaue roine to the cleargie. Item, little children haue bene so scared with their mothers maids, that they could neuer after endure to be in the darke alone, for feare of bugs. Manie are deceiued by glasses through art perspective. Manie hearkening vnto false reports, conceiue and beleeue that which is nothing so. Manie giue credit to that which they read in authoers. But how manie stories and booke are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrarie to the word of God; a reasonable volume cannot containe. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies: In so much as it was in the time of poperie a vsuall matter, to desire sicke people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reueale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefore no meruell, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceiued herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels and appearances to men; but now he doth not so. Through ignorance of late in religion, it was thought, that euerie churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits: but now the word of God being more free, open, and knowne, those concepts and illusions are made more manifest and apparent, &c.

The doctors, counsels, and popes, which (they saie) cannot erre, haue confirmed the walking, appearing, & raising of soules.

But

But where find they in the scriptures anie such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Trulie all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which haue bene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare therevnto neuer so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who beareth their noises? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such mone for trentals, whereby to be eased of the paines in purgatorie? Are they all gone into Italie, because masses are growne deere here in England? Marke well this illusion, and see how contrarie it is vnto the word of God. Consider how all papists beleue this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are giuen to saie it is and was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to haue buriall for their bodies? For manie of those walking soules went about their busines. Do you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselves godlie diuines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine; and to insert into their diuine seruice such fables as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giuing place thereto for the time? You shall see in the lessons read there vpon S. Steuens daie, that Gamaliel Nichodemus his kinsman, and Abdias his sonne, with his friend S. Steuen, appeared to a certeine prest, called Sir Lucian, requesting him to remoue their bodies, and to burie them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, vntill then, being in the reigne of Honorius the emperor; to wit, foure hundred yeeres buried in the field of Gamaliel, who in that respect said to Sir Lucian; *Non mei solummodo causa sollicitus sum, sed potius pro illis qui mecum sunt*; that is, I am not onlie carefull for my selfe, but chæfelic for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole course may be perceined to be a false practise, and a counterfet vision, or rather a lewd inuention. For in heauen mens soules remaine not in sorrow and care; neither studie they there how to compasse and get a whipsall buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not haue forclosed it so long. Now therefore let vs not suffer our selues to be abused anie longer, either with coniuring prests, or melancholicall witches; but be thankfull to God that hath deliuered vs from such blindness and error.

This doctrine was not onlie preached, but also proued; note the particular instances following.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfet visions grow to be credited, of popish appeerances, of pope Boniface.

The xl. Chapter.

H Card. lib.
de var. rer.
15.ca.92.



Ardanus speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus; A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes; it may be a counterfet or a theefe indeed, or the fault may be in your eares. I could recite a great number of tales, how men haue euen forsaken their houses, because of such apparitions and noises: and all hath bene by mere and ranke knauerie. And wheresoeuer you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knauerie, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And hereof there is a verie art, which for some respects I will not discover. The diuell seeketh dallie as well as nightlie whome he may deuoure, and can do his feats as well by daie as by night, or else he is a yong diuell, and a verie bungler. But of all other counsers, these coniurors are in the highest degree, and are most worthy of death for their blasphemous impietie. But that these popish visions and coniurations vsed as well by papists, as by the popes themselves, were mere counsenges; and that the tales of the popes recited by Bruno and Platina, of their magicall deuises, were but plaine counsenges and knaueries, may appeare by the historie of Bonifacius the eight, who vsed this kind of inchantment, to get away the popedom from his predecessor Celestinus. He counterfetted a voice through a cane reed, as though it had come from heauen, perswading him to yeld by his authoritie of popeship, and to institute therein one Bonifacius, a worthier man: otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therfore the sole yelded it by accordinglee, to the said Bonifacius, An. 1264. of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, liued like a wolfe, and died like a dog.

There

Pope Celestinus counsed of his popedom by pope Boniface.

There be innumerable exampls of such visions, which when they are not detected, go for true stories: and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, untill they be able to shew forth before your eyes one matter of truth, you may replie vpon them with this distinction; to wit: visions tried are false visions, vnderdecided and vntried are true.

Visions distinguished.

Of the noise or sound of eccho, of one that narrowly escaped drowning thereby, &c.

The xlj. Chapter.



Las! how manie naturall things are there so strange, as to manie seeme miraculous; and how manie counterfet matters are there, that to the simple seeme yet more wonderfull: Cardane tel-

H. Card. Lib. de subtilitat. 18.

leth of one Comensis, who comming late to a riuers side, not knowing where to passe ouer, cried out aloud for some bodie to shew him the way: who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the waie, he passed through the riuer, even there where was a deepe whirlpoule, so as he hardlie escaped with his life; and told his friends, that the diuell had almost perswaded him to drowne himselfe. And in some places these noises of eccho are farre more strange than other, speciallie at Ticinum in Italia, in the great hall, where it rendreth sundrie and manifold noises or voices, which seeme to end so lamentable, as it were a man that laie a dieng; so as few can be perswaded that it is the eccho, but a spirit that answereth.

Idem, ibid.

The noise at Winchester was said to be a verie miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the yeare 1569. though indeed a mere naturall noise ingendered of the wind, the concavities of the place, and other instrumentall matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; speciallie to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the wonder.

Of Winchester noise.

Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter
sent to me concerning these matters.

The xliij. Chapter.



Here is yet another art professed by these cōfening coniuroꝝ, which some fond diuines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than necromancie, which is called Theurgie; wherein they worke by good angels. Holvbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papisticall and superstitious, consisting in cleanness partlie of the mind, partlie of the bodie, and partlie of things about and belonging to the bodie; as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessel and household stuffe, in oblations and sacrifices; the cleanness wherof, they saie, doth dispose men to the contemplation of heauenlie things. They cite these words of Esaie for their authoritie; to wit: Wash your selues and be cleane, &c. In so much as I haue knowne diuerse superstitious persons of god account, which vsuallie washed all their apparell vpon conceits ridiculouslie. For vncleannesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth awaie cleane spirits. Herevnto belongeth the art of Almadel, the art of Paule, the art of Reuelations, and the art Potarie. But (as Agrippa saith) the more diuine these arts seeme to the ignorant, the more damnable they be. But their false assertions, their presumptions to worke miracles, their characters, their strange names, their diffuse phrases, their counterfet holines, their popish ceremonies, their foolish words mingled with impietie, their barbarous and vnlearned order of construction, their shameles practises, their paltrie stuffe, their secret dealing, their beggerlie life, their bargaining with soles, their cōfening of the simple, their scope and drift for monie doth betozaie all their art to be counterfet consenage. And the more throughlie to satisfie you herein, I thought god in this place to insert a letter, vpon occasion sent vnto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this verie matter in the kings bench, and reprimed by his maiesties mer-

Appen-
dents vn-
to the sup-
posed di-
uine art
of Theur-
gie.

cie, through the good mediation of a most noble and vertuous personage, whose honorable and goodlie disposition at this time I will forbear to commend as I ought. The person truelie that wrote this letter seimeth vnto me a good bodie, well reformed, and penitent, not expecting anie gaines at my hands, but rather fearing to speake that which he knoweth further in this matter, least displeasure might ensue and follow.

The copie of a letter sent vnto me R. S. by T.E.

*Maister of art, and practiser both of physicke, and also
in times past, of certeine vaine sciences; now
condemned to die for the same: wherein he openeth
the truth touching these deceits.*



Maister R. Scot, according to your request, I haue drawne out certeine abuses worth the noting, touching the worke you haue in hand; things which I my selfe haue scene within these xxvj. yeares, among those which were counted famous and skilfull in those sciences. And bicause the whole discourse cannot be set downe, without nominating certeine persons, of whom some are dead & some liuing, whose freends remaine yet of great credit: in respect therof, I knowing that mine enimies doo alreadie in number exceed my freends; I haue considered with my selfe, that it is better for me to staie my hand, than to commit that to the world, which may increase my miserie more than releuee the same. Notwithstanding, bicause I am noted aboue a great manie others to haue had some dealings in those vaine arts and wicked practises; I am therefore to signifie vnto you, and I speake it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers, that I haue beene conuersant withall these xxvj. yeares, I could neuer see anie matter of truth to be

Marke the
summe and
scope of
this letter.

Mm.ij.

doone

doone in those wicked sciences, but onelie meere cou-
 sennings and illusions. And they, whome I thought to be
 most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my
 hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen years,
 to my great losse and hinderance, and could neuer at anie
 time see anie one truth, or sparkle of truth therein. Yet
 at this present I stand worthilie condemned for the same;
 for that, contrarie to my princes lawes, and the lawe of
 God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend my
 time in such vaine and wicked studies and practises: be-
 ing made and remaining a spectacle for all others to re-
 ceiue warning by. The Lord grant I may be the last (I
 speake it from my hart) and I wish it, not onlie in my na-
 tiue coutrie, but also through the whole face of the earth,
 speciallie among Christians. For mine owne part I la-
 ment my time lost, & haue repented me fīue yeares past:
 at which time I sawe a booke, written in the old Saxon
 toong, by one Sir Iohn Malborne a diuine of Oxenford,
 three hundred yeares past; wherein he openeth all the
 illusions & inuentions of those arts and sciences: a thing
 most worthie the noting. I left the booke with the par-
 son of Slangham in Suffex, where if you send for it in my
 name, you may haue it. You shall thinke your labour
 well bestowed, and it shall greatlie further the good enter-
 prise you haue in hand: and there shall you see the whole
 science throughlie discussed, and all their illusions and
 cousegnes deciphered at large. Thus crauing pardon
 at your hands for that I promised you, being verie feare-
 full, doubtfull, and loth to set my hand or name vnder
 any thing that may be offensīue to the world, or hurtfull
 to my selfe, considering my case, except I had the better
 warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my verie good
 Lord, and by whome next vnder God (his Maiestie one-
 lie excepted) I haue beene preserued; and therefore loth
 to doo any thing that may offend his Lordships eares.
 And

S. Iohn
 Malbornes
 booke de-
 tecting the
 deuises of
 coniuratio,
 &c.

And so I leaue your Worship to the Lords keeping, who bring you and all your actions to good end and purpose, to Gods glorie, and to the profit of all Christians. From the bench this 8. of March, 1582. Your Worships poore and desolate friend and seruant, T. E.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of Slangham, and procured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deale with him, that I might borrowe it for a time. But such is his follie and superstition, that although he confessed he had it; yet he would not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire would haue giuen his word for the restitution of the same safe and sound.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoeuer hēretofore hath gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, wherof hitherto I haue written in ample sort, be now counted counterfet, and therefore not to be allowed no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sift such cloked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appere discouered, and shew themselves in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of euerie secret intent, priuie purpose, hidden practise, and close deuise, haue they neuer such shrowds and shelters for the time: and be they with neuer so much cautelousnesse and subtilt circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestlie detected by the light, according to that old rimed verse:

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne reuelat:

What thing soeuer snowe dooth hide,
Heat of the sunne dooth make it spide.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Jazarite, who neuer told vntruth, but who is the substance and ground

wooke of truth it selfe, saieing; *Nihil est tam occultum*

quod non sit derogandum, Nothing is so se-

cret, but it shall be knowne
and reuealed.

Andreas
Garnemus
Marismon-
tanus, Eng.
by Ab. Fle.

Matt. 10, 26.
Mark 4 22.
Luke. 8, 17.
And. 12, 2.

Mm. iij.

¶ The

¶ *The xvj. booke.*

A conclusion, in maner of an epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witch-mongers conceits, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor inquisitors and compilers of *M. Mal.*

The first Chapter.



Hitherto you haue had deliuered vnto you, that which I haue conceiued and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts therof I can see no difference among the writers here vpon; of what countrie, condition, estate, or religion so euer they be; but I find almost all of them to agree in vnconstancie, fables, and impossibilitie;

scratching out of *M. Mal.* the substance of all their arguments: so as their authoꝝ being disapproued, they must coine new stuffe, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wiues tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contriued. But you must know that Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, whome I haue had occasion to alledge manie times, were coparteners in the composition of that profound & learned booke called *Malleus Maleficarum*, & were the greatest doctors of that art: out of whom I haue gathered matter and absurditie enough, to confound the opinions contriued of witchcraft; although they were allowed inquisitors and assigned by the pope, with the authoritie and commendation of all the doctors of the vniuersitie of Colen, &c: to call before them

The compilers or makers of the booke called *A Mallet to braine witches.*

By *inquisitors.* of Witchcraft. Cap. 2, 3. 471
 them, to imprison, to condemne, and to execute witches; and finally to seaze and confiscate their goods.

These two doctors, to mainteine their their credit, and to couer their iniuries, haue published those same monstrous lies, which haue abused all Christendome, being spread abroad with such authority, as it will be hard to suppress the credit of their writings, be they neuer so ridiculous and false. Which although they mainteine and stirre vp with their owne praises; yet men are so bewitched, as to giue credit vnto them. For those wherof I remember they write in one place of their said booke, that by reason of their seuerer proceedings against witches, they suffered intolerable assaults, specially in the night, many times finding needles sticking in their biggens, which were thither conueied by witches charmes: and through their innocencie and holinesse (they saie) they were euer miraculously preserved from hurt. Howbeit they affirme that they will not tell all that might make to the manifestation of their holines: for then should their owne praise stinke in their owne mouthes. And yet God knoweth their whole booke containeth but stinking lies and poperie. Which groundworke and foundation how weake and wauering it is, how vnlike to continue, and how slenderly laid, a child may some discern and perceiue.

No maruel that they were so opinionatiue herein, for God gaue them ouer into strong delusions.

By what means the common people haue beene made beleue in the miraculous works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.

The second Chapter.

The common people haue bene so allotted and bewitched, with whatsoever poets haue feigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in iest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liars and coulers for their pleasures herein haue inuented, and with whatsoever tales they haue heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoever the grandsoule
 M. iiij. their

their ghostlie father, or anie other morrow masse prest had informed them; and finallie with whatsoeuer they haue swallowed by thorough tract of time, or through their owne timorous nature or ignorant concept, concerning these matters of haggess and witches: as they haue so settled their opinion and credit thereupon, that they thinke it heresie to doubt in anie part of the matter; speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praieng to saints, bicause *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* is written in *Te Deum*.

The definition or description of witchcraft.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hitherto I deferre and put off purposely: that you might perceiue the true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the rather to allow of the same, seeing the varietie of other writers. Witchcraft is in truth a consenuing art, wherein the name of God is abused, profaned and blasphemed, and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall worke, contriued betwene a corporall old woman, and a spirituall diuell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall,

The formal cause.

and strange, that to this daie there hath neuer bene any credible witnes therof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull; a probable matter to children, fooles, melancholike persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes euill, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees, or coine, &c; is hurt: sometimes good, as whereby sicke folkes are healed, thieues bewaied, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments, whereby it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, characters, &c: the which words although any other creature

The materiall cause.

do pronounce, in maner and forme as they do, lea-
uing out no circumstance requisite or vsuall
for that action: yet none is said to haue
the grace or gift to performe the
matter, except she be a witch,
and so taken, either by hir
owne consent, or
by others im-
putation.

Reasons

Reasons to prooue that words and characters are but bables, & that witches cannot doo such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest wondrous prooued trifles, of a yong gentleman coufened.

The third Chapter.

That words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessarie instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but bables, deuised by coufeners, to abuse the people withall; I trust I haue sufficientlie prooued. And the same maie be further and more plainelie perceiued by these short and compendious reasons following.

First, in that the Turkes and infidels, in their witchcraft, vse both other words, and other characters than our witches doo, and also such as are most contrarie. In so much as, if ours be bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doo anie thing, ours can doo nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despise his sacraments: so doo the other forsake Mahomet, and his lawes, which is one large step to christianitie.

It is also to be thought, that all witches are coufeners; when mother Bungie, a principall witch, so reputed, tried, and condemned of all men, and continuing in that exercise and estimation manie yeares (hauiug coufened & abused the whole realme, in so much as there came to hir, witchmongers from all the further parts of the land, she being in diuerse bookes set out with authoritie, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester, and reputed among all men for the cheefe ringleader of all other witches) by good prose is found to be a mere coufener; confessing in hir death bed freele, without compulsion or inforcement, that hir cunning consisted onlie in deluding and deceiuing the people: sauing that she had (towards the maintenance of hir credit in that coufening trade) some sight in physicke and surgerie, and the assistance of a friend of hers, called

A necessarie
sequelle.

Probatum
est, by mother
Bungies confession
that all witches
are coufeners.

led Heron, a profeſſor thereof. And this I know, partlie of mine owne knowledge, and partlie by the teſtimonie of hir huſband, and others of credit, to whome (I ſaie) in hir death bed, and at ſundrie other times ſhe proteſted theſe things; and alſo that ſhe neuer had indeed anie materiall ſpirit or diuell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to worke anie ſupernaturall matter, as ſhe in hir life time made men beleue ſhe had and could do.

The like may be ſaid of one T. of Canturburie, whoſe name I will not litterallie diſcouer, who wonderfullie abuſed manie in theſe parts, making them thinke he could tell where anie thing loſt became: with diuerſe other ſuch practiſes, where by his ſame was farre beyond the others. And yet on his death bed he confeſſed, that he knew nothing more than anie other, but by ſight and deuices, without the aſſiſtance of anie diuell or ſpirit, ſauing the ſpirit of couſenage: and this did he (I ſaie) proteſt before manie of great honeſtie, credit, & wiſedome, who can witneſſe the ſame, and alſo gaue him good commendations for his godlie and honeſt end.

Againe, who will mainteine, that common witchcrafts are not couſenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had ſtolne credit not onlie from all the common people, but from men of great wiſdome and authoritie, are diſcouered to be beggerlie ſlights of couſening barlots: Which otherwiſe might and would haue remained a perpetuall obiection againſt me. Were there not theſe images of late yeres found in a downhill, to the terror & aſtoniſhment of manie thouſands: In ſo much as great matters were thought to haue bene pretended to be done by witchcraft. But if the Lord preſerue thoſe perſons (whoſe deſtruction was doubted to haue bene intended therby) from all other the lewd practiſes and attempts of their enimies; I feare not, but they ſhall eaſilie withſtand theſe and ſuch like deuices, although they ſhould indeed be practiſed againſt them. But no doubt, if ſuch bables could haue brought thoſe matters of miſchiefe to paſſe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists; we ſhould long ſince haue bene deſtroyed of the moſt excellent ietwell and comfort that we enioy in this world. Volvbeit, I confeſſe, that the feare, conceipt, and doubt of ſuch miſchievous pretences may breed inconuenience to them that ſtand in awe of the ſame.

I. Bodin in the preface before his booke of *Demonomania* reporteth this by a coniuring preest late Curat of Illington: hee alſo ſheweth to what end: read the place you ſhall vnderſtand Latine,

same. And I wish, that euen for such practises, though they neuer can or doe take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremitie : bicause therein is manifested a traiterous heart to the Quene, and a presumption against God.

But to returne to the discoverie of the aforesaid knauerie and witchcraft. So it was that one old cōfener, wanting monie, deuised or rather practised (for it is a stale deuise) to supplie his want, by promising a yong Gentleman, whose humour he thought would that waie be well serued, that for the summe of fourtie pounds, he would not faile by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure vnto him the loue of anie three women whom he would name, and of whom he should make choise at his pleasure. The yong Gentleman being abused with his cunning deuises, and too hastily yielding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of monie. Which, bicause he had it not presentlie to disburse, provided it for him at the hands of a friend of his. Finally, this cunning man made the three puppets of war, &c : leauing nothing vndone that appertained to the counsellage, vntill he had buried them, as you haue heard. But I omit to tell what a doo was made herof, and also what reports and lies were bzuted ; as what white dogs and blacke dogs there were sene in the night season passing through the watch, maugre all their force and preparation against them, &c. But the yong Gentleman, who for a litle space remained in hope mixed with ioy and loue, now through tract of time hath thofe his felicities powdered with doubt and despaire. For in steed of atchieuing his loue, he would gladlie haue obtained his monie. But bicause he could by no meanes get either the one or the other (his monie being in bucksters handling, and his sute in no better forwardnes) he reuealed the whole matter, hoping by that meanes to recouer his monie ; which he neither can yet get againe, nor hath paid off where he borrowed. But till triall was had of his simplicitie or rather follie herein, he received some trouble himselfe hereabouts, though now dismissed.

Note this deuise of the waxen images found of late neere London.

Of one that was ſo bewitched that he could read
no ſcriptures but canonicall, of a diuel that could ſpeake
no Latine, a prooe that witchcraft is flat couſenage.

The fourth Chapter.

A ſtrange
miracle, if
it were
true.

There the
hypocrite
was ouer-
matcht for
all his diſ-
ſembled
grauitie.

BEfore I may aptlie inſert another
miracle of importance, that happened
within the compaſſe of a childes remem-
brance, which may induce anie reſonable
bodie to conceiue, that theſe ſupernatu-
rall actions are but fables & couſenages.
There was one, whom for ſome reſpects
I name not, that was taken blind, deafe,
& dumbe; ſo as no phyſician could helpe him. That man (ſo ſoeth)
though he was (as is ſaid) both blind, dumbe & deafe, yet could he
read anie canonicall ſcriptures; but as ſo: apocrypha, he could
read none: wherein a Gods name conſiſted the miracle. But a
leaſe of apocrypha being extraordinarylie inſerted among the ca-
nonicall ſcriptures, he read the ſame as authentike: wherein his
knauerie was betrayed. Another had a diuell, that answered
men to all queſtions, marie hir diuell could vnderſtand no La-
tine, and ſo was ſhe (and by ſuch meanes all the reſt may be) be-
trayed. Indeed our witching writers ſaie, that certaine diuels
ſpeake onlie the language of that countrie where they are re-
ſiſtant, as French, or Engliſh, &c.

Furthermore, in my conceipt, nothing proueth more appa-
rentlie that witchcraft is couſenage, and that witches inſtru-
ments are but ridiculous bables, and altogether void of effect;
than when learned and godlie diuines, in their ſerious wor-
tings, produce experiments as wrought by witches,
and by diuels at witches commandements:
which they expound by miracles, although
indeed mere trifles. Whereof they
conceiue amiſſe, being ouer-
taken with credu-
litie.

Of the diuination by the siue and sheeres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clocke, of certeine iuggling knacks, manifold reasons for the ouerthrowe of witches and coniurors, and their couenages, of the diuels transformations, of *Ferrum candens*, &c.

The fift Chapter.

I passe ouer all the fables, which are banded by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of N. Hemingius, *Heming. in lib. de superst. magicis.* whose zeale & learning otherwise I might iustlie commend: howbeit I am sozie and ashamed to see his ignorance and follie in this behalfe. Neither would I haue be-
trayed it, but that he himselfe, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotencie, hath published it to his great discredit. Popish priests (saith he) as the Chaldeans vled the diuination by siue & sheeres for the detection of theft, doe practise with a psalter and a keie fastened vpon the 49. psalme, to discover a theefe. And when the names of the suspected persons are orderlie put into the pipe of the keie, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a theefe thou diddest consent vnto him] the booke will wagge, and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the keie must be the theefe. Herevpon Hemingius in-
ferreth, that although coniuring priests and witches bzing not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalme, which tend to a farre other scope; yet sathan doth nimble, with his inuisible hand, giue such a twitch to the booke, as also in the other case to the siue and the sheeres, that do wne fall the booke and keie, siue and sheeres, by starts the theefe, and alwaie runneth the diuell laughing, &c.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

But alas, Hemingius is deceipted, as not perceiuing the conceipt, or rather the deceipt hereof. For where he supposeth those actions to be miraculous, and done by a diuell; they are in truth inuere

A naturall
reason of
the former
knacke.

mere bables, wherein consisteth not so much as legierdemaine. For euerie carter may conceiue the sight hereof: bicause the booke and keie, siue and sheres, being staied vp in that order, by naturall course, of necessitie must within that space (by meanes of the aire, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turne and fall downe. Which experience being knowne to the witch or coniuero, she or he do forme and frame their prophetic accordinglie: as whosoever maketh profe thereof shall manifestlie perceine it. By this art, practise, or experience, you shall knowe what it is a clocke, if you hold betwene your finger and your thumbe a thred of six or seuen inches long, vnto the other end whereof is tied a gold ring, or some such like thing: in such sort as vpon the beating of your pulse, and the mouing of the ring, the same may strike vpon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, bicause the effect or cuent proceedeth not of that cause which such couensers saie, and others beleue they do. As when they laie a medicine for the ague, &c: to a childs wrists, they also pronounce certaine words or charmes, by vertue whereof (they saie) the child is healed: whereas indeed the medicine onelie doth the feate. And this is also a sillie jugglers knacke, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and braine of a chicken or pullet, and with certaine mysticall words seeme to cure him: whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would liue, and do well enough; as experience teacheth and declareth.

Againe, when such as haue mainteined the art and profession of coniuring, and haue written therevpon most cunninglie, haue published recantations, and confessed the deceipts thereof, as Cornelius Agrippa did, whie should we defend it? Also, when heathen princes, of great renowne, authoritie, & learning, haue searched, with much industrie and charge, the knowledge & secrecie of coniuration and witchcraft, & finallie found by experience all to be false and vaine that is reported of them, as Nero, Iulianus apostata, and Valence did; whie should we seeke for further triall, to proue witchcraft and coniuration to be couenage?

Also, when the miracles imputed vnto them, excēd in quantitie, qualitie and number, all the miracles that Christ wrought here vpon earth, for the establishing of his gospel, for the confir-

mation

C. Agripp. in
lib. de vanit.
scient. & in
epistola anse
librum de
occulta phi-
losophia.

Plin. lib.
natural. hist.
30. cap. 1.

Pet. Mart.
in locis com-
munibus.

mation of our faith, and for the aduancement of his glorious name; what god chriſtian will beleue them to be true? And when Chriſt himſelfe ſaith; The works that I do, no man elſe can accompliſh; what ſhould we thinke that a ſoliſh old woman can do them all, and manie more?

Alſo, when Chriſt knew not theſe witches, nor ſpake one word of them in all the time of his being here vpon earth, hauing ſuch neceſſarie occaſion (if at leaſt wiſe they with their familiars could do as he did by the ſpirit of God, as is conſtantlie affirmed) what ſhould we ſuppoſe that they can do as they ſaie, but rather that they are deceiuers. When they are ſaine to ſaie, that witches wrought not in that art, all thoſe thirtie three yeares that Chriſt liued, and that there were none in Iobs time, and that the couſening ozacles are now ceaſed; who ſeeth not that they are witteſſe, and madde ſoules that mainteine it? When all the miſchiefes are accompliſhed by poiſons and naturall meanes, which they affirme to be brought to paſſe by words, it manifeſteth to the world their couſenage. When all the places of ſcripture, which witchmongers allowe for the proſe of ſuch witches, are prooued to make nothing for their purpoſe, their owne fables & lies deſerue ſmall credit. When one of the theſe points in controuerſie; to wit, execution of witches, is grounded vpon a falſe tranſlation; namely, *You ſhall not ſuffer a witch to liue* (which is in Latine, *Beneficam non retinebitis in vita*) where the word in euerie mans eare ſoundeth to be a poiſoner, rather than a worker of miracles, and ſo interpreted by the ſeuentie interpreters, Iolephus, and almoſt of all the Rabbins, which were Hebrues borne: what ſhould anie of their interpretations or allegations be truſted, or well accounted of? When working of miracles is ceaſed, and the gift of prophesie alſo; ſo as the godlie, through inuocation of the holie ſpirit, cannot perſorme ſuch wonderfull things, as theſe witches and coniuroꝝ by the inuocation of diuels and wicked ſpirits vndertake, and are ſaid to do; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be ſo inſatiate as to beleue theſe lies, and ſo preferre the power of witches and diuels before the godlie endued with Gods holie ſpirit? When manie printed bookes are publiſhed, euen with authoritie, in confirmation of ſuch miracles wrought by thoſe couſeners, for the detection of witchcraft;

Note that during all Chriſts time vpon earth, which was 33. yeares, witches were put to ſilence, &c.

and

and in fine all is not onelie found false, and to haue bene accom-
plished by couesnage, but that there hath bene therein a set pur-
pose to defame honest matrones, as to make them be thought to
be witches: whie should we beleue Bodin, M. Mal. &c: in their
couesning tales and fables? When they saie that witches can
flie in the aire, and come in at a little coane, or a hole in a glasse
window, and steale awaie sucking childzen, and hurt their mo-
thers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot es-
cape out of the grate, which is farre bigger: who will not con-
demne such accusations or confessions to be friuolous, &c: When
(if their assertions were true) concerning the diuels vsuall ta-
king of shapen, and walking, talking, conferring, hurting, and
all maner of dealing with mortall creatures, Christs argument
to Thomas had bene weake and easilie answered; yea the one
halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by diuels, euerie
poore mans house might be hired ouer his head by a diuell, he
might take the shape and fauor of an honest woman, and plaie
the witch; or of an honest man, and plaie the thiefe, and so bring
them both, or whome he list to the gallowes: who seeth not the va-
nitie of such assertions? For then the diuell might in the likenes
of an honest man commit anie criminall offense; as Lauater
in his nineteenth chapter *De Spectris* reporteth of a graue wise ma-
gistrate in the territorie of Tigurie, who affirmed, that as he and
his seruant went through certeine pastures, he espied in a mor-
ning, the diuell in likenes of one whome he knew verie well,
wickedlie dealing with a mare. Upon the sight whereof he im-
mediatlie went to that fellows house, and certeinlie learned
there, that the same person went not out of his chamber that
daie. And if he had not wiselie bolted out the matter, the good ho-
nest man (saith he) had surelie bene cast into prison, and put on
the racke, &c.

But Christs
argument
was vn-
doubted:
Ergo, &c.

I maruell
for what
purpose the
magistrate
went to that
fellows
house.

Albertus
Cranzius in
lib. 4. metro-
polis. cap. 4.

Prou. 6.

The like storie we read of one Cynegunda, wife to Henrie
the second empero: of that name, in whose chamber the diuell (in
the likenes of a pongman, with whome she was suspected to be
too familiar in court) was often scene comming in and out. How
beit, she was purged by the triall *Candentis ferri*, and proued in-
nocent: for she went vpon glowing iron unhurt, &c. And yet Sa-
lomon saith; Hate a man carrie fier in his bosome, and his
clothes

clothes not be burned: And can a man go vpon coles, & his fate not scorched: And thus might the diuell get him vp into euerie pulpit, and spread heresies, as I doubt not but he doth in the mouth of wicked preachers, though not so grosslie as is imagined and reported by the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I belieue them, I will cite a storie creditably reported by their chiefeest doctors; namelie Iames Sprenger, *Mal. malef. par. 2. que. 1. cap. 9.* and Henrie Institor, who saie as followeth, euen word for word.

How the diuell preached good doctrine in the shape of a preest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for anie man to giue credit to the lesser points thereof.

The sixt Chapter.



In a time the diuell went vp into a pulpit, and there made a verie catholike sermon: but a holie preest comming to the good speed, by his holinesse perceiued that it was the diuell. So he gaue good eare vnto him, but could find no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so sone as the sermon was done, he called the diuell vnto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching; who answered: Behold I speake the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdome the more enlarged. And this was the strangest deuise (I thinke) that euer anie diuell vsed: for the apostles themselves could haue done no more. Againe, when towith all their familiars, their ointments, &c: whereby they ride triuivallie, nor with all their charmes, they can neither conuie themselves from the hands of such as laie wait for them; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can go in and out at a mouse hole; nor finally can saue themselves from the gallowes, that can transubstantiate their own and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c: who seeth not, that either they lie, or are belied in their miracles: When they are said to transfer their neighbors corne into

¶ 12.

their

He should rather haue asked who gaue him orders and licence to preach.

their owne ground, and yet are perpetuall beggers, and cannot enrich themselves, either with monie or otherwise: who is so foolish as to remaine longer in doubt of their supernaturall power? When neuer any yet from the beginning of the world till this daie, hath openlie shewed any other tricke, concept, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legierdemaine or coulénage: who will tarric any longer for further triall? When both the common law and also the insinuations doe condemne prophesying, & likewise false miracles, and such as beléue them in these daies: who will not be afraid to giue credit to those knaueries? When hereby they make the diuell to be a god that heareth the praiers, and vnderstandeth the minds of men: who will not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them? When they that doe write most franklie of these matters, except lieng Sprenger & Infortor, haue neuer sene any thing herein; insomuch as the most credible profe that Bodin bringeth of his wonderfull tales of witchcraft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited: who will giue further eare vnto these incredible fables? When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodilie appearances of diuels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c: who will be afraid of their bugs? When no such bargaine is mentioned in the scriptures, why should we beléue so incredible and impossible covenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they haue no probabilitie in the rest of their foolish assertions? When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed vnto, he must confesse he neuer saw triall of such witchcraft or conuiration to take effect, as is now so certeinlie affirmed: what conscience can condemne poore soules that are accused wrongfullie, or beléue them that take vpon them impiouslie to doe or worke those impossible things? When the whole course of the scripture is vtterlie repugnant to these impossible opinions, sauing a few sentences, which neuerthelesse rightlie vnderstood, relieue them nothing at all: who will be seduced by their fond arguments? When as now that men haue spied the knauerie of oracles, & such pelse, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining: who cannot perceiue that all the residue heretofore of those deuises, haue béene coulénages, knaueries, and lies? When the power of God is so impudentlie transferred to a base creature,

Iohn. Bodin.

Yet manie
that beare
the shew of
honest men
are verie
credulous
heerein.

ture, that good chriſtian can abide to yeeld vnto ſuch miracles wrought by ſoules: When the old women accuſed of witchcraft, are vtterlie inſenſible, and vnable to ſaie for themſelues; and much leſſe to bring ſuch matters to paſſe, as they are accuſed of: who will not lament to ſee the extremitie uſed againſt them: When the ſoother ſort of people are alwaies moſt miſtruſtfull of hurt by witchcraft, and the ſimpleſt and dotingeſt people miſtruſted to doe the hurt: that wiſe man will not conceiue all to be but follie: When it were an eaſie matter for the diuell, if he can doe as they affirme, to giue them great ſtoze of monie, and make them rich, and dooth it not; being a thing which would procure him more diſciples than any other thing in the world: the wiſe muſt needs condemne the diuell of follie, and the witches of peeuishneſſe, that take ſuch paines, and giue their ſoules to the diuell to be tormented in hell fier, and their bodies to the hangman to be truſſed on the gallowes, for nichels in a bag.

Witches
are comon-
lie verie
beggars.

A concluſion againſt witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Induction.

The ſeuenth Chapter.



By this time all kentishmen know (a few ſoules excepted) that Robin goodfel-love is a knaue. All wiſemen vnderſtand that witches miraculous enterpriſes, being contrarie to nature, probability and reaſon, are void of truth or poſſibilitie. All proteſtants perceiue, that popiſh charmes, conſurations, erecrations, and benedictions are not effectuall, but be toies and deuices onelie to keepe the people blind, and to enrich the cleargie. All chriſtians ſee, that to confeſſe witches can doe as they ſaie, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children well brought by conceiue and ſpie, or at the leaſt are taught, that ſinglers miracles doe conſiſt of legierdemaine and confederacie. The verie heathen people are driuen to confeſſe, that there can be no ſuch conference betwene a ſpirituall diuell and a corporall witch, as is ſuppoſed. For no doubt, all the heathen would then

A generall
concluſion
againſt
them who
the ſubieſt
of this book
concerneth

then haue euerie one his familiar diuell; for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselves with a diuell that are not acquainted with God.

I haue dealt, and conferred with manie (marrie I must confesse papists for the most part) that mainteine euery point of these absurdities. And surelie I allow better of their iudgements, than of others, vnto whome some part of these couenages are discouered and scene: and yet concerning the residue, they remaine as wise as they were before; speciallie being satisfied in the highest and greatest parts of coniuring and couensing; to wit, in poperie, and yet will be abused with beggerlie iugling, and witchcraft.

Of naturall witchcraft or
fascination.

The eight Chapter.

BUt bicause I am loth to oppose my selfe against all the writers herein, or altogether to discredit their stories, or wholie to deface their reports, touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I will now set downe certeine parts thereof, which although I my selfe cannot admit, without some doubts, difficulties and exceptions, yet will I giue free libertie to others to beleue them, if they list; for that they do not directlie oppugne my purpose.

Manie great and graue authoꝝ write, and manie fond writers also affirme, that there are certeine families in Aphrica, which with their voices bewitch whatsoener they praise. Inso much as, if they commend either plant, coꝛne, infant, horse, or anie other beaſts, the same presentlie withereth, decayeth and dieth. This myſterie of witchcraft is not vnknowne or neglected of our witchmongers, and superſtitious ſoules here in Europa. But to ſhew you examles neere home here in England, as though our voice had the like operation: you ſhall not heare a butcher or horſecourſer cheape a bullocke or a ſade, but if he

buie

*Iſidorus.
Memphra-
dorus.
Solon, &c.
Vairus.
I. Bodinus.
Mal. malef.*

buie him not, he saith, God saue him; if he doe forget it, and the horse or bullocke chance to die, the fault is imputed to the chappman. Certainelie the sentence is godlie, if it doe proceed from a faithfull and a godlie mind: but if it be spoken as a superstitious charme, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination and misadventure of infortunate words, the phrase is wicked and superstitious, though there were farre greater thew of godlinesse than appereth therein.

Of inchanting or bewitching eies.

The ninth Chapter.

Manie writers agree with Virgil and Theocritus in the effect of witching eies, affirming that in Scythia, there are women called Bidia, hauing two balles or rather blacks in the apple of their eies. And as Didymus reporteth, some haue in the one eie two such balles, and in the other the image of a horse. These (sooth) with their angrie looks doe bewitch and hurt not onelie young lambs, but young children. There be other that reteine such venom in their eies, and send it forth by beames and streames so violentlie, that therewith they annoie not onlie them with whom they are conuersant continuallie; but also all other, whose companie they frequent, of what age, strength, or complexion soener they be: as Cicero, Plutarch, Philarchus, and manie others giue out in their writings.

With the like pro-
pertie were
the old Il-
lyrian peo-
ple indued:
if we will
credit the
words of
Sabinus
grounded
vpon the
report of
Aul. Gell.

This fascination (saith Iohn Baptista Porta Neapolitanus) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eie, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eies, approaching to the hart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Whereby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a young man endued with a cleare, whole, subtil and sweet blood, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapors springing from the pure blood of the hart. And the lightest and finest

I. Bap. Neap.
pol. in lib. de
naturalis
magia.

This is held
off some for
truth.

Spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, doe fall into the eies, and so are from thence sent forth, as being of all other parts of the bodie the most cleare, and fullest of veines and pores, and with the verie spirit or vapor: proceeding thence, is conuied out as it were by beames and streames a certeine fierie force; whereof he that beholdeth sore eies shall haue good experience. For the poison and disease in the eie infecteth the aire next vnto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrieng with it the vapor: and infection of the corrupted blood: with the contagion whereof, the eies of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same meanes it is thought that the cockatrice depriueth the life, and a wolfe taketh awaie the voice of such as they suddenlie méete withall and behold.

*Non est in
speculo res
que specu-
latur in ea.*

Old women, in whome the ordinarie course of nature faileth in the office of purging their naturall monethlie humors, shew also some proofe hereof. For (as the said I. B. P. N. reporteth, alledging Aristotle for his autho?) they leane in a looking glasse a certeine froth, by meanes of the grosse vapors proceeding out of their eies. Which commeth so to passe, bicause those vapors or spirits, which so abundantlie come from their eies, cannot pearce and enter into the glasse, which is hard, and without pores, and therefore resisteth: but the beames which are carried in the chariot or conueiance of the spirits, from the eyes of one bodie to another, doe pearce to the inward parts, and there breed infection, whilest they search and seeke for their proper region. And as these beames & vapors doe proceed from the hart of the one, so are they turned into blood about the hart of the other: which blood disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched partie, infecteth the rest of his bodie, and maketh him sicke: the contagion whereof so long continueth, as the dis tempered blood hath force in the members. And bicause the infection is of blood, the feuer or sickness will be continuall; whereas if it were of choler, or flegme, it would be intermit tent or alter able.

Of naturall witchcraft for
loue, &c.

The tenth Chapter.



Ut as there is fascination and
witchcraft by malicious and angrie
eies vnto displeasure: so are there wit-
ching aspects, tending contrariwise to
loue, or at the least, to the procuring of
good will and liking. For if the fascina-
tion or witchcraft be brought to passe or
produoked by the desire, by the wishing

and coueting of anie beautifull shape or fauor, the venome is
strained through the eies, though it be from a far, and the imagi-
nation of a beautifull forme resteth in the hart of the louer, and
kindleth the fier wherewith it is afflicted. And bicause the most de-
licate, sweete, and tender blood of the beloued doth there wan-
der, his countenance is there represented shining in his owne
blood, and cannot there be quiet; and is so haled from thence,
that the blood of him that is wounded, reboundeth and slippeth
into the wounder, according to the saying of Lucretius the poet
to the like purpose and meaning in these verses:

Nescio quis oen-
lus teneros mi-
hi fascinat ag-
nos, (sunt Engli-
shed by Abra-
ham Fleming.)

I wote not: I
What witching eie
Doth infecte me
My tender limes
Sucking their dews
And heere sucke me,

*Idque petit corpus, mens vnde est saucia amore,
Namque omnes plerunque cadunt in vulnus, & illam
Emicat in partem sanguis, vnde icimur ictu;
Et si cominus est, os tum ruber occupat humor:*

And to that bodie tis rebounded,
From whence the mind by loue is wounded,
For in a maner all and some,
Into that wound of loue doo come,

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Nn.iiij.

And

And to that part the blood doth flee
 From whence with stroke we stricken bee,
 If hard at hand, and neere in place,
 Then ruddie colour files the face.

Thus much may seeme sufficient touching this matter of naturall magicke; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the avoiding of tediousnes, and for speedier passage to that which remaineth; I will breake off this present treatise. And now somewhat shall be said concerning diuels and spirits in the discourse following.





A Discourse vpon diuels and spirits,
and first of philosophers opinions, also the
maner of their reasoning herevpon;
and the same confuted.

The first Chapter.



Here is no question noz
deme (saith Hierome Car-
lane) so difficult to deale in,
noz so noble an argument
to dispute vpon, as this of di-
uels and spirits. For that
being confessed or doubted
of, the eternitie of the soule
is either affirmed or denied.
The heathen philosophers re-
son hereof amongst them-
selues in this sort. First, they
that mainteine the perpe-
tuitie of the soule, saie that if

*H. Card. lib.
de car. ver.
16. ap. 93.*

*The Plato-
nists and
Stoicks.*

the soule died with the bodie; to what end should men take paines
either to liue well or die well, when no reward for vertue noz pu-
nishment for vice insueth after this life, the which other twise they
might spend in ease and securitie: The other sort saie that vertue
and honestie is to be pursued, *Non spe premij, sed virtutis amore*, that
is, not for hope of reward, but for loue of vertue. If the soule
liue euer (saie the other) the least portion of life is here. And there-
fore we that mainteine the perpetuitie of the soule, may be of the
better comfort and courage, to susteine with more constancie the
losse of children, yea and the losse of life it selfe: whereas, if the
soule

*The Epicu-
reans and
Peripate-
tiks.*

Summum bonum cannot consist in the happinesses of the bodie or mind.

Morall temperance.

Morall prudence.

Morall iustice.

Morall fortitude.

Rom. 2.

soule were mortall, all our hope and felicitie were to be placed in this life, which manie Atheists (I warrant you) at this daie do. But both the one and the other missed the cushion. For, to doe any thing without Christ, is to wearie our selues in vaine; sith in him onelie our corruptions are purged. And therefore the follie of the Gentils, that place *Summum bonum* in the felicitie of the bodie, or in the happines or pleasures of the mind, is not onelie to be derided, but also abhorred. For, both our bodies and minds are intermedled with most miserable calamities: and therefore therein cannot consist perfect felicitie. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered vnto vs that hope which is most certaine, absolute, sound & sincere, not to be answered or denied by the iudgement of philosophers themselves. For they that preferre temperance before all other things as *Summum bonum*, must needs see it to be but a witnesse of their naturall calamitie, corruption and wickednes; and that it serueth for nothing, but to restrain the dissolutenes, which hath place in their minds infected with vices; which are to be bridled with such corrections: yea and the best of them all faileth in some point of modestie. Wherefore serueth our philosophers prudence, but to provide for their owne follie and miserie; whereby they might else be vtterlie ouerthrowne: And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should haue no need of such circumspection. The iustice whereof they speake, serueth but to keepe them from raine, theft, and violence: and yet none of them all are so iust, but that the verie best and vprightest of them fall into great infirmities, both doing and suffering much wrong and iniurie. And what is their fortitude, but to arme them to endure miserie, griefe, danger, and death it selfe: But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be repored in that life, which must be waited vpon with such calamities, and finallie must haue the helpe of death to finish it: I saie, if it be so miserable, why do they place *Summum bonum* therein? St. Paule to the Romans sheweth, that it cannot be that we should attaine to iustice, through the morall and naturall actions and duties of this life: because that neuer the Iewes nor the Gentiles could expresse so much in their liues, as the verie laue of nature or of Moses required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host.

Mine

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to
the disproofe of some writers herevpon.

The second Chapter.

For my part doe also thinke this argument, about the nature & substance of diuels and spirits, to be difficult, as I am perswaded that no one author hath in anie certaine or perfect sort hitherto written thereof. In which respect I can neither allow to the ungodly and prophane sects and doctrines of the Sadduces & Peripatetiks, who denie that there are any diuels or spirits at all; nor the fond & superstitious treatises of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyrie; nor yet the vaine & absurd opinions of Pfellus, Nider, Sprenger, Cumanus, Bodin, Michaël, Andræas, Ianus Matthæus, Laurentius Ananias, Iamblichus, &c: who with manie others write so ridiculouslie in these matters, as if they were babes fraied with bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be diuels; some that spirits or diuels are onelic in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some, that diuels are of such gender as they list themselves; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall haue ending, as the Manicheis mainteine; some, that they are moztall & die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some, that they haue no bodies at all, but receiue bodies according to their phantasies & imaginations; some, that their bodies are giuen vnto them; some, that they make themselves. Some saie they are wind; some, that they are the breath of liuing creatures; some, that one of them began another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betwæne God and man, and that of them some are terrestriall, some celesthiall, some waterie, some airie, some fierie, some starrie, and some of each and euerie part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carrie our good works and prayers to God, and returne his benefits backe vnto vs, and

The question about spirits doubtful and difficult.

Plotinus.
The Greks.
Lam. Ananias.

The Manicheis.

Plutarch.
Pfellus.
Mab. malef.
Auicen, and the Cabalists.

The Thaumudists.

Pfellus, &c.

The Platonists.

The Papi-
sts.

and that they are to be worshipped: therein they méte and agree iumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes vpon the second chapter to the Colossians, in the Seminares testament printed at Rhemes, you shall manifestlie see, though as contrarie to the word of God as blacke to white, as appeareth in the Apocalypie, where the angell expresselie forbade Iohn to worship him.

Apoc. 19. 10
Ibid. 22. 8. 9.

The Sad-
duces.

Againe, some saie that they are meane betwixt terrestriall and celestiaall bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be eternall, yet that they are moued with affecti-
ons: and as there are birds in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth; so in the fourth element, which is the fier, is the habitation of spirits and diuels. And least we should thinke them idle, they saie they haue charge ouer men, and gouernement in all countries and nations. Some saie that they are onelie imaginations in the mind of man. Tertullian saith they are birds, and flie faster than anie fowle of the aire. Some saie that diuels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called euill angels. Some thinke that the diuell sendeth his angels abrode, and he himselfe maketh his continuall abode in hell, his mansion place.

The opinion of Pfellus touching spirits, of their
seuerall orders, and a confutation of his errors
therein.

The third Chapter.

Pfellus de
operatione
demonum,
cap. 8.



Psellus being of authoritie in the church of Rome, and not impugnable by anie catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or rather diabolicall matters by a monke called Marcus, who had bene familiarlie conuersant a long time, as he saide, with a certeine diuell, reporteth vpon the same diuels owne word, which must needs vnderstand best the state of this question, that the bodies of angels and diuels consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwisse before the fall of Lucifer,

fer; and that the bodie of spirits and diuels can feele and be felt, do hurt and be hurt: in so much as they lament when they are stricken; and being put to the fier are burnt, and yet that they themselves burne continuallie, in such sort as they leaue ashes behind them in places where they haue bene; as manifest triall thereof hath bene (if he saie true lie) in the borders of Italie. He also saith vpon like credit and assurance, that diuels and spirits do auoid and shied from out of their bodie, such seed or nature, as whereby certeine vermine are ingendered; and that they are nourished with food, as we are, sauing that they receiue it not into their mouthes, but sucke it vp into their bodie, in such sort as sponges soke vp water. Also he saith they haue names, shapes, and dwelling places, as indeed they haue, though not in temporall and corporall sort.

Furthermore, he saith, that there are six principall kind of diuels, which are not onelie corporall, but temporall and worldlie. The first sort consist of fier, wandering in the region nere to the mone, but haue no power to go into the mone. The second sort consist of aire, haue their habitation more towe and nere vnto vs: these (saith he) are proud and great boasters, verie wise and deceitfull, and when they come downe are seene shining with streames of fier at their taile. He saith that these are commonlie coniured vp to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their owne accord; and that in Assyria they vse much to prophesie in a bason of water. Which kind of incantation is vsuall among our coniurors: but it is here commonlie performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a violl of glasse filled with water, wherein they say at the first a litle sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the diuels comming. Anon the water seemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small voices, wherewith they giue their answers, speaking so softly as no man can well heare them: because (saith Cardane) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I haue else where more largelie described and confuted. The third sort of diuels Piellus saith are earthlie; the fourth waterie, or of the sea; the fifth vnder the earth; the sixth sort are Lucifugi, that is, such as delight in darkenes, & are scant indued with sense, and so dull, as they can scarce be moued with charmes or contritions.

Such are spirits walking in white sheetes, &c.

Psellus, ibid. cap.9.

Idem, cap.10.

Idem ibid. cap.11.

Oh heathenish, nay oh papisticall tollie!

The opinions of all papists.

A coufening knaueerie.

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 93.

Diuels of
diuerse na-
tures, and
their ope-
rations.

The same man saith, that some diuels are worse than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enemies to man. But the worse moitie of diuels are *Aquei*, *Subterranei*, and *Lucifugi*; that is, waterie, vnder the earth, and thunnets of light: because (saith he) these hurt not the soules of men, but destroy mens bodies like mad and rauening beasts, molesting both the inward and outward parts thereof. *Aquei* are they that raise tempests, and destroye seafaring men, and doe all other mischances on the water. *Subterranei* and *Lucifugi* enter into the bowels of men, and torment them that they possesse with the phrensie, and the falling euill. They also assault them that are miners or pioners, which be to worke in deepe and darke holes vnder the earth. Such diuels as are earthie and aierie, he saith enter by subtiltie into the minds of men, to deceiue them, prouoking men to absurd and vnlatofull affections.

The for-
mer opini-
on confu-
ted.

But herein his philosophie is verie vnprobable, for if the diuell be earthie, he must needs be palpable; if he be palpable, he must needs kill them into whose bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of earth created, then must he also be visible and intransformable in that point: for Gods creation cannot be annihilated by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might adde to their substance matter and forme, &c: yet is it most certaine, that they cannot diminish or alter the substance whereof they consist, as not to be (when they list) spirituall, or to relinquish and leaue earth, water, fier, aier, or this and that element whereof they are created. But howsoever they imagine of water, aier, or fier, I am sure earth must alwaies be visible and palpable; yea, and aier must alwaies be inuisible, and fier must be hot, and water must be moist. And of these three latter bodies, speciallie of water and aier, no forme no shape can be exhibited to mortall eyes naturallie, or by the power of any creature.

More absurd assertions of Psellus and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.

The fourth Chapter.

Moreouer, the same author saith, that spirits whisper in our minds, and yet not speaking so lowd, as our eares may heare them: but in such sort as our soules speake together when they are dissolved; making an example by lowd speaking a farre off, and a comparison of soft whispering nere hand, so as the diuell entresth so

nere to the mind as the eare need not heare him; and that euerie part of a diuell or spirit seeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But here in I will beleue Paule better than Psellus; or his monke, or the monks diuell. For Paule saith; If the thole bodie were an eye, where were hearing: If the whole bodie were hearing, there were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is betwixt Gods word and witchmongers.

The papists proceed in this matter, and saie, that these spirits vse great kinanerie and vnspokeable balderie in the brayn and middle parts of man and woman, by tickeling, and by other lecherous deuises; so that they fall iampe in iudgement and opinion, though verie erroniously, with the foresaid Psellus, of whose doctrine also this is a parcell; to wit, that these diuels hurt not cattell for the hate they beare vnto them, but for loue of their naturall and temperate heate and moisture, being brought vp in deepe, drie and cold places: marie they hate the heate of the sun and the fier, because that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throwe downe stones vpon men, but the blowes thereof doe no harme to them whome they hit; because they are not cast with anie force: for (saith he) the diuels haue little and small strength, so as these stones doe nothing but fraie and terrifie men, as scarecrows doe birds out of the corne fields. But when these diuels enter in to the pores, than doe they raise wonderfull tumults in the bodie and

Psellus lib. de operas. dem. cap. 12.
If this were spoken of the temptations, &c. of satan, it were tolerable.

1. Cor. 12.

Psellus. ibid. cap. 13.

If a babe of two yeeres old throwe stones from Powles steeple, they will doe hurt, &c.

Howbeit I thinke the spirit of

temptation
to be that
diuell; &
therefore
Christ bid-
deth vs
watch and
praie, least
we be tem-
ted, &c.

*Pfellus ope-
ras, dem.
cap. 14.*

Idem, cap. 17

Beastlike
diuels.

But *Pfellus*
sawe no-
thing him-
selfe.

and mind of man. And if it be a subterranean diuell, it doth with and bow the possessed, and speaketh by him, using the spirit of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when Lucifugus possesseth a man, he maketh him dumbe, and as it were dead: and these be they that are cast out (saith he) onelie by fasting and praier.

The same Psellus, with his mates Bodin and the penners of M. Mal. and others, doe find fault with the physicians that ascribe such infirmities to be cureable with diet, and not by incantments; saying, that physicians doe onlie attend vpon the bodie, & that which is perceivable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of diuine philosophie, they haue no skill at all. And to make diuels and spirits seeme yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certaine diuels are belonging to certaine countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none other; some the Assyrian, some the Chaldean, & some the Persian tongue, and that they feele stripes, and feare hurt, and speciallie the dint of the sword (in which respect coniurors haue swords with them in their circles, to terrifie them) and that they change shapes, even as suddenlie as men doe change colour with blushing, feare, anger, and other moods of the mind. He saith yet further, that there be brute beasts among them, and yet diuels, and subiect to another kind of death; inasmuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and worms, who haue no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or rememb'ring the hole from out of whence they came last. Warrie diuels compounded of earth, cannot often transforme themselves, but abide in some one shape, such as they best like, and most delight in; to wit, in the shape of birds or women: and therefore the Greeks call them Neidas, Nereidas, and Dreidas in the feminine gender; which Dreida inhabited (as some write) the islands beside Scotland called Druida, which by that meanes had their denomination and name. Other diuels that dwell in drier places transforme themselves into the masculine kind. Finally Psellus saith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetuall minds in a passible bodie.

To verifie these toies he saith, that he himselfe sawe in a certaine night a man brought by by Alectus Libius into a mountaine,

taine, and that he toke an hearbe, and spat thise into his mouth, and annointed his eyes with a certeine ointment, so as thereby he saue great troopes of diuels, and perceiued a crowe to flie in to his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, sauing on good fridaie, and easter sundaie. If the end of this tale were true, it might not onelie haue satisfied the Cræke church, in keeping the daie of easter, together with the church of Rome; but might also haue made the pope (that now is) content with our christmas and easter daie, and not to haue gathered the minuts together, and reformed it so, as to shew how falselie he and his predecessors (whome they saie could not erre) haue obserued it hitherto. And trulie this, and the danling of the sunne on easter daie morning sufficientlie or rather miraculousslie proueth that computation, which the pope now beginneth to doubt of, and to call in question.

Probable
and likelic
stuffe.

The opinion of Fascius Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar diuell.

The fift Chapter.

Fascius Cardanus had (as he himselfe and his sonne Hierome Cardanus report) a familiar diuell, consisting of the fierie element, who, so long as he vsed coniuration, did giue true answers to all his demands: but when he burned by his booke of coniurations, though he resorted still vnto him, yet did he make false answers continuallie. He held him bound twentie & eight yeares, and losse fise yeares. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were manie diuels or spirits. He came not alwaies alone, but sometimes some of his fellows with him. He rather agreed with Psellus than with Plato: for he said they were begotten, borne, died, and liued long; but how long, they told him not: howbeit as he might coniecture by his diuels face, who was 42. yeares old, and yet appeared verie yong, he thought they liued two or three hundred yeares; and they said that their soules

Fasc. Card.
operat. de
demon.

Do. s.

and

and ours also died with their bodies. They had scholes and vniuersities among them: but he conceiued not that anie were so dull headed, as Psellus maketh them. But they are verie quicke in credit, that beleue such fables, which indeed is the ground worke of witchcraft and coniuration. But these histories are so grosse and palpable, that I might be thought as wise in going about to confute them, as to answer the stories of Frier Ruth, Adam Bell, or the golden Legend.

The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, diuels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar diuell.

The sixt Chapter.

The Platonists opinion.



Plato and his followers hold, that god spirits appeare in their owne likeness; but that euill spirits appeare and shew themselves in the forme of other bodies; and that one diuell reigneth ouer the rest, as a prince doth in euerie perfect commonwelth ouer men. Item, they obtaine their purposes and desires, onelie by intreatie, of men and women; bicause in nature they are their inferiours, and vse authoritie ouer men none otherwise than priests by vertue of their function, and bicause of religion, therein (they saie) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they saie that the fierie spirits or supreme substances enter into the puritie of the mind, and so obtaine their purpose; sometimes otherwise, to wit, by vertue of holie charmes, and euen as a poore man obtaineth for Gods sake anie thing at a princes hand as it were by importunatnesse.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

The other sort of diuels and defiled soules are so conuerlant on earth, as that they do much hurt vnto earthlie bodies, speciallie in lecherie. Gods and angels (saie they) bicause they want all materall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the mind. The grosser and moze terrestriall spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or
meane

meane region delight to haue frankincense, and such meane stufte offered vnto them: and therefore (saie they) it is necessarie to sacrifice vnto them, all maner of things, so the same be flaine, and die not of their owne accord: for such they abhorre. Some saie that spirits feare wonderfullie vaine threats, and there vpon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heauens in peces, or reueale their secrets, or complaine of them to the gods, or saie that you will doe anie impossibilitie, or such things as they cannot vnderstand; they are so timorous, as they will presentlie be gone: and that is thought the best waie to be rid of them. But these be most commonlie of that sort or compaignie, which are called *Principatus*, being of all other the most easie to be coniured.

They saie Socrates had a familiar diuell: which Plato relieth much vpon, vsing none other argument to proue that there are such spirits, but bicause Socrates (that would not lie) said so; and partlie bicause that diuell did euer dissuade and prohibit, not onelie in Socrates his owne cases, but sometimes in his friends be halfe; who (if they had bene ruled) might through his admonition haue saued their liues. His disciples gathered that his diuell was Saturnall, and a principall fierie diuell; and that he, and all such as doe naturallie knowe their diuels, are onlie such as are called *Demonij viri*, otherwise, Couseners. Item, they saie that fierie spirits vze men to contemplation, the aierie to busines, the waterie to lust; and among these there are some that are Partiall, which giue fortitude; some are Iouiall, giuing wisdom; some Saturniall, alwaies vsing dissuasion and deborting. Item, some are borne with vs, and remaine with vs all our life; some are mere strangers, who are nothing else but the soules of men departed this life, &c.

Of Socrates his private diuell or familiar spirit.

Platos nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his diuision thereof not much differing from the same, all disproued by learned diuines.

The seuenth Chapter.

D Lato proposeth or setteth forth nine seuerall orders of spirits, besides the spirits and soules of men. The first spirit is God that commandeth all the residue; the second are those that are called Ideas, which giue all things to all men; the third are the soules of heauenlie bodies which are mortall; the fourth are angels; the fifth archangels; the sixth are diuels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seuenth are halfe gods; the eighth are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which diuision Dionysius doth not much swarue, sauing that he dealeth (as he saith) onelie with good spirits, whome he likewise diuideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second Cherubim, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fifth vertues, the sixth powers, the seuenth principalities, the eighth archangels, the ninth and inferiour sort he calleth angels. Holbeitt, some of these (in my thinking) are euill spirits: or else Paule gaue vs euill counsell, when he willed vs to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickednes.

*Dionys. in
calest. hierarch. cap.
9. 10.*

Ephes. 6.

*Dionys. in
calest. hierarch.*

*1. Calu. lib.
instit. 1. c. 14.*

But Dionysius in that place goeth further, impropriating to euerie countrie, and almost to euerie person of anie accompt, a peculiar angell; as to Iewrie, he assigneth Michael; to Adam, Razael; to Abraham, Zakiel; to Isaac, Raphael; to Iacob, Peliel; to Moses, Metraton, &c. But in these discourses he either solowed his owne imaginations and concepts, or else the corruptions of that age. Neuertheles, I had rather confute him by M. Caluine, and my kinsman M. Deering, than by my selfe, or mine owne words. For M. Caluine saith, that Dionysius herein speaketh not as by heare saie, but as though he had slipped downe from heauen, and told of things which he had sene. And yet (saith he)

Paule

Paule was rapt into the third heauen, and reporteth no such matters. But if you read *Edw. Deering* vpon the first chapter to the Hebrues, you shall see this matter notable handled; where he saith, that whensoeuer archangell is mentioned in the scriptures, it signifieth our sauour Christ, and no creature. And certaine it is that Christ himselfe was called an angell. The names also of angels, as Michael, Gabriel, &c: are giuen to them (saith Caluine) according to the capacitie of our weakenesse. But bicause the decision of this question is neither within the compasse of mans capacitie, nor yet of his knowledge, I will proceed no further to discusse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrarie minded on the other side.

Edw. Deering, in lect. vpon the Hebrues reading, 6. Mal. 3. 1.

The commensment of diuels fondlie gathered out of the 14. of Isaie of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Thalmudists and Schoolemens opinions of the creation of angels.

The eight Chapter.

THe witchmongers, which are most commonlie bassard diuines, do fondlie gather and falselie conceiue the commensment of diuels out of the fourteenth of Isaie; where they suppose Lucifer is cited, as the name of an angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkmate with God himselfe, would needs (when God was gone a litle aslde) be sitting downe, or rather piking vp in Gods owne principall and cathedrall chaire; and that therefore God cast him and all his confederates out of heauen: so as some fell downe from thence to the bottome of the earth; some hauing descended but into the misle region, and the taile of them hauing not yet passed through the higher region, staid euen there, when God said, *Ho.* But God knoweth there is no such thing ment nor mentioned in that place. For there is onlie fore-shewed the deposing and depriuation of king Nabudadnezzar, who

Do. 19.

who

who exalting himselfe in pride (as it were aboute the starres) esteemed his glorie to surmount all others, as farre as Lucifer the bright morning starre shineth more glorioudlie than the other common starres, and was punished by exile, untill such time as he had humbled himselfe; and therefore metaphoricallie was called Lucifer.

The opinion
of the
Thalmu-
dists.

Laure. Anan.
lib. de natur.
dem. 1.

Cyprianus ca-
lumnio ser-
vam.

Laure. Anan.
lib. de natur.
dem. 1.

But forsooth, bicause these great clarkes would be thought methodicall, and to haue crept out of wisdomes bosome, who rather cralled out of follies bratches; they take vpon them to shew vs, first, whereof these angels that fell from heauen were created; to wit, of the left side of that massie mold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (saie they) was *Putredo terra*, that is, the rottenness of the earth. The Cabalists, with whome Auicen seemeth to agree, saie that one of these begat another: others saie, they were made all at once. The Grækes doe write that angels were created before the world. The Latinists saie they were made the fourth daie, when the starres were made. Laurence Ananias saith, they were made the first daie, and could not be made the fourth daie, bicause it is written; *Quando facta sunt sidera, laudauerunt me angeli*: so as (saith he) they were made vnder the name of the heauens.

There is also a great question among the scholemen, whether more angels fell downe with Lucifer, or remained in heauen with Michael. Manie hauing a bad opinion of the angels honesties, affirme that the greater part fell with Lucifer: but the better opinion is (saith Laurentius Ananias) that the most part remained. And of them that thinke so, some saie the tenth part were cast downe, some the ninth; and some gather vpon S. Iohn, that the third part were onelie damned; bicause it is written, that the dragon with his taile plucked downe with him the third part of the starres.

Of the contention betweene the Greeke and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselues herein, a conflict betweene Michael and Lucifer.

The ninth Chapter.

THere was also another contention betweene the Graeke church and the Latine; to wit, of what orders of angels they were that did fall with Lucifer. Our scholemen saie they were all of the nine orders of angels in Lucifers conspiracie. But bicause the superior order was of the more noble constitution and excellent estate, and the inferior of a lesse worthe nature, the more part of the inferior orders fell as guiltie and offenders with Lucifer. Some saie the diuell himselfe was of the inferior order of angels, and some that he was of the highest order: bicause it is written, *In cherubim extensus & protegens posui te in monte sancto Dei.* And these saie further, that he was called the dragon, bicause of his excellent knowledge. Finallie, these great doctours conclude, that the diuell himselfe was of the order of seraphim, which is the highest, bicause it is written, *Quomodo enim mane ori:baris Lucifer?* They of this sect affirme, that *Cacodæmones* were they that rebelled against Ioue; I meane they of Plato his sect, himselfe also holding the same opinion. Our scholemen differ much in the cause of Lucifers fall. For some said it was for speaking these words, *Ponam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis ero altissimo:* others saie, bicause he vtterlie refused felicitie, and thought scoone thereof; others saie, bicause he thought all his strength proceeded from himselfe, and not from God; others saie that it was, bicause he attempted to do that by himselfe, and his owne abilitie, which he should haue obtained by the gift of another; others saie, that his condemnation grew herevpon, for that he challenged the place of the *Thronas*; others saie, bicause he detracted the time to adore the maiestie of God, as other angels did; others saie, be-

Law. Anan. lib. de natu. dem.
I will settle my selfe in the north, and will be like the highest.

Do. liij.

cause

cause he bitterlie refused it. Scotus and his disciples saie that it was, bicause he rebelliouslie claimed equall omnipotencie with God: with whom lightlie the Thomists neuer agræ. Others saie it was for all these causes together, and manie more: so as here, vpon (saith Laurentius Ananias) grew a wonderfull conflict betwene Michaël and the god angels on the one side, and Lucifer and his friends on the other: so as, after a long and doubtfull skirmish, Michaël ouerthrew Lucifer, and turned him and his fellows out of the doores.

*Law. Anan.
lib. de nativ.
de m. l.*

Where the battell betweene Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power, how fondlie papists and infidels write of them, and how reuerendie Christians ought to thinke of them.

The tenth Chapter.

NOW where this battell was fought, and how long it continued, there is as great contention among the schoolmen, as was betwixt Michaël and Lucifer. The Thomists saie this battell was fought in the impereiall heauen, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicitie. Augustine and manie others saie, that the battell was fought in the highest region of the aier; others saie, in the firmament; others in paradise. The Thomists also saie it continued but one instant or picke of time; for they tarried but two instants in all, even from their creation to their expulsion. The Scotists saie, that betwene their production and their fall, there were iust foure instants. Neuertheles, the greatest number of schoolmen affirme, that they continued onelie three instants: bicause it stood with Gods iustice, to giue them three warnings; so as at the third warning Lucifer fell downe like led (for so are the words) to the bottome of hell; the rest were left in the aier, to tempt man. The Sadduces were as grosse the other waie: for they said, that by angels was ment nothing else, but the motion that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens

*Instant, viz.
punctum
semp. n. temp.
individu-
um Nunc.*

tokens of his power. He that readeth Eusebius shall see manie more absurd opinions and asseuerations of angels: as how manie thousand yeares they serue as angels, before they come to the promotion of archangels, &c.

Monsieur Bodin, M. Mal. and manie other papists gather vpon the seventh of Daniel, that there are iust ten millions of angels in heauen. Manie saie that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finallie, it were infinite to shew the absurd and curious collections hereabout. I for my part thinke with Caluine, that angels are creatures of God; though Moses spake nothing of their creation, who onelie applied himselfe to the capacite of the common people, reciting nothing but things seene. And I saie further with him, that they are heauenlie spirits, whose ministrat[i]on and seruice God useth: and in that respect are called angels. I saie yet againe with him, that it is verie certeine, that they haue no shape at all; for they are spirits, who neuer haue anie: and finallie, I saie with him, that the scriptures, for the capacite of our wit, doth not in vaine paint out angels vnto vs with twings; bicause we should conceiue, that they are readie swiftlie to succour vs. And certeinlie all the sounder diuines doe conceiue and giue out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holie-ghost, in termes to make vs vnderstand the greatnesse and the manner of their messages; which (I saie) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

Furthermore, the schoole doctors affirme, that foure of the superior orders of angels neuer take anie forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of anie arrand at anie time. As for archangels, they are sent onelie about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about euerie trifle; and that these can take what shape or bodie they list: manie they neuer take the forme of women or children. Item they saie that angels take most terrible shapes: for Gabriel appeared to Marie, when he saluted hir, *Facie rutilante, veste coruscante, ingressu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c.* that is, with a bright countenance, shining attire, wonderful gesture, and a dreadfull visage, &c. But of apparitions I haue spoken somewhat before, and will saie more hereafter. It hath bene long, and continueth yet a constant opinion, not onelie

*Euseb. in ec-
clesiast. histor.*

10000000.

*Iohannes
Cassianus
in confessi-
one theolog.
tripart.*

*I. Callib. in
psal. l. cap. 14.
sect. 8.*

*Mich. And.
thes. 107. 108.
Idem thes.
103. 108.*

Luk. 15, 7.

Luk. 16, 23.

1. Cal. lib. in-

fir. 1. cap. 14.

2. Reg. 16, 17

lie among the papists; but among others also, that euerie man hath assigned him, at the time of his natiuitie, a good angell and a bad. For the which there is no reason in nature, nor authoritie in scripture. For not one angell, but all the angels are said to reioise more of one conuert, than of ninetie and nine iust. Neither did one onelie angell conueie Lazarus into Abrahams bosome. And therefore I conclude with Caluine, that he which referreth to one angell, the care that GOD hath to euerie one of vs, doth himselve great wrong: as may appeare by so manie fierie chariots shewed by Elizaſus to his seruant. But touching this mysterie of angels, let vs reuerentlie thinke of them, and not curiouslie search into the nature of them, considering the vilenes of our condition, in respect of the glorie of their creation. And as for the foresaid fond imaginations and fables of Lucifer, &c: they are such as are not onelie ridiculous, but also accomptable among those impious curiosities, and vaine questions, which Paule speaketh of: neither haue they anie tittle or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

Whether they became diuels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Iude and Peter; of the fond opinions of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Iud. ver. 6.

2. Pet. 2, 4.

Mal. malef.

par. 2. quæ. 1.

cap. 2, 3.



WE doe read in Iude, and find it confirmed in Peter, that the angels kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, and (as Iob saith) committed follie: and that God therefore did cast them downe into hell, reseruing them in euerlasting chaines vnder darkenes, vnto the iudgement of the great daie. But manie diuines saie, that they find not anie where, that God made diuels of them, or that they became the princes of the world, or else of the aire; but rather prisoners. Howbeit, diuers doctors affirme, that this Lucifer, notwithstanding his fall, hath greater

greater power than any of the angels in heauen : marrie they say that there be certaine other diuels of the inferiour sort of angels, which were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are tormented with little paines, besides eternall damnation : and these (saie they) can doe little hurt. They affirme also, that they onelie vse certaine iugling knacks, delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they trauell by the high waies : but other (saie they) are much more churlish. For prooue hereof they alledge the eighth of Matthew, where he would none otherwise be satisfied but by exchange, from the annoieng of one man, to the destruction of a whole heard of swine. The Rabbines, and namely Rabbi Abraham, writing vpon the second of Genesis, doe say, that God made the fairies, bugs, Incubus, Robin good fellow, and other familiar or domesticall spirits & diuels on the fridaie : and being preuented with the euening of the sabboth, finished them not, but left them vnperfect ; and therefore, that euer since they vse to flie the holinesse of the sabboth, seeking darke holes in mountaines and woods, wherein they hide themselves till the end of the sabboth, and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondlie collected ; so if we haue onelie respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits or diuels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shall run into as dangerous absurdities as these are. For some are so carnallie minded, that a spirit is no sooner spoken of, but immediately they thinke of a blacke man with clouen feet, a paire of hoornes, a taile, clawes, and eies as broad as a bason, &c. But surely the diuell were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be, if he would terrifie men with such vglie shapcs, though he could doe it at his pleasure. For by that meanes men should haue good occasion & oportunitie to flie from him, & to run to God for succour ; as the maner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought not vpon God of long time before. But in truth we neuer haue so much cause to be afraid of the diuell, as when he flatteringlie insinuateth himselfe into our parts, to satisfie, please, and serue our humors, enticing vs to prosecute our owne appetits and pleasures, without anie of these eternall terrours. I would woe of these men, where they doe find in the scriptures,

Mal. malef. part. 2. cap. 1. quest. 1.

Mich. And. Laur. Anan. Mal. malef. &c.

Author lib. Zeor hammor in Gen. 2.

The grosse vulnere of manie at the hearing of a spirit named.

*Aug. in ser. 4.
Greg. 29.
sup. Job.
Leo pont. ser.
8. Natiniis.*

tures, that some diuels be spirituall, and some corporall; or how these earthie or waterie diuels enter into the mind of man. Augustine saith, and diuerse others affirme, that sathan or the diuell while we feed, allureth vs with gluttonie: he thrusteth lust into our generation; and sloth into our exercise; into our conuersation, enuie; into our traffike, auarice; into our correction, wrath; into our gouernment, pride: he putteth into our harts euill cogitations; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When we wake, he moueth vs to euill works; when we sleepe, to euill and filthie dreames; he prouoketh the merrie to loosenesse, and the sad to despaire.

That the diuels assaults are spirituall and not temporall, and how grosselie some vnderstand those parts of the scripture.

The twelſe Chapter.

*Ephe. 6, 11,
12.*



2. Tim. 2, 8,

Idem ibid.

1. Cor. 2, 14.

Vpon that, which hitherto hath bene said, you see that the assaults of sathan are spirituall, and not temporall: in which respect Paule wisbeth vs not to prouide a coſeilet of ſteele to defend vs from his clawes; but biddeth vs put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the inuasions of the diuell. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities, powers, and spirituall wickednesse. And therefore he aduiseeth vs to be sober and watch: for the diuell goeth about like a rozing lion, seeking whome he may deuoure. He meaneth not with carnall teeth: for it followeth thus, Whome resist ye stedfastlie in faith. And againe he saith, That which is spirituall onelie discerneth spirituall things: for no carnall man can discern the things of the spirit. Why then should we thinke that a diuell, which is a spirit, can be knowne, or made tame and familiar by to a naturall man; or contrarie to nature, can be by a witth made corporall, being by God ordeined to a spirituall proportion?

The cause of this grosse conceipt is, that we hearken more diligentlie to old wiues, and rather giue credit to their fables, than

to the word of God; imagining by the tales they tell vs, that the diuell is such a bulbegger, as I haue befoze described. For what soeuer is proposed in scripture to vs by parable, or spoken figuratiuelie or significatiuelie, or framed to our grosse capacities, &c: is by them so considered and expounded, as though the bare letter, or rather their grosse imaginations therevpon were to be preferred before the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare saie, that when these blockheads read Iothans parable in the ninth of Judges to the men of Sichem; to wit, that the trees went out to annoint a king ouer them, saieing to the olive tree, Reigne thou ouer vs: who answered and said, Should I leaue my fattenesse, &c: They imagine that the wooden trees walked, & spake with a mans voice: or else, that some spirit entred into the trees, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of Apollo, and such like; who indeed haue eyes, and see not; eares and heare not; mouthes, and speake not, &c.

Iudg. 9. 7, 8,
9, 10, 11, 12,
13, 14

The equiuocation of this word spirit, how diuerslie it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the waie) is taught that the scripture is not alwaies literallie to be interpreted, nor yet allegoricallie to be vnderstood.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Such as search with the spirit of wisdome and vnderstanding, shall find, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the scriptures diuerslie taken: yea they shall well perceiue, that the diuell is no horned beast. For sometimes in the scriptures, spirits and diuels are taken for infirmities of the bodie; sometimes for the vices of the mind; sometimes also for the gifts of either of them. Sometimes a man is called a diuell, as Iudas in the first of Iohn, and Peter in the xviij. of Matthew. Sometimes a spirit is put for the Gospell; sometimes for the mind or soule of man; sometimes for the will of man, his mind and counsell; sometimes for teachers and prophets; sometimes for zeal towards

Exod. 3. 1, 1
Acts. 8. 19.
Gal. 3.
Iohn. 6.
Matth. 16.
1. Cor. 3.
Gal. 3.
1. Cor. 2.
1. Cor. 7.
Luke. 9.
1. Cor. 5.
Philip 1.
1. Thel. 5.
1. Iohn. 4.
1. Tim. 4.

^h Ephes. 5. wards God; sometimes ^h for ioy in the Holie-ghost, &c.

Isa. 11, 2.

And to interpret vnto vs the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest vpon him; The spirit of counsell and

Zach. 12, 10.

strength; The spirit of wisdom and vnderstanding; The spirit of knowledge and the feare of the Lord. Again, I will poure out my spirit vpon the house of Dauid, &c. The spirit of grace and

Rom. 1, 15.

1. Cor. 12, 8,

9, 10.

but the spirit of adoption. And therefore Paule saith, To one is giuen, by the spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another, the gift of healing; to another, the gift of faith by the same spirit; to another, the gift

1. Co. 12, 11.

of prophesie; to another, the operation of great works; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, the diuersitie of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues: and all these things worketh one and the selfsame spirit. Thus farre the words of Paule.

Isa. 19, 14.

Isa. 29.

And finallie, Esaie saith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath couered you with a spirit of slumber.

1. Sam. 28.

Hest 16.

As for the spirits of diuination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of Endor, the Philippian woman, the wench of Westwell, and the holie maid of Kent; who were indued with spirits or gifts of diuination, whereby they could make shift to gaine monie, and abuse the people by flights and craftie inuentions. But these are possessed of borrowed spirits, as it is written in the booke of Wisdom; and spirits of

Sap. 15, 15,

19.

mere couensage and deceit, as I haue sufficientlie proued elsewhere. I denie not therefore that there are spirits and diuels, of such substance as it hath pleased GOD to create them. But in what place soeuer it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or diuell is to be vnderstood spirituallie, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an euill

Iudg. 9, 23.

Num. 5, 14.

Luke. 13, 11.

spirit betwene Abimelech, and the men of Sichem, we are to vnderstand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbegger.

Also where it is said; If the spirit of gelosie come vpon him: it is as much to saie as; If he be moued with a gelous mind: and not that a corporall diuell assaulteth him. It is said in the Gospell;

There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmities 18, yeres, who

who was bowled together, &c: to whom Christ, by laien his hand vpon him, deliuered of his disease. Whereby it is to be seene, that although it be said, that sathan had bound him, &c: yet that it was a sickness or disease of bodie that troubled him; for Christs owne words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some saie was the cause thereof.

There were seuen diuels cast out of Marie Magdalen. Which is not so grosselie vnderstood by the learned, as that there were in him iust seuen corporall diuels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seuen diuels, a great multitude, and an vncertaine number of vices is signified: which figure is vsuall in diuers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agreeable with Gods word, than the papisticall paraphrase, which is; that Christ, vnder the name of the seuen diuels, recounteth the seuen deadlie sinnes onelie. Others allow neither of these expositions; because they suppose that the efficacy of Christs miracle should thus waie be confounded: as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good Christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure the ague, or any other disease of a sicke bodie. I thinke not but any of both these cures may be wrought by meanes, in processe of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physician. But I saie that Christs worke in both was apparentlie miraculous: for with power and authoritie, euen with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blind to see, the halt to go, the lepers cleane, the deafe to heare, the dead to rise againe, and the poore to receiue the Gospell, out of whom (I

Mark. 16, 9.

Leuit. 26.

Prou. 24.

Luk. 17.

Math. 8, 16.

Luk. 4, 36.

Luk. 7, 21.

saie) he cast diuels, and miraculouſlie conformed them

to become good Christians, which before were

dissolute liuers; to whom he

said, Go your waies

and sinne no

more.

Iohn. 8, 11.

That

That it pleased God to manifest the power of his
sonne and not of witches by miracles.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Luke. 8, 14.



Iesus Christ, to manifest his di-
uine power, rebuked the winds, and they
ceased; and the waues of water, and it
was calme: which if neither our diuines
nor physicians can do, much lesse our con-
iurors, and least of all our old witches can
bring anie such thing to passe. But it plea-
sed God to manifest the power of Christ
Iesus by such miraculous & extraordinary meanes, prouiding
and as it were preparing diseases, that none otherwise could be
cured, that his sonnes glorie, and his peoples faith might the
more plainelie appere; as namelie, leprosie, lunacie, and blind-
nesse: as it is apparent in the Gospell, where it is said, that the
man was not stricken with blindnesse for his owne sinnes, nor
for any offense of his ancestors; but that he was made blind, to
the intent the works of God should be shewed vpon him by the
hands of Iesus Christ. But witches with their charmes can cure
(as witchmongers affirme) all these diseases mentioned in the
scripture, and manie other more; as the gowt, the tothach, &c :
which we find not that euer Christ cured.

Leuit. 14, 7, 8

Luk. 7, 17, 4.

Iohn. 9.

Matt. 4, 17,
&c.

As touching those that are said in the Gospell to be possessed of
spirits, it seemeth in manie places that it is indifferent, or all
one, to saie; He is possessed with a diuell; or, He is lunatike or
phrenzicke: which disease in these daies is said to proceed of me-
lancholic. But if euerie one that now is lunatike, be possessed
with a reall diuell; then might it be thought, that diuels are to
be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times
with the woman of Canaan; My daughter is vexed with a diuell,
except it be presupposed, that she meant hir daughter was trou-
bled with some disease: Indeed we saie, and saie truelie, to the
wicked, The diuell is in him: but we meane not thereby, that a
reall diuell is gotten into his guts. And if it were so, I maruell

in what shape this reall diuell, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entreth he into the bodie in one shape, and into the mind in another? If they grant him to be spirituall and inuisible, I agree with them.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of Chanaan ment indeed that hir daughter was troubled with some disease; because it is writen in sted of that the diuell was cast out, that hir daughter was made whole, even the selfesame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Matthew; There was brought unto Christ one possessed of a diuell, which was both blind and dumbe, and he healed him: so as, he that was blind and dumbe both spake and sawe. But it was the man, and not the diuell, that was healed, and made to speake and see. Whereby (I saie) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunaticke, were said sometimes to be possessed of diuels.

Of the possessed with
diuels.

The xv. Chapter.

BEfore I cannot omit to shew, how fondlie diuerse writers; and namelie, Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor doe gather and note the cause, why the diuell maketh choise to possesse men at certeine times of the moone; which is (saie they) in two respects: first, that they may defame so good a creature as the moone; secondly, because the braine is the moistest part of the bodie. The diuell therefore considereth the aptnesse and conueniencie thereof (the moone hauing dominion ouer all moist things) so as they take aduantage therby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And further they saie, that diuels being coniured and called vp, appeere and come sooner in some certeine constellation, than in other some: thereby to induce men to thinke, that there is some godhead in the starres. But when Saule was releued with the sound of the harpe, they saie that the departure of the diuell was

by

p p. j.

*A maxime in philosophic, as the lunne in aridis & such.

by meanes of the signe of the crosse imprinted in Dauids beines, whereby we maie see how absurd the imaginations and deuises of men are, when they speake according to their owne fancies, without warrant of the word of God. But me thinks it is verie absurd that Iosephus affirmeth; to wit, that the diuell should be thrust out of anie man by vertue of a root. And as vaine it is, that Aelianus writeth of the magicall herbe Cynospastus, otherwise called Aglaphotis; which is all one with Salomons root named Baaros, as hauing force to drive out anie diuell from a man possessed.

*Ioseph. de antiquitat. Iud.
lib. 7. ca. 35.*

That we being not throughlie informed of the nature of diuels and spirits, must satisfie our selues with that which is deliuered vs in the scriptures touching the same, how this word diuell is to be vnderstood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the diuell, of tame spirits, of Ahab.

The xvj. Chapter.



DE nature therfore and substance of diuels and spirits, bicause in the scripture it is not so set down, as we may certeinlie know the same: we ought to content and frame our selues faithfullie to beleue the words and sense there deliuered vnto vs by the high spirit, which is the Holie-ghost, who is Lord of all spirits; alwaies considering, that euermore spirits are spoken of in scripture, as of things spirituall; though for the helpe of our capacities they are there sometimes more grosselie and corporallie expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. As for example (and to omit the historie of Iob, which elsewhere I handle) it is written; The Lord said, Who shall entise Ahab, that he maie fall at Ramoth Gilead, &c? Then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said; I will entise him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said; I will go and be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said; So forth, thou shalt preuaile, &c.

Num. 37, 16.

*1. Reg. 18.
verse. 23.
verse. 4.*

This

This storie is here set forth in this wise, to beare with our capacities, and speciallie with the capacitie of that age, that could not otherwise conceiue of spirituall things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted that one spirit, and not manie or diuerse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Euen as in another place, manie thousand diuels are said to possesse one man: and yet it is also said euen in the selfe same place, that the same man was possessed onelie with one diuell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a diuell, and he commanded the foule spirit to come forth of the man, &c. But Caluine saith; Where sathan or the diuell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of iustice. And where manie diuels are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies; least despising the fewnesse of them, we should be more slacke to enter into battell, and so fall into securitie and idleness.

Luke. 8.
27. 28.
Mark. 5. 9.
Luk. 8.

1. Cal. lib. in-
fir. lib. 1. cap.
14. sect. 14.

On the other side, it is as plainelie set downe in the scripture, that some are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the diuell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of persons; and againe, that diuerse spirits rested in and vpon one man: and yet no reall or corporall spirit meant. As for example; The Lord toke of the spirit that was vpon Moses, and put it vpon the seuentie elders, and when the spirit rested vpon them, they prophesied. Why should not this be as substantiall and corporall a spirit, as that, wherewith the maid in the Acts of the apostles was possessed? Also Elisha intreated Elia, that when he departed, his spirit might double vpon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came vpon ^a Othniel, vpon ^b Gedeon, ^c Ieptha, ^d Samson, ^e Balaam, ^f Saule, ^g David, ^h Ezechiel, ⁱ Zacharie, ^k Amasai: yea it is written, that Caleb had another spirit than all the Israelits beside: & in another place it is said, that ^l Daniel had a more excellent spirit than anie other. So as, though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be giuen by number and proportion; yet the qualitie and not the quantitie of them is alwaies thereby ment and presupposed. Whobett I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without mea-

Num. 11.

Ibid. vers. 15

Acts. 16.

2. Reg. 2.

Iudg. 3. 10.

^a Iudg. 11. 39.

^b Ibid. 14. 6.

^c Ibid. 14. 6.

^d Num. 24. 2

^e 1 Sam. 16.

13.

^f 1 Sam. 18.

14.

^g Ezec. 11. 5

^h 2 Chr. 14.

ⁱ 1 Ch. 12. 18.

^k Numb. 14.

^l Dan. 5. 14

John. 3, 34.

Eccles. 8.

sure, as it is written in the euangelist Iohn. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandment, I saie to those grosse conceiuers of scripture with Salomon, who (as they falslie affirme was of all others the greatest coniuero) saith thus in expresse words; No man is lord ouer a spirit, to retaine a spirit at his pleasure.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doo extreamelie contend and varie.

The xvij. Chapter.



Some hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume & take vnto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list: of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold, that such bodies are made to their hands. Notwithstanding, these doo varie in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I haue said) some affirme that they consist of fier, some thinke of aier, and some of the starres and other celestiaall powers. But if they be celestiaall, then (as Peter Martyr saith) must they follovv the circular motion: and if they be elementarie, then must they follovv the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. If aier they cannot be: for aier is *Corpus homogenium*; so as euerie part of aier is aier, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organicall bodie must haue bones, sinewes, veines, flesh, &c: which cannot be made of aier. Neither (as Peter Martyr affirmeth) can an aierie bodie receiue or haue either shape or figure. But some ascend vp into the clouds, where they find (as they saie) diuerse shapes and formes euen in the aier. Vnto which obiection P. Martyr answereth, saying, and that trulie, that clouds are not altogether aier, but haue a mixture of other elements mingled with them.

For euerie
naturall
motion is
either cir-
cular or e-
lementarie.

Certeine

Certeine popish reasons concerning spirits made of aier, of daie diuels and night diuels, and why the diuell louch no salt in his meate.

The xviij. Chapter.

Manie affirme (vpon a fable cited by M. Mal.) that spirits are of aier, because they haue bene cut (as he saith) in sunder, and closed presentlie againe; and also because they vanish alwaie so suddenly. But of such apparitions I haue already spoken, and am thortlie to saie more, which are rather seene in the imagination of the weake and diseased, than in veritie and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they haue bene common among the vnfaythfull; so now, since the preaching of the gospell they are most rare. And as among sainthearted people; namelie, women, children, and sicke folkes, they vsuallie swarmed: so among strong bodies and good stomachs they neuer vsed to appeare; as elsewhere I haue proued: which argueth that they were onelie fantasticall and imaginarie. Now saie they that imagine diuels and spirits to be made of aier, that it must needs be that they consist of that element; because otherwise when they vanish suddenly alwaie, they should leaue some earthie substance behind them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must needs be shed on the floore. If they consisted of fier, then would they burne anie thing that touched them: and yet (saie they) Abraham and Lot washed their sexe, Gen. 18, 19. and were neither scalded nor burnt.

I find it not in the Bible, but in Bodin, that there are daie diuels, and night diuels. The same fellow saith, that Deber is the name of that diuell, which hurteth by night; and Cheleb is he that hurteth by daie: howbeit, he confesseth that Sathan can hurt both by daie and by night; although it be certeine (as he saith) that he can doe more harme by night than by daie; proving for example, how in a night he slew the first borne of Egypt.

Exod. 12. 29. And yet it appeareth plainelie in the text, that the Lord himselfe did it. Whereby it seemeth, that Bodin putteth no difference betwene God and the diuell. For further confirmation of this his foolish assertion, that diuels are more valiant by night than by daie, he alledgeth the 104. Psalme, wherein is written, Thou makest darknesse, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest creepe forth, the lions rore, &c: when the sunne riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be diuels, or diuels to be beasts. Oh barbarous blindness! This Bodin also saith, that the diuell loueth no salt in his meate, for that it is a signe of eternitie, and vsed by Gods commandement in all sacrifices; abusing the scriptures, which he is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceiue what maner of thing the diuell is, by the be- ric names appropriated vnto him in the same.

That such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures, haue in their names their nature and qualities exp- ressed, with instances thereof.

The xix. Chapter.

2. Reg. 13.

Matth. 10.

& 12.

Mark. 3.

Luk. 11.

Such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures by name, haue in their names their nature and qualities exp- ressed, being for the most part the idola of certeine nations idolatrouslie erected, in stead, or rather in spight of God. For Beelzebub, which signifieth the lord of the flies, because he taketh euerie simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent to know whether he should recouer his disease: as though there had bene no God in Israell. This diuell Beelzebub was among the Iewes reputed the principall diuell. The Graecians called him Pluto, the Latines *Sumannus*, *quasi summum deorum manium*, the chiefe ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walke by night: although they absurdlie beleeued also that the soule died with the bodie. So as they did put a difference be-
twene

twaine the ghost of a man and the soule of a man : and so do our papists ; howbeit, none otherwise, but that the soule is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the bodie, or appeareth to anie man, either out of heauen, hell, or purgatorie, and not otherwise. ^a Nisroch signifieth a delicate tentation, and was worshipped by Senacherib in Assyria. ^b Tarcas is in English, fettered, and was the diuell or idoll of the Vites. ^c Beelphegor, otherwise called Priapus, the gaping or naked god was worshipped among the Moabites. ^d Adramelech, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idoll at Sepharuais, which was a citie of the Assyrians. ^e Chamos, that is feeling, or departing, was worshipped among the Moabites. ^f Dagon, that is, corne or grasse, was the idoll of the Philistines. ^g Ashtar, that is, a fold or flocke, is the name of a thee idoll at Sydonia, whom Salomon worshipped : some thinke it was Venus. ^h Melchom, that is, a king, was an idoll or diuell, which the sonnes of Ammon worshipped.

Sometimes also we find in the scriptures, that diuels and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or states of abominable persons : as Astaroth, which (as Iosephus saith) was the idoll of the Philistines, whome the Jewes tooke from them at Salomons commandement, and was also worshipped of Salomon. Which though it signifie riches, flocks, &c. yet it was once a citie belonging to Og the king of Basan, where they saie the giants dwelt. In these respects Astaroth is one of the speciall diuels named in Salomons coniuration, and greatly employed by the coniurors. I haue sufficientlie proued in these quotations, that these idols are *Dij gentium*, the gods of the Gentiles: and then the prophet Dauid may satisfie you, that they are diuels, who saith *Dij gentium demonia sunt*, The gods of the Gentiles are diuels. That a diuell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who tooke his name of his courteous and gracious behauiour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered vnto him : The idolatrous knauerie wherof being now betwained, it is among the gobbie reputed a diuell rather than a god : and so are diuerse others of the same stamp.

^a 2. Reg. 19.
^b 2. Reg. 17.
^c Ose 9, 11.
^d Num. 25.
^e Deut. 3, & 4
^f Iosu 21.
^g 2. Reg. 17.
^h Numb. 21.
ⁱ 1. Reg. 11.
^j 2. Reg. 23.
^k Iudg. 16.
^l 1. Macc. 10.
^m 51. Reg. 11.
ⁿ 2. Reg. 23.
^o 2. Reg. 23.
^p 1. Chro. 20.
^q Ierem. 49.
^r Ioseph. Lib. de antiquit.
^s Iudeor. 6.
^t cap. 14.
^u 1. Sam. 7.
^v 2. Reg. 23.

Psal. 96.

Diuerſe names of the diuell, whereby his nature
and diſpoſition is manifeſted.

The xx. Chapter.

THath alſo pleaſed GOD to in-
forme our weake capacities, as it were
by ſimilitudes and examples, or rather by
compariſons, to vnderſtand what man-
ner of thing the diuell is, by the verie
names appropriated and attributed vnto
him in the ſcriptures: wherein ſometimes

he is called by one name, ſometimes by
another, by metaphors according to his conditions. ^a Elephas
is called in Iob, Behemoth, which is, Bruta; whereby the greatnes
and brutiſhnes of the diuell is figured. Leviathan is not much
different from Elephas; whereby the diuels great ſubtiltie and
powrer is ſhewed vnto vs. ^b Mammon is the couetous deſire of
monie, wherewith the diuell ouercommeth the reprobate. ^c De-
mon ſignifieth one that is cunning or craftie. Cacodæmon is
peruerſie knowing. All thoſe which in ancient times were wor-
ſhipped as gods, were ſo called. ^d Diabolus is Calumniator, an
accuſer, or a ſlanderer. Sathan is Aduerſarius, an aduerſarie,
that troubleth and moleſteth. ^e Abaddon a deſtroier. ^f Legio, be-
cauſe they are manie. ^g Prince of the aire. ^h Prince of the world.
ⁱ A king of the ſonnes of pride. ^k A roying lion. ^l An homicide or
mandear, a lier, and the father of lies. The ^m author of ſinne. ⁿ A
ſpirit. Yea ſometimes he is called the ſpirit of the Lord, as the ere-
cutioner and miniſter of his diſpleaſure, &c. Sometimes, the ^o ſpi-
rit of fornication, &c. And manie other like epithets or additions
are giuen him for his name. He is alſo called ^p the angell of the
Lord. ^q The cruell angell. The ^r angell of ſathan. The ^s an-
gell of hell. The ^t great dragon, for his pride and
force. The ^u red dragon for his bloudlines,

A ^v ſerpent. An ^w owle, a ^x kite, a
ſatyre, a crowe, a pellicane,
a hedgbog, a griph, a
ſtoke, &c.

That

^a Iob. 40.

Iob. 3.

Iſai. 27.

^b Matth. 6.

Mart. 4, &c.

Marc. 16.

^c Iam. 2.

^d Matth. 4.

Iohn. 8.

Apoc. 12.

^e Apoc. 9.

^f Marc. 5.

Luke. 8.

^g Eph. 2.

^h Iohn. 8. 12.

14. 16.

ⁱ Iob. 41.

^j 1 Pet. 5.

^k Iohn. 8.

^l 1 Iohn. 3.

^m AEs. 16.

ⁿ Ofc. 4.

^o Pſal. 34.

^p Chr. 21.

^q Prou. 17.

^r 2. Cor. 12.

^s Apoc. 9.

^t Apoc. 12.

^u Iob. 41.

^v Gen. 3.

^w Apoc. 12.

^x Iſai. 27.

^y Iſai. 13. 34.

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are diuels, their diuerſe names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are employed, wherein alſo the blind ſuperſtition of the heathen people is diſcouered.

The xxj. Chapter.



Ad for ſo much as the idols of the gentiles are called diuels, and are among the vnlearned confounded and intermedled with the diuels that are named in the ſcriptures; I thought it conuenient here to giue you a note of them, to whome the Gentiles gaue names, according to the offices vnto them aſſigned.

Pſalm. 96.

Penates are the domeſticall gods, or rather diuels that were ſaid to make men liue quietlie within doores. But ſome thinke theſe rather to be ſuch, as the Gentiles thought to be ſet ouer kingdomes: and that Lares are ſuch as trouble priuate houſes, and are ſet to ouerſee croſſe waies and cities. Laræ are ſaid to be ſpirits that walke onelie by night. Genij are the two angels, which they ſuppoſed were appointed to wait vpon each man. Manes are the ſpirits which oppoſe themſelues againſt men in the waie. Dæmones were feigned gods by poets, as Iupiter, Iuno, &c. Virunculi terrei are ſuch as was Robin god fellowe, that would ſuplie the office of ſeruants, ſpeciallie of maids; as to make a fire in the morning, ſweepe the houſe, grind muſtard and malt, drawe water, &c: theſe alſo rumble in houſes, drawe latches, go by and downe ſtaires, &c. Dij geniales are the gods that euerie man did ſacrifice vnto at the daie of their birth. Tetrici be they that make folke afraid, and haue ſuch ougie ſhape, which manie of our diuines doe call Subterranei. Cobali are they that followe men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, ſuggling, and ſuch like toies. Virunculi are dwarfes about three handſulles long, and doe no hurt; but ſeeme to dig in mineralles, and to be verie buſie, and yet doe nothing. Gureli or Trulli are ſpirits (they ſaie) in the likenes of women, ſhewing great kinde-
neſſe

Iuno and
Minerua.

Couſening
gods or
knaues.

Terra, aqua,
ar, ignis, ſol,
& Luna.

Hudgin of
Germanie,
and Rush
of England.

ness to all men : & hercof it is that we call light women, truls, Dæmones montani are such as worke in the mineralles, and further the worke of the labourers wonderfullie, who are nothing afraid of them. Hudgin is a verie familiar diuell, which will do no bodie hurt, except he receiue iniurie : but he cannot abide that, no; yet be mocked : he talketh with men friendlie, sometimes visiblie, and sometimes inuisiblie. There go as manie tales vpon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germanie, as there did in England of Robin god fellowe. But this Hudgin was so called, because he alwaies ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I thinke it was Robin hood. Frier Rush was for all the world such another fellow as this Hudgin, and brought vp euen in the same schoule; to wit, in a kitchen : in so much as the selfe-same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to haue bene slaine, &c: for the reading whereof I referre you to Frier Rush his storie, or else to Iohn Wierus *De prestigijs demonum*.

*I. Wier lib.
de prestigijs
demonum.
l. cap. 23.*

There were also Familiares dæmones, which we call familiars: such as Socrates and Cæsar were said to haue; and such as Feats sold to doctor Burcot. Quintus Sertorius had Diana his selfe for his familiar; and Numa Pompilius had Aegeria: but neither the one nor the other of all these could be preferred by their familiars from being destroyed with vntimelie death. Simon Samareus boasted, that he had gotten by confutation, the soule of a little child that was slaine, to be his familiar, and that he told him all things that were to come, &c. I maruell what priuilege soules haue, which are departed from the bodie, to know things to come more than the soules within mans bodie. There were spirits, which they called *Albæ mulieres*, and *Albæ Sibyllæ*, which were verie familiar, and did much harme (they saie) to women with child, and to sucking children. Deumus as a diuell is worshipped among the Indians in Calcutte, who (as they thinke) hath power giuen him of God to iudge the earth, &c: his image is horrible pictured in a most ouglie shape. Theuet saith, that a diuell in America, called Agnan, beareth swaie in that countrie. In Ginnie one Grigrie is accounted the great diuell, and keepeth the woods: these haue priests called Charoibes, which prophesse, after they haue lien by the space of one houre prostrate vpon a wench

Bawdie
priests in
Ginnie.

of

of twelue yeares old, and all that while (saie they) he calleth by, on a diuell called Houioulira, and then commeth forth and uttereth his prophesie. For the true successe whereof the people praise all the while that he lieth groueling like a lecherous knaue. There are a thousand other names, which they saie are attributed vnto diuels; and such as they take to themselves are more ridiculous than the names that are giuen by others, which haue more leasure to deuise them. In little booke containing the censuring possessed, at Maidstone, where such a wonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfeited diuels names, and other trish trash.

Looke in the word (Ob) lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 132, 133.

Of the Romanes cheefe gods called *Dij selecti*, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

The xxij. Chapter.

THERE were among the Romans twentie idolatrous gods, which were called *Dij selecti sive electi*, chosen gods; whereof twelue were male, and eight female, whose names doe thus follooe: Ianus, Saturnus, Iupiter, Genius, Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Vulcanus, Neptunus, Sol, Orcus and Vibar, which were all he gods: Tellus, Ceres, Iuno, Minerua, Luna, Diana, Venus, and Vesta, were all the gods. No man might appropriate anie of these vnto himselfe, but they were left common and indifferent to all men dwelling in one realme, prouince, or notable citie. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which serued for sundrie purposes; as to raise thunder, they had Statores, Tonantes, Fere-trij, and Iupiter Elicius. They had Cantius, to whome they praied for wise children, who was more apt for this purpose than Minerua that issued out of Iupiters owne braine. Lucina was to send them that were with child safe deliuerie, and in that respect was called the mother of childwiues. Opis was called the mother of the babe new borne, whose image women with child hanged vpon their girdles before their bellies, and bare it so by the

A good god and goddess for women.

the space of nine moneths; and the midwife alwaies touched the child therewith, before she or any other laid hand thereon.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed therunto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part vnperfect, or dead, &c: they vsed to beate the image into powder, or to burne or drowne it. Vagianus was he that kept their children from crying, and therefore they did alwaies hang his picture about babies necks: for they thought much crying in youth portended ill fortune in age. Cuninus, otherwise Cunius, was he that preserved (as they thought) their children from misfortune in the cradell. Ruminus was to keepe their dugs from corruption. Volumnus

The names
of certeine
heathenish
gods, and
their peculiar
offices.

and his wife Volumna were gods, the one for young men, the other for maids that desired marriage: for such as prayed deuotlie vnto them, should soone be married. Agrestis was the god of the fields, and to him they prayed for fertilitie. Bellus was the god of warre & warriors, and so also was Victoria, to whome the greatest temple in Rome was built. Honorius was he that had charge about inkeepers, that they should well intreat pilgrimes. Berecynthia was the mother of all the gods. Aesculanus was to discouer their mines of gold and siluer, and to him they prayed for good successe in that behalfe. Aesculapius was to cure the sicke, whose father was Apollo, and serued to keepe weeds out of the corne. Segacia was to make seeds to growe. Flora preserved the vines from frosts and blasse. Syluanus was to preserve them that walked in gardens. Bacchus was for dromhards, Pauor for cowherds; Meretrix for whores, to whose honour there was a temple built in Rome, in the middell of fortie and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common harlots. Finallie Colatina, *alias* Clotina, was goddess of the stole, the laces, and the priuie, to whome as to euerie of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called Pantheon, wherein all the gods were placed together; so as euerie man and woman, according to their follies and deuotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list.

A verie
homelic
charge.

Of diuerse gods in diuerse
countries.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

THe Aegyptians were yet more foolish in this behalfe than the Romans (I meane the heathenish Romans that then were, and not the popish Romans that now are, for no nation approcheth nere to these in anie kind of idolatrie.) The Aegyptians worshipped Anubis in the likeness of a dog, because he loved dogs and hunting. Yea they worshipped all liuing creatures, as namelie of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, & a cat; of flieng foules, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturallie deuouring by venemous things and noisome serpents) and a sparrowhawk; of fishes they had two gods; to wit, Lepidotus piscis, and Oxyrinchus. The Saitans and Thebans had to their god a sheepe. In the citie Lycopolis they worshipped a wolfe; in Herinopolis, the Cyncephalus; the Leopolitans, a lion; in Latopolis, a fish in Nilus called Latus. In the citie Cynopolis they worshipped Anubis. At Babylon, besides Memphis, they made an onion their god; the Thebans an eagle; the Mændeleans, a goate; the Persians, a fier called Orimafda; the Arabians, Bacchus, Venus, and Diasaren; the Bæotians, Amphiarus; the Aphricans, Mopsus; the Scithians, Minerua; the Naucratis, Serapis, which is a serpent; Astartes (being as Cicero writeth the fourth Venus, who was she, as others affirme, whom Salomon worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the Assyrians. At Noricum, being a part of Bauaria, they worship Tibilenus; the Moores worship Iuba; the Macedonians, Gabirus; the Pœnians, Vranius; at Samos Iuno was their god; at Paphos, Venus; at Lemnos, Vulcan; at Naxos, Liberus; at Lampfacke, Priapus with the great genitals, who was set vp at Hellepont to be adored. In the ile Diomedea, Diomedes; at Delphos, Apollo; at Ephesus, Diana was worshipped. And because they would plaie small game rather

Imperiall
gods and
their as-
stants.

The num-
ber of gods
among the
gentiles.

ther than sit out, they had Acharus Cyrenaicus, to keepe them from flies and sicblowes; Hercules Canopius, to keepe them from fleas; Apollo Parnopeius, to keepe their cheses from being mouleaten. The Greeks were the first, that I can learne to haue assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as Jupiter to rule in heauen, Pluto in hell, Neptune in the sea, &c. To these they ioined, as assistants, diuers commissioners; as to Jupiter, Saturne, Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Minerua: to Neptune, Nereus, &c. Tutilina was onelie a mediatrix to Jupiter, not to destroe corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they vsuallie lighted candels in the temple, to appease the same, according to the popish custome in these daies. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by god record, as Varro and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and byward. Whereby the reasonable reader may iudge their superstitious blindnesse.

Of popish prouinciall gods, a comparifon betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation euerie popish god is.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

1. Reg. 10.
2. Chr. 32.
1. Chr. 16.
Iudg. 3.
2. Chr. 33.
2. Reg. 23,
&c.

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that for euerie heathen idoll I might produce twentie out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of euerie nation : Popish gods of nations. as S. George on horsebacke for England (excepting whome there is said to be no more horsemen in heauen saue onelie saint Martine) S. Andrew for Burgundie and Scotland, S. Michael for France, S. Iames for Spaine, S. Patrike for Ireland, S. Dauid for Wales, S. Peter for Rome, and some part of Italie. Had not euerie citie in all the popes dominions his seuerall patrone? As Paule for London, Denis for Paris, Ambrose for Millen, Louen for Gaunt, Romball for Mackline, S. Marks lion for Venice, the three magician kings for Cullen, and so of other. Yea, had they not for euerie small towne, and euerie village and parish. Parish gods or popish idols. (the names wherof I am not at leisure to repeat) a seuerall idoll? As S. Sepulchre, for one; S. Bride, for another; S. All halowes, All saints, and our Ladie for all at once: which I thought meete to rehearse, than a bedroll of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not hee idols and thee idols, some for men, some for women, some for beasts, and some for foules, &c: Do you not thinke that S. Martine might be opposed to Bacchus? If S. Martine be too weakke we haue S. Urbane, S. Clement, and manie other to assist him. Was Venus and Meretrix an aduocate for whores among the Gentiles? Behold, there were in the Romish church to encounter with them, S. Aphra, S. Aphrodite, and S. Maudline. But insomuch as long Meg was as verie a whore as the best of them, she had wrong that she was not also canonized, and put in as good credit as they: for she was a gentlewoman borne; wherevnto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I haue said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poore for witches. But I doubt not, Magdalen, and manie other godlie women are verie saints in heauen, and should haue bene so, though the pope had neuer canonized them: but he doth them wrong, to make them the patronesses of harlots and strong strumpets.

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A comparifon betweene the heathen and papists,
touching their excuses for idolatrie.

The xxv. Chapter.



And bicause I know, that the papists will saie, that their idols are saints, and no such diuels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not onelie their saints, but the verie images of them were called Diui. Which though it signifie gods, and so by consequence idols or seends: yet put but an (ll) there vnto, and it is Diuill in English. But they will saie also that I doe them wrong to gibe at them; bicause they were holie men and holie women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatrie emploied vpon them, than greued with the derision vsed against that abuse. Yea euen as siluer and gold are made idols vnto them that loue them too well, and seeke too much for them: so are these holie men and women made idols by them that worshipping them, and attribute vnto them such honor, as to God onelie apperteineth.

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The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they liued, and deserued fame, &c: in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead; as they made diuels of such emperors and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserued ill among them. And is it not euen so, and worse, in the commonwealth and church of poperie? Doth not the pope excommunicate, curse, and condemn for heretikes, and driue to the bottomlesse pit of hell, proclaiming to be verie diuels, all those that either write, speake or thinke contrarie to his idolatrous doctrine? Cicero, when he de-

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The num-
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ther than sit out, they had Acharus Cyrenaicus, to keepe them from flies and sicblowes; Hercules Canopijs, to keepe them from fleas; Apollo Parnopeius, to keepe their chesles from being moule eaten. The Greeks were the first, that I can learne to haue assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as Iupiter to rule in heauen, Pluto in hell, Neptune in the sea, &c. To these they ioined, as assistants, diuers commissioners; as to Iupiter, Saturne, Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Minerua: to Neptune, Nercus, &c. Tutilina was onclie a mediatrix to Iupiter, not to destroye corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they vsuallie lighted candels in the temple, to appease the same, according to the popish custome in these daies. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by god record, as Varro and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and vptward. Whereby the reasonable reader may iudge their superstitious blindnesse.

Of popish prouinciall gods, a comparison betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation euerie popish god is.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

1. Reg. 10.
2. Chr. 32.
1. Chr. 16.
Iudg. 3.
2. Chr. 33.
2. Reg. 23,
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*Cic. de natu.
deorum.*

rided the heathen gods, and inueted against them that yelded such seruile honoz vnto them, knew the persons, vnto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserued as ciuill citizens; and that god same was due vnto them, and not diuine estimation. Psea the infidels that honored those gods, as hoping to receiue benefits for their deuotion employed that waste, knew and conceiued that the statues and images, before whome with such reuerence they poured forth their praiers, were stockes and stones, and onelic pictures of those persons whome they resembled: psea they also knew, that the parties themselues were creatures, and could not do so much as the papists and witchmongers thinke the Rode of grace, or mother Bunge could do. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentils, and may not heare of their owne idolatrie more grosse and damnable than the others.

The papists
see a moth
in the eie of
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owne.

The concept of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatric, of the counsell of Trent, a notable storie of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c.

The xxvj. Chapter.

Ut papists perchance will denie, that they attribute so much to these idols as I report; or that they thinke it so meritorious to praie to the images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the saints themselues, vnder the formes of images. Which was also the concept of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalfe; whose eyesight and insight herein reached as farre as the papisticall distinctions published by popes and their counells. Neither doe anie of them admit so grosse idolatric, as the counsell of Trent hath done, who alloweth that worship to the Rode that is due to Iesus Christ himselfe, and so likewise of other images of saints. I thought it not impertinent therefore in this place to insert an example taken out of the Rolaric of our Ladie, in which booke doe remaine (besides this) ninetie and eight examples to this effect: which are of such authoritie in the

The idolatrous counsell of Trent.

the church of Rome, that all scripture must giue place vnto them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or preached by their chiefe doctors. And this is the sermon for this daie verbatim translated out of the said Rosarie, a booke much esteemed and reuerenced among papists.

A certeine hangman passing by the image of our Ladie, saluted hir, commending himselfe to hir protection. Afterwards, while he praied before hir, he was called awaie to hang an offender: but his enemies intercepted him, and slew him by the waie. And lo a certeine holie priest, which nightlie walked about euerie church in the citie, rose vp that night, and was going to his ladie, I should saie to our ladie church. And in the churchyard he saw a great manie dead men, and some of them he knew, of whome he asked what the matter was, &c. Who answered, that the hangman was slaine, and the diuell challenged his soule, the which our ladie said was his: and the iudge was euen at hand comming thither to heare the cause, & therefore (said they) we are now come together. The priest thought he would be at the hearing hereof, and hid himselfe behind a tree; and anon he saw the iudiciall seat readie prepared and furnished, where the iudge, to wit Iesus Christ, sate, who toke vp his mother vnto him. Soone after the diuels brought in the hangman pinnioned, and proued by good euidence, that his soule belonged to them. On the other side, our ladie pleaded for the hangman, prouing that he, at the houre of death, commended his soule to hir. The iudge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing to obeie (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to doe the diuels anie wrong, gaue sentence, that the hangmans soule should returne to his bodie, vntill he had made sufficient satisfaction; ordeining that the pope should set forth a publike forme of praier for the hangmans soule. It was demanded, who should doe the arrand to the popes holiness: Marie quoth our ladie, that shall yonder priest that lurketh behind the tree. The priest being called forth, and inioined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the paines to doe according to this decreë, asked by what token he should be directed. Then was deliuered vnto him a rose of such beantie, as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was true. And so, if they doe not well, I praie God we may.

But our ladie spied him well enough: as you shall read.

The priests arse made buttons.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of manie other feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproofe thereof.

The xxvij. Chapter.

Our B. ladies fauor.



B the tale aboue mentioned you see what it is to worship the image of our ladie. For though we knæle to God himselfe, and make neuer so humble petitions vnto him, without faith and repentance, it shall doe vs no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great friendship shewed him for one point of courtesie vsed to our ladie, hauing not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honestie in him. Neuerthelesse, so credulous is the nature of man, as to beleue this and such like fables: yea, to discredit such stufte, is thought among the papists flat heresie. And though we that are protestants will not beleue these toies, being so apparentlie popish: yet we credit and repose other appearances, and assuming of bodies by soules and spirits; though they be as prophane, absurd, and impiuous as the other. We are sure the holie maid of Kents vision was a verie cousenage: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or historie, the knauerie vsed by a cousening varlot at Maidstone; and manie other such as that was. We thinke soules and spirits may come out of heauen or hell, and assume bodies, belæuing manie absurd tales told by the scholmen and Romish doctors to that effect: but we discredit all the stories that they, and as graue men as they are, tell vs vpon their knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatorie, wandering for succour and release by trentals and masses said by a popish prest, &c: and yet they in probabilitie are equall, and in number farre exceed the other.

We thinke that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered vpon Luther; to wit, that he knew the diuell, and was verie conuersant with him, and had eaten manie bushels of salt and made iollie good cheere with him; and that he was confuted in a

disputation

Greg. 4. dialog. cap. 51.

Alexand. lib.

5. cap. 23. &

lib. 2. cap. 9.

&c.

Greg. lib. 4.

dialog. ca. 40.

idem cap. 55.

and in o-

ther places

elsewhere

innumera-

ble.

Micha. And.

thes. 151.

disputation with a reall diuell about the abolishing of priuate masse. Neither doe we beleue this report, that the diuell in the likenes of a tall man, was present at a sermon openlie made by Carlostadius; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him alwaie after a daie or twaine: as the papists saie he did in deed, although they lie in euerie point thereof most maliciouslie. But we can beleue Platina and others, when they tell vs of the appearances of pope Benedict the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode vpon a blacke horse in the wildernesse, requiring a bishop (as I remember) whome he met, that he would distribute certeine monie for the poore, &c: and how the other was seene a hundred yeares after the diuell had killed him in a wood, of an heremite, in a beares skinne, and an asses head on his shoulders, &c: himselfe saieing that he appeared in such sort as he liued. And diuerse such stufte rehearseth Platina.

Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. genealog. diu. cap. 19. Plutarch. oratione ad Apoll. nium. Isem. Basilien. in epist. Platina de viis penit. sicum. Naucletus. 3 generat. 35.

Now because S. Ambrose writeth, that S. Anne appeared to Constance the daughter of Constantine, and to hir parents watching at hir sepulchre: and because Eusebius and Nicephorus saie, that the Pontamian virgine, Origins disciple, appeared to S. Basil, and put a crowne vpon his head, in token of the glorie of his martyrdome, which should shortly followe: and because Hierome writeth of Paules appearance; and Theodoret, of S. Iohn the Baptist; and Athanasius, of Ammons, &c: manie doe beleue the same stozies and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will giue credit vnto such shamefull fables, or anie like them, when they find them writtten in the Legendarie, Iestiuall, Rosaries of our Ladie, or anie other such popish authors. Whereby I gather, that if the protestant beleue some few lies, the papists beleue a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentiuie our eares are to hearken to tales. And though herein consist no great point of faith or infidelitie; yet let vs that professe the gospell take warning of papists, not to be carried awaie with euerie baine blast of doctrine: but let vs cast awaie these prophane and old toliues fables. And although this matter haue passed so long with generall credit and authoritie: yet manie graue authors haue condemned

Ambr. ser. 90 de passione Agn. Euseb. lib. eccles. hist. 5. Niceph. lib. 3 cap. 7. Hieronym. in vita Pau. Theodor. lib. hist. 5. ca. 24. Athan. in vita Aniba.

** Melanctb. in C. ciendar. Manly. 23. April.*

*Marbach.
lib. de mira-
culis aduersus
Inf.
Iohannes Ri-
mus de ve-
ter superstit.
Athan. lib.
99. que. 11.
Augusti. de
cura pro
mortu. ca. 13.
Luk. 16.*

long since all those vaine visions and apparitions, except such as haue bene shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. Adrianus saith, that soules once losed from their bodies, haue no more societie with mortall men. Augustine saith, that if soules could walke and visit their frends, &c. : or admonish them in sleepe, or otherwise, his mother that folloved him by land and by sea would shew hir selfe to him, and reueale hir knowledg, or giue him warning, &c. But most true it is that is written in the gospel; We haue Moses and the prophets, who are to be hearkened vnto, and not the dead.

A confutation of Iohannes Laurentius, and of manie others, mainteining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driueth them awaie : of Moses and Helias appearance in mount Thabor.

The xxviij. Chapter.

*Math. 17.
Luk. 9.*

*Iohan. Lawr.
lib. de natu-
re mor.*



Furthermore, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I saie that these apparitions of soules are but knaueries and cousegnages; they obiekt that Moses and Helias appeared in mount Thabor, and talked with Christ, in the presence of the principall apostles: yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and soules could do whatsoeuer it pleaseth the Lord to do, or appoint to be done for his owne glorie, or for the manifestation of his sonne miraculouſlie. And therefore I thought good to giue you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalfe.

*Mich. Andr.
thes. 222. &c*

*Idem thes.
235. & 136.*

And first you shall vnderstand, that they hold, that all the soules in heauen may come downe and appeare to vs when they list, and assume anie bodie sauing their owne: otherwise (saie they) such soules should not be perfectlie happie. They saie that you may know the good soules from the bad verie easilie. For a damned soule hath a berie heauie and slowe looke; but a saints soule hath a cherefull and a merrie countenance: these also are white
and

Diuels and spirits. Cap. 28. 535

and shining, the other cole blacke. And these damned soules also maie come vp out of hell at their pleasure; although Abraham made Diues beleue the contrarie. They affirme that damned soules walke offeneſt: next vnto them the soules of purgatorie; and moſt ſeldome the ſoules of ſaints. Also they ſaie that in the old lawe ſoules did appeare ſeldome; and after domies daie they ſhall neuer be ſene moze: in the time of grace they ſhall be moſt frequent. The walking of theſe ſoules (ſaith Michael Andr.) is a moſt excellent argument for the proſe of purgatorie: for (ſaith he) thoſe ſoules haue teſtified that which the popes haue affirmed in that behalfe; to wit, that there is not onelie ſuch a place of puniſhment, but that they are releaſed from thence by maſſes, and ſuch other ſatiſſactorie woꝝks; whereby the godnes of the maſſe is alſo ratified and confirmed.

Theſe heauenlie or purgatorie ſoules (ſaie they) appeare moſt commonlie to them that are borne vpon ember daies, and they alſo walke moſt vſuallie on thoſe ember daies: becauſe we are in beſt ſtate at that time to praie for the one, and to keepe company with the other. Also they ſaie, that ſoules appeare offeneſt by night; becauſe men may then be at beſt leaſure, and moſt quiet. Also they neuer appeare to the whole multitude; ſeldome to a ſew, and moſt commonlie to one alone: for ſo one may tell a lie without controlment. Also they are offeneſt ſene by them that are readie to die: as Traſilla ſaue pope Felix; Vrine, Peter and Paule; Galla Romana, S. Peter; and as Muſa the maid ſaue our Ladie: which are the moſt certeine appearances, credited and allowed in the church of Rome: alſo they may be ſene of ſome, and of ſome other in that preſence not ſene at all; as Vrine ſaue Peter and Paule, and yet manie at that inſtant being preſent could not ſee anie ſuch ſight, but thought it a lie: as I do. Michael Andreas confeſſeth, that papiffs ſee moze viſions than proteſtants: he ſaith alſo, that a god ſoule can take none other ſhape than of a man; marie a damned ſoule may and dooth take the ſhape of a blacke moze, or of a beaſt, or of a ſerpent, or ſpectallie of an heretike. The chriſtian ſignes that ſhew aſwaie theſe euill ſoules, are the croſſe, the name of Jeſus, and the reliques of ſaints: in the number whereof are holiwater, holie bread, Agnus Dei, &c. For Andrew ſaith, that notwithstanding Iulianus was

Idem theſ.

226.

Th. 1. q. 1. pa.

que. 89. ar. 8.

Gregor. in dial. 4.

Mich. And.

theſ. 313.

316. 317.

Idem theſ.

346.

Leo ſerm. de

ieiunijs. 10.

menſ.

Gelaſ. in epi-

ſtola ad epiſc.

Mich. And.

theſ. 345.

Greg. dial. 4.

cap. 1. 12. 14.

Mich. And.

theſ. 347.

Greg. dial. 4.

cap. 11.

Mich. And.

theſ. 347.

Mich. And.

theſ. 341.

Idem theſ. 388.

Idem theſ. 411.

Mah. maleſ.

I. Bod. &c.

Mich. And.

theſ. 413.

D quij.

an

Idem. ches.
414.

an Apostata, and a betrailer of christian religion: yet at an extre-
mitie, with the onelie signe of the crosse, he draue awaie from
him manie such euill spirits; whereby also (he saith) the grea-
test diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the sorest dangers
auoided.

A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the
serpent that seduced Eue.

The xxix. Chapter.

Gen. 3. 14.
15.

They that contend so earnestlie for
the diuels assuming of bodies and visible
shapes, do thinke they haue a great ad-
uantage by the words vttered in the third
of Genesis, where they saie, the diuell ente-
red into a serpent or snake: and that by
the curse it appeareth, that the whole dis-
pleasure of God lighted vpon the poore
snake onlie. Now those words are to be considered may appeare,
in that it is of purpose so spoken, as our weake capacities may
thereby best conceiue the substance, tenor, and true meaning of
the word, which is there set downe in the manner of a tragedie,
in such humane and sensible forme, as wonderfullie informeth
our vnderstanding; though it seeme contrarie to the spirituall
course of spirits and diuels, and also to the nature and diu-
initie of God himselte; who is infinite, and whome no man can
salue with corporall ties, and liued. And doubtles, if the serpent
there had not bene taken absolutelie, nor metaphoricallie for the
diuell, the Holie ghost would haue informed vs thereof in some
part of that storie. But to affirme it sometimes to be a diuell,
and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to
be found or seene in the text, is an inuention and a fetch (me
thinks) beyond the compasse of all diuinitie. Certainlie the ser-
pent was he that seduced Eue: now whether it were the diuell,
or a snake; let anie wise man (or rather let the word of God)
iudge. Doubtles the scripture in manie places expoundeth it to
be the diuell. And I haue (I am sure) one wiseman on my side
for

Gen. 3. 1.
1. Cor. 11. 3.

for the interpretation hereof, namelie Salomon; who saith, Through enuie of the diuell came death into the world: referring Sap. 2, 24. that to the diuell, which Moies in the letter did to the serpent. But a better expositor hereof needeth not, than the text it selfe, euen in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmitie betwene thee and the woman, and betwene thy seed and his seed: he shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruse his heele. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the myserie of our redemption is comprised and promised: Wherein is not meant (as manie suppose) that the common seed of woman shall tread vpon a snakes head, and so breake it in peeces, &c: but that speciall seed, which is Christ, should be borne of a woman, to the vtter overthrow of sathan, and to the redemption of mankind, whose heele or flesh in his members the diuell should bruse and assault, with continuall attempts, and carnall prouocations, &c.

The obiection concerning the diuels assuming
of the serpents bodie answered.

The xxx. Chapter.



This word Serpent in holie scripture is taken for the diuell: The serpent Gen. 3, 1. was more subtil than all the beastes of the field. It likewise signifieth such as be euill speakers, such as haue slanderous tongues, also hereticks, &c: They haue sharpened their tongues like serpents. It doth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: As Moies lifted vp the serpent in the wilderness, so must the sonne Num. 8. & 9. of man be lifted vp vpon the crosse. Moreover, it is taken for wicked men: O ye serpents and generation of vipers. Thereby Iohn. 3, 14. also is signified as well a wise as a subtle man: and in that sense Matt. 23, 33. did Christ himselfe vse it; saying, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So Matt. 10, 16. that by this briefe collection you see, that the word serpent, as it is equiuocall, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the euill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceit: he thinks

thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allegorie. Truelie Caluines opinion is to be liked and reuerenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subscribe to them that hold, that the Holie-ghost in that place did of purpose vse obscure figures, that the cleare light thereof might be deferred, till Christs comming. He saith also with like commendation (speaking hereof, and writing vpon this place) that Moses doth accommodate and fitten for the vnderstanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there deliuereth; for bearing once to rehearse the name of sa-
 than. And further he saith, that this order may not be thought of Moses his olune deuise; but to be taught him by the spirit of God: for such was (saith he) in those daies the childish age of the church, which was vnable to receiue higher or profounder doctrine. Finally, he saith euen here vpon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoeuer wanted in plainenes and clearenes of eternall words.

If it be said, according to experience, that certeine other beasts are farre more subtil than the serpent: they answer, that it is not absurd to confesse, that the same gift was taken awaie from him, by God, bicause he brought destruction to mankind. Which is more (me thinks) than need be granted in that behalfe. For Christ saith not; Be ye wise as serpents were before their transgression: but, Be wise as serpents are. I would learne what impietie, absurditie, or offense it is to hold, that Moses, vnder the person of the poisoning serpent or snake, describeth the diuell that poisoned Eue with his deceiptfull words, and venomous assault. Whence cometh it else, that the diuell is called so often, The viper, The serpent, &c. and that his children are called the generation of vipers; but vpon this first description of the diuell made by Moses? For I thinke none so grosse, as to suppose, that the wicked are the children of snakes, according to the letter: no more than we are to thinke and gather, that

God keepeth a booke of life, written with penne
 and inke vpon paper; as citizens re-
 cord their free men.

Of the curſſe rehearſed Gen. 3. and that place right-
lie expounded, Iohn Caluines opinion of the diuell.

The xxxj. Chapter.



THe curſſe rehearſed by God in that place, whereby witchmongers labour ſo buſilie to proue that the diuell entered into the bodie of a ſnake, and by conſequence can take the bodie of anie other creature at his pleaſure, &c: reacheth (I thinke) further into the diuels matters, than we can comprehend, or is needfull for vs to know, that vnderſtand not the waies of the diuels crea- ping, and is farre vnlikelie to extend to plague the generation of ſnakes: as though they had bene made with legs before that time, and through this curſſe were depriued of that benefit. And yet, if the diuell ſhould haue entred into the ſnake, in manner and forme as they ſuppoſe; I cannot ſee in what degree of ſinne the poore ſnake ſhould be ſo guiltie, as that God, who is the moſt righteous iudge, might be offended with him. But although I abhorre that lewd interpretation of the familie of loue, and ſuch other heretikes, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories: yet (me thinkes) the crea- ping there is rather metaphoricallie or ſignificatiuelie ſpoken, than literallie; euen by that figure, which is there proſecuted to the end. Wherein the diuell is reſembled to an odious creature, who as he crea- peth vpon vs to annoie our bodies; ſo doth the diuell there crea- pe into the conſcience of Eue, to abuſe and deceiue hir: whoſe ſeed neuertheles ſhall tread downe and diſſolue his power and malice. And through him, all good chriſtians (as Caluine ſaith) obtaine power to do the like. For we may not imagine ſuch a materiall tragedie, as there is deſcribed, for the eaſe of our feeble and weake capacities.

Familie of
loue.

*I. Cal. lib. in-
ſtit. 7. cap. 14.
ſect. 18.*

For whenſoeuer we find in the ſcriptures, that the diuell is called, god, the prince of the world, a ſtrong armed man, to whom is giuen the power of the aier, a rozing lion, a ſerpent, &c: the Holie-ghoſt moued vs thereby, to beware of the moſt ſubtil, ſtrong and mightie enemie, and to make prepara-
tion,

tion, and arme our selues with faith against so terrible an aduer-
I. Cal. li. in 7. sarie. And this is the opinton and counsell of Caluine, that we see
1. cap. 14. sect. 13. ing our owne weakenes, & his force manifested in such termes,
 may beware of the diuell, and may flie to God for spirituall aid
 and comfort. And as for his corporall assaults, or his attempts
 vpon our bodies, his nightwalkings, his visible appearings, his
 dancsing with witches, &c: we are neither warned in the scrip-
 tures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to flie them; nei-
 ther is there anie mention made of them in the scriptures. And
 therefore thinke I those witchmongers and absurd writers to be
 as grosse on the one side, as the Sadduces are impious and fond
 on the other; which saie, that spirits and diuels are onlie motions
 and affections, and that angels are but tokens of Gods power.
Aug. de cura I for my part confesse with Augustine, that these matters are
pro mundi. &c. aboue my reach and capacitie: and yet so farre as Gods word
 teacheth me, I will not stricke to saie, that they are liuing crea-
 tures, ordeined to serue the Lord in their vocation. And although
 they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are the Lords
 ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt in
 this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fier in the world to
 come.

Mine owne opinion and resolution of the nature of
 spirits, and of the diuell, with his properties.

The xxxij. Chapter.

*P. Mart. in
 loc. com. 9.
 sect. 14.*

• 1. Sam. 32.
 Luk. 8.
 Iohn. 8.
 Eph. 6.
 2. Tim. 2.
 1. Pet. 5.
 Coloss. 1.
 verſe. 16.



Ut to vse few words in a long
 matter, and plaine termes in a doubtfull
 case, this is mine opinion concerning
 this present argument. First, that diuels
 are spirits, and no bodies. For (as Peter
 Martyr saith) spirits and bodies are by
 antithesis opposed one to another: so as
 a bodie is no spirit, nor a spirit a bodie.
 And that the diuell, whether he be manie or one (for by the waie
 you shall vnderstand, that he is so spoken of in the scriptures, as
 though there were but ^a one, and sometimes as though ^b one
 were

were manie legions, the sense wherof I haue already declared according to Caluins opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for vengeance, as it is written in Eccl. 39. verse. 28: and of himselfe naught, though employed by God to necessarie and good purposes. For in places, where it is written, that all the creatures of God are good; and againe, when God, in the creation of the world, saue all that he had made was good: the diuell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; but when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his owne, as being a liar, and the father of lies, and (as Iohn saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was his creation (so farre as I can find) in that weeke that God made man, and those other creatures mentioned in Genesis the first; and yet God created him purposefullie to destroye. I take his substance to be such as no man can by learning define, nor by wisdom search out. M. Deering saith, that Paule himselfe, reckoning vp principalities, powers, &c: addeth, Currie name that is named in this world, or in the world to come. A clere sentence, saith he, of Paules modestie, in confessing a holie ignorance of the state of angels: which name is also giuen to diuels in other places of the scripture. His essence also and his forme is so proper and peculiar (in mine opinion) vnto himselfe, as he himselfe cannot alter it, but must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordeined for him, and assigned vnto him, as peculiarie as he hath giuen to vs our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a bodie, more than a bodie can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Neuertheles, I learne that their nature is prone to all mischance: for as the verie signification of an enimie and an accuser is wrapped vp in Sathan and Diabolus; so dooth Christ himselfe declare him to be in the thirtieth of Matthew. And therefore he bracketh well his name: for he lieth daily in wait, not onely to corrupt, but also to destroye mankind; being (I saie) the verie tormentor appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fier. But I may not here forget holm M. Mal. and the residue of that crew doe er

pound

1. Cor. 10.

Math. 8,

8, 10.

Luke. 4.

c. Sap. 1.

Apocal. 4.

1. Tim. 4, 4

Gen. 1.

Gen. 8. 44.

1. Ioh. 3. 8.

Mal. 54. 16.

Edw. Deering, in his

read. vpon

the Hebr. 1.

reading

the 6.

Eph. 6, 12.

Col. 2, 16.

Math. 25.

1. Pet. 5.

Idem ibid.

Math. 25. 41.

Mal. malaf.

par. 1. qu. 5.

The cry-
mon of the
word *Dia-*
bolus.

pound this word Diabolus: for Dia (saie they) is Duo, and Bolus is Morfellus; whereby they gather that the diuell eateth vp a man both bodie and soule at two morfelles. Whereas in truth the wicked may be said to eate vp and swallowe downe the diuell, rather than the diuell to eate vp them; though it may well be said by a figure, that the diuell like a rozing lion seeketh whome he may deuoure: which is ment of the soule and spirituall deuouring, as verie nouices in religion may iudge.

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions
concerning corporall diuels.

The xxxij. Chapter.

NOW, how Brian Darcies be spirits and the spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suekin and Widgein, Liard and Robin, &c: his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, diuell tode and diuell lambe, diuels cat and diuels dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of GOD, or true philosophie, let heauen and earth iudge. In the meane time, let anie man with good consideration peruse that booke published by W. W. and it shall suffice to satisfie him in all that may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions: where, though the tale be told onlie of the accusers part, without anie other answer of theirs than their aduersarie setteth downe; mine assertion will be sufficientlie proued true. And because it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authoritie, I will saie no more for the confutation thereof, but referre you to the booke it selfe; whereto if nothing be added that may make to their reach, I dare warrant nothing is left out that may serue to their condemnation. See whether the witnesses be not single, of what credit, sex and age they are; namelie lewd, miserable, and enuious poore people; most of them which speake to anie purpose being old women, & children of the age of 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. or 9. yeares. And note how and what the witches confesse, and see of what weight and importance the causes are; whether their confessions be

The booke
of W. W.
published,
&c.

be not tooorne through hope of fauour, and extorted by flatterie or threats, without profe. But in so much as there were not past seuentene or eightene condemned at once at S. Ofces in the countie of Essex, being a whole parish (though of no great quantitie) I will saie the lesse: trusting that by this time there remaine not manie in that parish. If anie be yet behind, I doubt not, but Brian Darcie will find them out; who, if he lacke aid, Richard Gallis of Windesore were meete to be associated withini; which Gallis hath set forth another booke to that effect, of certeine witches of Windesore executed at Abington. But with what impudencie and dishonestie he hath finished it, with what lies and forgeries he hath furnished it, what follie and frensie he hath vitered in it; I am ashamed to report: and therefore being but a too pennie booke, I had rather desire you to buie it, and so to peruse it, than to fill my booke with such beastleie stuffe.

At S. Ofces
17. or 18.
witches co-
demned at
once.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tried: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachi fladie denieng the diuinitie of this Spirit.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Touching the manifold significati-
on of this word [Spirit] I haue elswhere
in this brieue discourse told you my mind:
which is a word nothing differing in be-
hauour from breath or wind. For all these
words following; to wit, *Spiritus, Ventus,*
Flatus, Halitus, are indifferentlie vsed by
the Holie-ghost, and called by this Hebrue
word רִיחַ in the sacred scripture. For further profe where-
of I cite vnto you the words of Isaie; For his spirit (or breath) Isai. 30, 28.
is as a riuer that ouerfloweth vnto the necke, &c: in which place
the prophet describeth the coming of God in heate and indig-
nation vnto iudgement, &c. I cite also vnto you the words of
Zacharie; These are the foure spirits of the heauen, &c. Likewise Zach. 6, 5.
in Genesis; And the spirit of G D D moued vpon the waters. Gen. 1, 2.
Whereouer, I cite vnto you the words of Christ; The spirit (or Ioh. 3, 8.
wind)

wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite more might be added out of holie writ, tending all to this purpose; namely, to glue vs this for a note, that all the sayings a-boue cited, with manie more that I could alledge, where mention is made of spirit, the Hebrew text useth no word but one; to wit, רֵיחַ which signifieth (as I said) *spiritum, ventum, flation, halitum*; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

*Eras Sar-
cer. in dictione.
Schola 9.
duo Tr. dit. S.*

But before I enter vpon the verie point of my purpose, it shall not be amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certeine Schoule diuine, who distinguisheth and diuideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; saing that it is sometimes taken for the aier, sometimes for the wind, sometimes for the bodies of the blessed, sometimes for the soules of the blessed, sometimes for the power imaginatiue or the mind of man; and sometimes for God. Againe he saith, that of spirits there are two sorts, some created and some vncreated.

A spirit vncreated (saith he) is God himselfe, and it is essentially taken, and agreeth vnto the thre persons notionally, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost personally. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two sorts; to wit, bodilie, and bodilesse. A bodilie spirit is also of two sorts: for some kind of spirit is so named of spiritualnes, as it is distinguished from bodilinesse: otherwise it is called *spiritus a spirando, id est, a flando*, of breathing or blowing, as the wind doth.

A bodilesse spirit is one waie so named of spiritualnes, and then it is taken for a spirituall substance; and is of two sorts: some make a full and complet kind, and is called complet or perfect, as a spirit angelicall: some doe not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incomplet or vnperfect, as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certeine subtil or verie fine substance necessarilie disposing and tending vnto life. There be moreover spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtil and verie fine substances, disposing and tending vnto equall complexions of bodies. Againe there be spirits animall, which are certeine subtil and verie fine substances disposing and tempering the bodie, that it might be animated of the forme, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soule. Thus farre he. In whose diuision you see a philosophicall kind of proceeding, though not altogether to

to be condemned, yet in euerie point not to be approued.

Now to the spirit of spirits, I meane the principall and holie spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third person in trinitie issuing from the father and the sonne, no more the charitie dilection and loue of the father and the sonne, than the father is the charitie dilection and loue of the sonne and Holie-ghost. An other treating vpon the same argument, proceedeth in this reuerent manner: The holie spirit is the vertue or power of God, quickening, nourishing, fostering and perfecting all things: by whose onlie breathing it cometh to passe that we both know and loue GOD, and become at the length like vnto him: which spirit is the pledge and earnest pennie of grace, and beareth witnesse vnto our heart, whiles we crie Abba, Father. This spirit is called the spirit of GOD, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised vp Iesus from the dead.

*Erasm. Sa.
in lib. loc. &
lit. productis.*

*Laurent. d
Villanicensis
in phrasib. s.
script. lib. 5.
pag. 176.*

*Rom. 8. 15.
2. Cor. 6. 5.*

Iesus Christ, for that he receiued not the spirit by measure, but in fulnesse, doth call it his spirit; saing: When the comforter shall come, whome I will send, euen the holie spirit, he shall testifie of me. This spirit hath diuerse metaphoricall names attributed thereto in the holie scriptures. It is called by the name of water, bicause it watheth, comforteth, moisteneth, fosterneth, and maketh fruitefull with all godlinesse and vertues the minds of men, which otherwise would be vncleane, comfortlesse, hard, drie, and barren of all godnesse: wher vpon the prophet Isaie saith; I will poure water vpon the thirstie, and floods vpon the drie ground, &c. Wherewithall the words of Christ doe agree; Hee that belieueth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his bellie shall flowe riuers of waters of life. And else where; Whosoeuer drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer be more a thirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holie spirit is signified by the name of water and flood: as in the 13. of Isaie, the 29. of Ezech. the 146. Psalme, &c. The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemencie thereof is termed fier. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe, it doth burne out the soile and dross of sinnes, and setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeale to preferre and further Gods glorie. Which plainelie appeared in the apostles, who when they had re-

Iohn. 15. 26.

Isai. 44.

Iohn. 7. 38.

Iohn. 4. 14.

R. J.

celued

received the spirit, they spake fierie words, yea such words as were uncontrollable, in so much as in none more than in them this saying of the prophet Ieremie was verified, *Nunquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis?* Are not my words even as it were fire? This was declared and shewed by those fierie tongues, which were same upon the apostles after they had received the holie spirit.

Ier. 23. 29.

Moreover, this spirit is called anointing, or ointment, because that as in old time priests and kings were by anointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and serviceable for the same: even so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training by of the holie spirit, both to live well and also to glorifie God. Whereupon dependeth the saying of Iohn; And ye have no need that anie should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in scripture, The oil of gladnesse and reioysing, whereof it is said in the booke of Psalmes; God even thy God hath annointed thee with the oil of ioy & gladnes, &c. And by this goodlie and comfortable name of oil in the scriptures is the mercie of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of that doth agree with the propertie and qualitie of this. For as oil doth float and swim about all other liquors, so the mercie of God doth surpasse and overreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose it selfe to miserable man.

1. Ioh. 2. 20.

Psal. 44.

Cyrrill. in euang. Ioh. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Exod. 8.

It is likewise called the finger of God, that is, the might and power of God: by the vertue whereof the apostles did cast out devils; to wit, even by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithfull in their vocation: and for that it is the touchstone to trie all counterfet devices of mans baine, and all vaine sciences, prophane practises, deceitfull arts, and circumventing inventions; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and incantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I have had some dealing in this my discoverie; to wit, charmes or incantations, divinations, augurie, iudiciall astrologie, nativitie casting, alchymistrie, coniuration, lotshare, poperie which is mere paltrie, with diuerse other: not one wherof no nor all together are able to stand to the trial and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and euill spirits. Haie, they shalbe found, when they

they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than vanitie: verie drosse, when they once come to be tried by the seruent heate of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth vpon them, diuen awaie with a violent whirlwind: such is the perfection, integritie, and effectuall operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is marvellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

This spirit withdrawing it selfe from the harts of men, so that it will not inhabit and dwell where sinne hath dominion, giveth place vnto the spirit of error and blindness, to the spirit of seruitude and compunction, which biteth, gnaweth, and thetteth their harts with a deablie hate of the gospel; in so much as it graueth their minds and irketh their eares either to heare or vnderstand the truth; of which disease properlie the phariseis of old were, and the papists euen now are sicke. Yea, the want of this god spirit is the cause that manie fall into the spirit of peruerfenes and frowardnes, into the spirit of gibbinesse, lieng, drowzines, and dolnesse: according as the prophet Isaie saith; For the Lord hath couered you with a spirit of slumber, and hath shut vp your eyes: and againe else where, *Dominus miscuit in medio*, &c. The Lord hath mingled among them the spirit of gibbinesse, and hath made Aegypt to erre, as a dzonken man erreth in his vomit: as it is said by Paule; And their foolish hart was blinded, and God gaue them ouer vnto their owne harts lusts. Which punishment Moses threateneth vnto the Iewes; The Lord shall smite thee with madnesse, with blindness and amazednesse of mind, and thou shalt grope at high none as a blind man vseth to grope, &c.

The holie spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and vn-cleane.

Isai. 29, 10.
Isai. 19, 14.

Ro. 1, 21, 23.

Deuter. 28, 28, 29.

In summe, this word [Spirit] doth signifie a secret force and power, wherewith our minds are moued and directed; if vnto holie things, then is it the motion of the holie spirit, of the spirit of Christ and of God: if vnto euill things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the diuell, and of satan. Wherevpon I inferre, by the waie of a question, with what spirit we are to suppose such to be moued, as either practise anie of the vanities treated vpon in this booke, or through credulitie addict themselves therevnto as vnto diuine oracles, or the voice of angels breakeing through the clouds? We cannot impute this motion vnto

A question.

An answer.

A great
likelihood
no doubt.

Iudgement
distingui-
shed.

the good spirit; for then they should be able to discern betwene the nature of spirits, and not swarue in iudgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindnes and error doth seduce them; so that it is no meruell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadowes for substances, fancies for verties, &c: for it is likelie that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them: else would they detest these diuelish deuises of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vaine practises, whereof (I suppose) this my booke to be a sufficient discouerie.

It will be said that I ought not to iudge, for he that iudgeth shalbe iudged. Thereto I answer, that iudgement is to be vnderstood of three kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the iudgement of them shall appertaine to God, who in time will disclose what so euer is done in couert, and that by his iust iudgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their vncerteintie and doubtfulnes they are discussable and to be tried; these after due examination are to haue their competent iudgement, and are incident to the magistrate. The third are manifest and euident, and such as doe no lesse apparentlie shew themselves than an inflammation of bloud in the bodie: and of these actions euerie priuate man giueth iudgement, because they be of such certeintie, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as to gather, that because the sunne is risen in the east, Ergo it is morning: he is come about and is full south, Ergo it is high none; he is declining and closing vp in the west, Ergo it is euening. So that the obiection is answered.

Notobeyt, letting this passe, and spirituallie to speake of this spirit, which whiles manie haue wanted, it hath come to passe that they haue proued altogether carnall; & not sanouring heauenlie diuinitie haue tumbled into worse than philosophicall barbarisme: & these be such as of writers are called Pneumatomachi, a sect so iniurious to the holie spirit of God, that contemning the sentence of Christ, wherein he foretelleth that the sinne against the holie spirit is neuer to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they doe not onelie denie him to be God, but also pull from him all being, and with the Sadduces main-
teine

*Iohannes Sim-
lerus li. 4. ca.
5. aduersus
veteres &
nouos Anti-
ministros,
&c.*

teine there is none such; but that vnder and by the name of holie spirit is ment a certaine diuine force, therewith our minds are moued, and the grace and fauour of God whereby we are his beloued. Against these shamelesse enmities of the holie spirit, I will not vse materiall weapons, but syllogisticall charmes. And first I will set downe some of their paralogysmes or false arguments; and vpon the necke of them inferre fit confutations grounded vpon sound reason and certaine truth.

Their first argument is knit by in this manner. The holie spirit is no where expresselie called God in the scriptures: *Ergo* he is not God, or at leastwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false; because the holie spirit hath the title or name of God in the first of the Acts. Againe, the consequent is false. For although he were not expresselie called God, yet should it not ther vpon be concluded that he is not verie God; because vnto him are attributed all the properties of God, which vnto this doe equallie belong. And as we denie not that the father is the true light, although it be not directlie written of the father, but of the sonne; He was the true light giuing light to euerie man that cometh into this world: so liketwise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture doth not expresselie and simplie note it; sithence it ascribeth equall things therevnto; as the properties of God, the works of God, the seruice due to God, and that it doth interchangeablie take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed vnto the holie spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God; doe as it were refuse to grant vnto Eue the name of *Homo*, whome notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

The second reason is this. Hilarie in all his twelue booke of the Trinitie doth no where write that the holie spirit is to be worshipped; he neuer giueth ther vnto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are vsuall praiers of the church commonlie called the Collects, whereof some are made to the father, some to the sonne, but none to the holie spirit; and yet in them all mention is made of the thre persons. Herevnto I answer, that although Hilarie doth not openlie call the holie spirit, God:

1. Obiectio.
The scripture dooth neuer call the holie spirit God.
* The first answer.
A refutation of the antecedent, &c.

2. Obiectio.
Hilarie doth not call the spirit God, neither is he so named in the common collects.
* The 2. answer.

Hilarius lib.
12. de Triade

The place
is long, and
therefore
I had rather
referre the
reader vnto
the booke
than heere
to insert so
many lines.

Collecta in die
domini. sanc-
te Trinus.

yet doth he constantly denie it to be a creature. Now if any aske me why Hilarie was so coie & nice to name the holie spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding betwene God and a creature there is no meane: I will in good sooth saie what I thinke. I suppose that Hilarie, for himselfe, thought well of the godhead of the holie spirit: but this opinion was thrust and forced vpon him of the Pneumatomachi, who at that time rightlie deeming of the sonne did erisiles ioine themselves to those that were found of iudgement. There is also in the ecclesiasticall historie a little booke which they gaue Liberius a bishop of Rome, whereinto they foisted the Nicene creed. And that Hilarie was a friend of the Pneumatomachi, it is perceiued in his booke *De synodis*, where he writeth in this maner; *Nihil autem mirum vobis videri debet, fratres charissimi, &c.* It ought to same no wonder vnto you deere brethren, &c. As for the obication of the praiers of the church called the collects, that in them the holie spirit is not called vpon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called vpon. But the collects are more ancient than the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientnesse, neither will I compare songs and collects together; but I say thus much onelie, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holie spirit hath bene openlie called vpon in the congregati- on. Now if I be charged to giue an instance, let this serue. In the collect vpon trinitie fundaie it is thus said: Almighty and euerlasting God, which hast giuen vnto vs thy seruants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glorie of the eternall trinitie, and in the power of the diuine Maiestie to worship the vnitie: we beseech thee that though the steadfastnesse of this faith, we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie, which liuest and reignest one God world without end. Now because that in this collect, where the trinitie is expresselie called vpon, the names of persons are not expessed; but almighty and euerlasting God inuocated, who abideth in trinitie and vnitie; it doth easilie appeare elswhere also that the persons being not named, vnder the name of almighty and euerlasting God, not onelie the father to be vnderstood, but God which abideth in trinitie and vnitie, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost.

A third obiection of theirs is this. The sonne of **G D D** oftentimes praieng in the gospels, speaketh vnto the father, promisseth the holie spirit, and dooth also admonish the apostles to praeie vnto the heauenlie father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of praeier: Our father which art in heauen. Ergo the father onlie is to be called vpon, and consequently the father onlie is that one and verie true God, of whome it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onelie shalt thou serue.

3. Obiectio.
The spirit is not to be praeied vnto but the father onlie.

* Where to I answer first by denieng the consequent; The sonne praeied to the father onlie, Ergo the father onlie is of vs also to be praeied vnto. For the sonne of **G D D** is distinguished of vs both in person and in office: he as a mediator maketh intercession for vs to the father: and although the sonne and the holie spirit doe both together receiue and take vs into fauour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for vs; because the father is the fountaine of all counsels & diuine works. Furthermore, touching the forme of praeieng prescribed of Christ, it is not necessarie that the fathers name shuld personallie be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made: but by the name of father indefinitely we vnderstand God or the essence of God, the father, the son, and the Holie-ghost. For this name hath not alwaies a respect vnto the generation of the sonne of God; but God is called the father of the faithfull, because of his gracious and free adopting of them, the foundation whereof is the sonne of God, in whom we be adopted: but yet so adopted, that not the father onlie receiveth vs into his fauour; but with him also the sonne and the holie spirit dooth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of praeier doe aduertise our selues of Gods godnesse towards vs; we doe not cast an eye to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gaue vs the spirit of adoption; and to the holie spirit, in whom we crie Abba, Father. And if so be that inuocation and praeier were restrained to the father alone, then had the saints done amisse, in calling vpon, inuocating, and praeieng to the sonne of God, and with the sonne the holie spirit, in baptisme, according to the forme by Christ himselfe assigned and deliuered.

* 3. Answer.
The consequent is denied.

Another obiection is out of the fourth of Amos, in this maner. For so it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and

4. Obiectio.
Amos saith

R. iij.

thou

that the spirit was created.

* 4. Answer.
Spirit in this place signifieth wind.

To create is not him to be made that was not.
Euseb. Cæsariensis, lib. 3. adversus Marcellum.

shew unto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting about the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. Now because it is read in that place, Shewing unto men their Christ; the Pneumatomachi contended that these words are to be understood of the holie spirit.

* But Ambrose in his booke *De spiritu sancto*, lib. 2. cap. 7. doth rightlie answer, that by spirit in this place is ment the wind: for if the prophets purpose and will had bene to speake of the holie spirit, he would not haue begunne with thunder, nor haue ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father saith; If anie suppose that these words are to be draine unto the interpretation of the holie spirit, because the prophet saith, Shewing unto men their Christ; he ought also to draine these words unto the mystery of the Lords incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the words of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soule. But the former interpretation is certaine and convenient with the words of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set forth in his works. Behold (saith the prophet) he that formeth the mountaines, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darknesse, and walketh upon the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. In this sort Santes a right skillfull man in the Hebrew tongue translateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holie spirit, & were not appliable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation: yet doth it not follow that the holie spirit is a creature; because this word of Creating doth not alwaies signifie a making of something out of nothing; as Eusebius in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his waies) writeth thus. The prophet in the person of God, saieing; Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit, and shewed unto men their Christ: this word Created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, since by the same he hath shewed & declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning under the sonne: but it was before all beginning, and was then sent, when the apostles were gathered together, when a sound like thunder came from

from heauen, as it had bene the coming of a mightie wind : this word Created being vsed for sent downe, for appointed, or deined, &c: and the word thunder signifieng in another kind of maner the preaching of the gospels. The like sayeng is that of the Psalmist, A cleane hart create in me O God: wherein he praised not as one hauing no hart, but as one that had such a hart as needed purifieng, as needed perfecting : & this phrase also of the scripture, That he might create two in one new man; that is, that he might ioine, couple, or gather together, &c.

Furthermore, the Pneumatomachi by these testimonies insuing endeuor to proue the holie spirit to be a creature. Out of Iohn the 1. chap. By this word were all things made, and without it nothing was made. Out of 1. Cor. 8. We haue one God the father, euen he from whome are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Iesus Christ, through whome are all things, and we by him. Out of the 1. Coloss. By him were all things made, things in heauen, and things in earth, visible and inuisible, &c. Now if all things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holie spirit was also made.

* Whereto I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same vniuersall proposition is restrained by Iohn himselte to a certeine kind of things: Without him (saith the euangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holie spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of Iohn, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth nowhere saie that the holie spirit was made of the father or of the sonne, but to proceed, to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these vniuersall propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the sonne: than the which what is more absurd and wicked?

Again, they object out of Matth. 11. None knoweth the sonne but the father, and none the father but the sonne; to wit, of and by himselte: for otherwise both the angels, & to whomsoever else it shall please the sonne to reueale the father, these do know both the father and the sonne. Now if so be the spirit be not equall with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not oneie vnequall and lesser than they, but also no God: for ignorance is not incident

5. Obiectio.
All things were made by the son, Ergo the spirit was also made by him.

5. Answer.
Vniuersall propositions or speeches are to be restrained.

6. Obiectio.
The spirit knoweth not the father & the sonne.

incident vnto God.

* 6. Answer.
How ex-
clusive pro-
positions or
speeches
are to be
interpre-
ted.

* Whereto I answer, that where in holie scripture we doe meete with vniuersall propositions negative or exclusiue, they are not to be expounded of one person, so as the rest are excluded; but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoeuer else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to proue and confirme this interpretation, I could bring verie manie, whereof I will adde some for example. In the seauenth of Iohn it is said; When Christ shall come, none shall knowe from whence he is: notwithstanding which words the Iewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant from whence Christ should be. In the fourth to the Galathians; A mans couenant or testament confirmed with authoritie no bodie doth abrogate, or adde anie thing therevnto. No iust man doth so; but tyrants and truce-breakers care not for couenants. In Iohn eight; Iesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the middelt. And yet it is not to be supposed that a multitude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise; but the word *solus*, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew to themselves alwaie euerie one, and departed. In the first of Marke; When it was euening, the ship was in the middelt of the sea, and he alone vpon land: he was not alone vpon land or shore, for the same was not vtterlie void of dwellers: but he had not anie of his disciples with him, nor anie bodie to carrie him a ship-board vnto his disciples. Manie phrases or formes of speeches like vnto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in authors both Greeke and Latine, whereby we vnderstand, that neither vniuersall negative nor exclusiue particles are striclie to be tyed, but to be explained in such sort as the matter in hand will beare. When as therefore the sonne alone is said to knowe the father, and it is demanded whether the holie spirit is debarred from knowinge the father; out of other places of scriptures iudgment is to be given in this case. In some places the holie spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the sonne iointlie: wherefore he is not to be separated. Else-where also it is attributed to the holie spirit that he alone doth knowe the things which be of God, and searcheth the deepe secrets of God: wherefore from him the knowing of God is not to be excluded.

Ther

They doe yet further obiect, that it is not conuenient or fit for God after the manner of suters to humble and cast downe himselfe: but the holie spirit doth so, praies and intreating for vs with unspeakable grones: Rom. 8. *Ergo* the holie spirit is not God.

7. Obiectio.
The spirit
praies for
vs.

* Wherefo I answer that the holie spirit doth praie and intreat, in so much as he prouoketh vs to praie, and maketh vs to grone and sigh. Oftentimes also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed vnto God, which we being stirred vp and moued by him doe bring to passe. So it is said of God vnto Abraham; Now I know that thou fearest God: and yet before he would haue sacrificed Isaac, God knew the verie heart of Abraham: and therefore this word *Cognoui*, I know, is as much as *Cognoscere feci*, I haue made or caused to know. And that the spirit to praie and intreat, is the same that, to make to praie and intreat, the apostle teacheth euen there, writing that we haue receiued the spirit of adoption, in whome we crie Abba Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which crie, the Holie-ghost prouoking and forcing vs therevnto.

7. Answer.
The spirit
doth prouoke
vs to
praie.

Whobeeit they go further, and frame this reason. Whoboeuer is sent, the saue is inferior and lesser than he of whome he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, because he passeth by locall motion from place to place: but the holie spirit is sent of the father and the sonne, Iohn. 14, 15, & 16. It is power forth and shed vpon men, Acts. 10. *Ergo* the holie spirit is lesser than the Father and the Sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequentlie not verie God.

8. Obiectio.
The spirit
is sent from
the father
and the son.

* Wherefo I answer first, that he which is sent is not alwaies lesser than he that sendeth: to proue which position anie maner wit may inferre manie instances: Furthermore, touching the sending of the holie spirit, we are here to imagine no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth forth from the father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the father also be in a place, that he may leane it and go to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, he cannot leane his place passe vnto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternall and inuariabill will of God, to doe something by the holie spirit; and the reuealing and executing of this will by the operati-

8. Answer.
How the
spirit is
sent.

operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the apostles; which spirit was present with them, sith it is present euerie-where: but then according to the will of God the father he shewed himselfe present and powerfull.

Some man may saie; If sending be a reuealing and laing open of presence and power, then may the father be said to be sent, bicause he himselfe is also reuealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not onlie the reuealing, but the order also of his reuealing is declared; bicause the will of the father and of the sonne, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit doth reueale himselfe, the father, and also the sonne. The father reuealeth himselfe by others, the sonne and the holic spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common worke of all the three persons; howbeit, for order of doing, it is distinguished by diuerse names. The father will reueale himselfe vnto men with the sonne and the spirit, and be powerfull in them, and therefore is said to send. The sonne and the spirit doe assent vnto the will of the father, and will that to be done by themselves, which God will to be done by them; these are said to be sent. And bicause the will of the sonne doth go before the spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the spirit.

9. Obiectio.
The spirit
speakech
not of him-
selfe.

Yet for all this they allege, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speake of himselfe, and not stand in need alwaies of anothers admonishment: but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expressely testifieth Iohn. 16. Ergo he is vnperfect, and whatsoeuer he hath it is by partaking, and consequentlie he is not God.

*The 9. an-
swer.
Cyrill lib. 13.
Ihesus. cap. 3

Whereto I answer, that this argument is stale: for it was objected by heretikes long ago against them that held the true opinion, as Cyrill saith; who answereth, that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the son and the spirit are of the same substance. For, the spirit is named the mind of Christ. 1. Cor. 2, and therefore he speaketh not of his owne proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is; but hath all his will and working naturallie proceeding from the substance as it were of him.

10. Obiec-
tion.

Lastlie they argue thus: Euerie thing is either vnbegotten or vnbome, or begotten and created; the spirit is not vnbegotten, for

for then he were the father; & so there should be two without beginning: neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the father, and so there shall be two sonnes, both brothers; or he is begotten of the sonne, and then shall he be Gods nephue, than the which what can be imagined more absurd? Ergo he is created.

* Wherto I answer, that the diuision or distribution is vnperfect: for that member is omitted which is noted of the verie best diuine that euer was, euen Iesus Christ our saviour; namely, to haue proceeded, or proceeding: That same holie spirit (saith he) which proceedeth from the father. Which place Nazanzen doth thus interpret. The spirit, because he proceedeth from thence, is not a creature: and because he is not begotten, he is not the son; but because he is the meane of begotten and vnbegotten, he shall be God, &c.

* 10. Anf.
The spirit
proceedeth

And thus hauing auoided all these cauls of the * Pneumatomachi, a sect of heretikes too too iniurious to the holie spirit, inso much as they seeke what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his diuinitie; I will all Christians to take heed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though to them that be resolved in the truth it can do little hurt, yet to such as stand vpon a waivering point it can do no great good. Hauing thus far waded against them, and ouerthrowne their opinions; I must needs exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they consider with themselues what a reuerend mysterie all that hitherto hath bene said in this chapter concerneth; namely, the spirit of sanctification, and that they so ponder places to and fro, as that they reserue vnto the holie spirit the glorious title of diuinitie, which by nature is to him appropriate: esteeming of these Pneumatomachi or Theomachi, as of swine, delighting more in the dirtie drasse of their deuises, than in the faire fountaine water of Gods word: yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they sauoured little of heauenlie theologie, yet some illumination they had of the holie and diuine spirit, marrie it was somewhat mistie, darke, lame and limping; neuertheless, that it was, and how much or little soeuer it was, they gaue therevnto a due reuerence, in that they acknowledged and intituled it *Animam mundi*, The soule or life of the world, and (as Nazanzen witnesseth) τὸν τῷ παντὶ νοῦν, The

* Such were
the Arrians,
Tritheists,
Samosat-
nians, &c.

*Sus magis in
cano gaudet
quam fonsa
sereno*

The herethe-
nisch philo-
sophers ac-
knowled-
ged the ho-
lie spirit.

mind

*Cytil. lib. 1.
contra Iu-
lianum.*

mind of the vniserfall, and the outward breath, or the breath that commeth from without. Porphyrie expounding the opinion of Plato, who was not vtterlie blind in this mysterie, saith that the diuine substance doth proceed and extend to thre subsistencies and beings: and that God is chiefe and principallie god, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world: for he holdeth that the diuinitie doth extend euen to this soule. As for Hermes Trismegistus, he saith that all things haue need of this spirit: for according to his worthinesse he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susteineth all, and he is deriued from the holie fountaine, giuing breath and life vnto all, and euermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and vnemptied.

*Maximus Fi-
cimus in arg.
in Cratyl.
Plat.*

And here by the waie I giue you a note worth reading and considering; namelie, how all nations in a manner, by a kind of heauenlie influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than foure letters. As for example, the Egyptians doe call him Theut, the Persians call him Syre, the Iewes expresse his vnspcakable name as well as they can by the word Adonai consisting of foure vowels; the Arabians call him Alla, the Mahometists call him Abdi, the Greekes call him Theos, the Latines call him Deus, &c. This, although it be not so proper to our present purpose, yet (because we are in hand with the holie spirits deitie) is not altogether impertinent. But why G O D would haue his name as it were vniuersallie bounded within the number of foure letters, I can giue sundrie reasons, which require too long a discourse of words by digression: and therefore I will conceale them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I haue willingly remembred, that it might appeare, that the doctrine concerning the holie spirit is verie ancient; which they hauing taken either out of Moses writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set forth in booke, though not wholly, fullie, and perfectlie vnderstood and knowne: and also that our Pneumatomachi may see themselves to be more doltish in diuine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working potwer of the diuinitie whereby all things are quickened: which the heathen did asseer a fort see; asseer a fort (I saie) because they separated the soule of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most soueraigne and vnbegotten

gotten God, and imagined certeine differences of degrees, and (as Cyrill saith) did Arrianize in the trinitie.

So then I conclude against these Pneumatomachi, that in so much as they imitate the old giants, who piling vp Pelion vpon Ossa, and them both vpon Olympus, attempted by scaling the heauens to pull Iupiter out of his throne of estate, & to spoile him of his principallitie, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carrie huge hilles on their shoulders, ouerwhelmed with those mountaines, and squized vnder the weight of them euen to the death: so these Pneumatomachi, being enimies both to the holie spirit, and no friends to the holie church (for then would they confesse the trinitie in vnitie, and the vnitie in trinitie, and consequentlie also the deitie of the holie spirit) deserue to be consumed with the fier of his mouth, the heate whereof by no meanes can be slaked, quenched, or auoided. For there is nothing more vnnaturall, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deitie (I meane the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policie, &c: which was well signified by that poetlicall fiction of the giants, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted: which as Ioachimius Camerarius expoundeth of wicked counsellors, to whose flithie perswasion tyrants doe trust as vnto their fate; and James Sadolet interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting ouer

*Ouid. lib. me.
transform. 1.
fab. 5. de gi-
gantib. co-
lum obsident.*

*Iacob. SadoL
in lib. de
laud. philo-
soph. inscrip-
Phedrus.*

much vnto their owne wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisdom, that in fine all turneth to follie and confusion: so I expound of heretikes and schismatikes, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by mainteining precise opinions, or by open violence, &c: assaie to overthrow the true religion, to breake the vnitie of the church, to denie Caesar his homage, and God his dutie, &c: and therefore let *Iouis fulmen*, wherewith they were slaine, assure these that there is *Diuina ultio* due to all such, as dare in the sicklenes of their fancies arreare themselves against the holie spirit; of whom sith they are ashamed here vpon earth (otherwise they would confidentlie and boldly confesse him both with mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heauen, where they are like to be so farre from hauing anie societie with the saints, that their portion shalbe euen in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And therefore let vs,

if

if we will discern and trie the spirits whether they be of God or no, seeke for the illumination of this inlightning spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discover all spirits, so it giueth such a fierie heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for feare of burning. Howbeit the holie spirit must be in vs, otherwise this prerogative of trieng spirits will not fall to our lot.

Peter Mart.
in loc. com.
part. 2. cap.
18. sect. 33.
pag. 628.

But here some will peraduenture moue a demand, and doe aske how the holie spirit is in vs, considering that *Infiniti ad finitum nulla est proportio, neque loci angustia quod immensum est potest circumscribi*: of that which is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that which is vnmeasurable be limited or bounded within anie precinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father for Christes sake sendeth him vnto vs, according as Christ promised vs in the person of his apostles; The comforter (saith he) which is the holie spirit, whome my father will send in my name. And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c: I will in no case haue it thought, that the holie spirit is in vs, as a bodie placed in a place terminable; but to attribute there vnto, as due belongeth to the dettie, an vbiqutie, or vniuersall presence; not corporallie and palpable; but effectually, mightilie, mysticallie, diuinelie, &c. Yea, and this

Iohn. 16. 14.
& 14. 16.

I may boldlie adde, that Christ Iesus sendeth him vnto vs from the father: neither is he giuen vs for anie other end, but to enrich vs abundantly with all good gifts and excellent graces; and among the rest with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceiued. And
here an end.

F F N F S.

The summe of euerie chapter contained in the sixteene bookes of this discouerie, with the discourse of diuels and spirits annexed thereto.

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What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets. pag. 9.

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By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, & how diuerslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions. pa. 14.

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